Chapter II

SOCIOLOGY OF DEVELOPMENT AND CHANGE IN INDIA

Theoretical and Methodological Issues

The concept of development generally denotes some sort of 'advancement' in the positive (desired) direction. In the societal context, it is referred as progressive transformation of certain aspects of a given society. Sociology of development is primarily concerned with the understanding of economic development from the sociological perspective. We propose to examine critically some of the important explanations of development in the Indian context.

Weberian Approach to Development

Weber views religious ethics or ideas, and not the economic and other resources, as the determinant factor in bringing about economic progress.

Entire Weberian argument on capitalistic development in India can be classified into two parts; the one which highlights on the societal aspects hindering capitalistic development; and the second emphasises acceleration of capitalistic development.
Weber holds: "Capitalism could not develop in an economic group thus bound hand and foot by magical belief."¹ In all times this power of magic has been broken by the means of rational prophecy. Although every prophecy could not destroy the magic of power, it has undoubtedly, "released the world from magic and in doing so created the basis for our modern science and technology and for capitalism."² Weber concludes that "such a religious spirit could never be in a position to displace magic but at best could only put another magic in its place."³

Another important aspect of Indian society which hinders the capitalistic development in India, according to Weber, is the caste system. Weber observes: "Caste taboo of the Hindus restricted intercourse among people far more forcefully than the feng shui system of spirit beliefs interfered with trade in China."⁴ These norms

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² Ibid., p.265.
³ Ibid., p.266.
of taboo may give rise to extraordinary severe impediments to the development of trade and market. Theoretically, it may be assumed that caste system need not have rendered capitalism impossible, yet it is obvious that economic rationalization would originally never have arisen where taboo had achieved such massive power. Despite all efforts to reduce caste segregation, certain psychological resistances remained operative. Hazlehurst's observation confirms Weber's thesis that caste system in India stands in the way of economic rationality. His study of Indian merchant community reveals that caste plays a significant role in determining economic transactions. He writes: "A local merchant is considered to be entitled to such concessional rates from the local capitalist whose raw materials, he buys on credit while the refugee is not. Thus, while such economic transactions are theoretically open to all, they are in fact closed to those who by virtue of their status, fail to qualify for social credit and concessional rates."6

5 Ibid., p.435.

Weber's entire argument regarding development is based on religious asceticism and rationality as pre-requisites for it. He has all praise for the process of rationalization emerging in West European society and has made a distinction between feudalism and capitalism based on traditional and rational values. Weber, in his study of European capitalism, has attempted to trace the origins of new economic rationality in the religious ethics practised by certain ascetic Protestant sects. Nevaskar writes: "Capitalism rests on the inclination of men to adopt certain types of practical rational conduct. Since the magical and religious notions, as well as ethical ideas of duty based upon them, have influenced the conduct of all men in the past, Weber reasoned that religious ideas may also have influenced the development of the present Western economic system....because rationalization played a central role in Western capitalism, Weber proposed to investigate the influence of religion on its development."7

Under the influence of Weber, several scholars have conducted their researches in non-Western countries to

identify whether or not there exists similar type of ethos in their religious beliefs. Pieris\(^8\) has applied the Weberian framework to his study of Sikhism which like Puratanism has direct effect on every day life of a Sikh. Its religious doctrine by breaking away the Hindu caste restrictions has given freedom to Sikhs to choose any occupation except begging. It has laid emphasis on hard work with austere style of living. A confluence of worldliness and other-worldliness can be thus observed in a Sikh's life, providing a very positive attitude towards entrepreneurship and willingness to move in for any kind of new occupation. These are the reasons that have helped the Sikhs of Punjab to gradually move out of agricultural sector and concentrate in small industrial enterprises, various occupations related to means of transport and machinery. Sikhism could not make much impact on the majority of the population. Perhaps one of the reasons is that it is tied up to some extent with the restrictions of the Hindu caste system.

Kennedy,\(^9\) in his study of Indian Parsis, has observed that values of Zorastrianism like; acquisitive

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rationality, financial rationality, the rationality of work and scientific rationality, has guided the conduct of the Parsis. He has demonstrated the effect of these values on Parsi's economic and social activity. Kennedy has interpreted the census of 1920-21 regarding Parsi's population and science education up to graduation and post-graduation levels attained by them. He has reached to a significant conclusion that the Parsis who constitute 0.03 per cent of the total population of India have 6.8 per cent of engineering degrees, 4.7 per cent of medical, 1.7 per cent of science and 1.4 per cent of all Western degrees of the total Indian population suggesting, thereby, a positive co-relation between the acceptance of commercial and technological values and the appearances of commercial and technological behaviour.

These examples of ascetic religious sects in India suggest that in a country like India, overwhelmingly tied up with conservative religious beliefs, there also exist some pockets of religiously motivated entrepreneurs. According to Long: "The response of such groups to the new economic opportunities brought by colonial rule and the penetration of capitalist forms of production was
essentially based on a set of incentives deriving from the religious sphere. These groups were distinct from others in India because they already possessed the necessary ideological prerequisites to take advantage of the newly developing system." 10

After having made a brief comment on Weber's thesis as applied in the Indian context it can be argued that the Weberians have mainly seen the religious value-orientations as a necessary pre-condition for development. They have, thus, ignored a wide range of socio-cultural factors which may facilitate economic development. There is a marked difference between India and the western countries in regard to its value-orientations, and the path of development. In India as much as 13.0 per cent of its total capital lies in the hands of a couple of capitalists.

One of the major methodological problems with the Weberian approach is that it takes for granted the State as a liberal democratic or a capitalist agency. It is an eclectic standpoint. Others may adopt a more

eclectic standpoint to recognise that there are many varied outcomes to economic growth and different modes of organizing the pattern of development. The Weberian approach thus ignores the important role played by the nationalist and socialist ideologies in accelerating the pace of development. For example, in a country like India, land reforms involving changes in ownership and control of land, reforms in marketing, pricing, emergence of cooperatives and public sectors etc., have positively contributed in accelerating the process of development.

No doubt, in certain micro-contexts, it can be recognised that religious ascetism is closely associated with the entrepreneurship and indirectly functions, along with other factors to stimulate economic endeavour. But for Norman Long "The reasons for this are complex and will vary somewhat from situation to situation, depending on the interplay of socio-cultural factors and on the types of resources available to, and the life experiences encountered by the members of the religious group." 11 We are confronted with the similar situations when we take other factors like land tenure system, family

11 Ibid., p.69.
structure and education in the context of the process and pace of development. It becomes, however, very difficult to judge as to which one assumes more important role in the acceleration of the process of development.

**Marxist Theory of Development**

The Indian colonial economy has given rise to combined social structures, wherein, side by side, a weak capitalist mode of production evolves interlocked with a non-capitalist mode of production in agriculture.

In Indian rural economy, the mode of production has always been a bone of contention among the social scientists. Utsa Patnaik\(^{12}\) and others argue that Indian agriculture is today characterised by the co-existence of pre-capitalist relations of production and the

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12 Patnaik, Utsa, "Economics of Farm Size and Farm Scale: Some Assumptions Re-examined", *Economic and Political Weekly*, Special Number, August 1972.


capitalist mode of production. Hamza Alavi,13 J. Banaji,14 P. Chattopadhyay15 and others consider that the mode of production in Indian agriculture is predominantly capitalist in nature. Its origin can be traced as back as in the latter half of the 19th century when the Indian economy was subordinated to British colonialism. Their arguments are, however, not in full consonance with that of Andre Gunder Frank. Nevertheless, they, like Frank, have identical views to identify the predominance of the capitalist mode of production in the Indian agriculture.

Utsa Patnaik who has been closely associated with the debate argues that pre-capitalist relations in Indian agriculture have existed even much before the advent of British rule in India. And it still continues to persist

13 Alavi, Hamza, "India and Colonial Mode of Production", Economic and Political Weekly, Special Number, August 1975.
in one form or the other. She observes that the full-time agricultural labourers do not constitute a proletariat in Indian agriculture, as yet and hence the relations of production cannot possibly be regarded as a capitalist one.\textsuperscript{16} She further observes: India was colonised by the leading capitalist power of the time and integrated into capitalist system but in a manner in which preserved, even intensified pre-capitalist forms of economic organization and exploitation on a more monetised basis, with a change in their legal form, but little change in contest. Indeed the unique feature of the colonial rule was perhaps the grafting on the pre-capitalist, largely feudal structure of a juridical system based on the concept of property derived from an economy characterized by capitalist relations of production.\textsuperscript{17}

Hamza Alavi observes that Utsa Patnaik's thesis suffers from some serious inadequacies as it fails to reflect upon some important problems. Two of them are:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{17} Patnaik, Utsa, op.cit., Sept. 1972, pp.16-19.
\end{itemize}
(1) "What she postulates is co-existence of two modes of production in the manner of Lacau without positing contradictions between the two?", and (2) "Which mode would she consider to be dominant one, and what precisely is the nature of these contradictions between the two modes of production?" Banaji refers to the political implications of the characterizations similar to that of Utsa Patnaik's thesis. According to him, the thesis regarding feudalism has been used to support the argument that the current epoch is one of the struggles against "feudalism" which has implicitly postponed the struggle for socialism, to use a classical Marxian phrase "until the bourgeois democratic revolution is completed in India."

The concept of "mode of production" is treated as a powerful instrument by the Marxists in the analysis of development. Ashok Rudra holds the view that "it seems to us that much of the controversies about the mode of production in Indian agriculture has suffered from the wide area of vague and diffused ideas that envelops

the concept of mode." 19 Rudra further elaborates that "difficulty arises when one tries to apply the concept of mode of production to an economy which can not be categorised in terms of any one of the models recognised and discussed by Marx (i.e. capitalism, feudalism, slavery and socialism, sometimes also the so-called Asiatic mode of production." 20

The mode of production in Indian agriculture has been characterized as the 'colonial mode of production' by Hamza Alavi. While Amit Bhaduri has termed it as 'Semi-feudal', A. Ghosh and K. Dutt identify it as "the economy of semi-proletarian peasantry". Bhaduri characterises the system as 'semi-feudalistic' because of: (i) an extensive non-legalised sharecropping system, (ii) perpetual indebtedness of the small tenants, (iii) the ruling class in the rural areas operating as both landowners and lenders to small tenants, and (iv) small tenants having incomplete access to rural market.


20 Ibid., pp. 916–24.
A.R. Desai has applied "Historical Materialist Method" in the analysis of the trends of development in India. He holds the view that during the British rule, Indian society experienced a qualitative structural transformation which led it to a new and different path of development. It is important to note here that all these transformations have been taking place to suit the needs of various phases of capitalism (British). The consequence of these transformations was the emergence of the national movement which ultimately developed into a forceful and striving struggle for the transformation of the one-fifth of humanity. Desai, in his analysis, has categorically stated that the power after independence came in the hands of capitalist class and thereby, the economic axis thus created was capitalist, based on mixed-economic indicative planning. This cannot thus solve the basic problems of the people.

Several non-Marxist scholars who have analysed Indian agrarian relations have argued that it is not possible to apply the Marxist approach in the analysis
of the concrete situations in India because of its heterogenous socio-economic structures and the various forms of social conflict. Caste, kinship and ethnic ties play an important role in influencing the social and economic relationships among the various groups and communities in the society. They criticise the Marxists theories as they straitjacket their analysis to a few classes. Beteille, for example, perceives that the Marxist concept of class which was formulated and refined in the context of industrial society would encounter difficulties if applied to the agrarian societies of the Indian kind in as much as the nature of social division in agrarian societies is different from the industrial societies. K.L. Sharma also holds the identical view. He writes: "Indian feudalism was not only different from its European counterpart, but it had internal differentiation having serious structural implications for social change. Since qualitatively different laws have not been formulated to abolish these land tenure systems in view of these variations these feudal relations in their somewhat changed forms continue in the countryside. It is difficult to suggest a single explanation for
understanding of agrarian social structure particularly in regard to its nature such as feudal/semi-feudal/capitalistic etc. Incorporation of capitalist tendencies into Indian agriculture has been determined by these complex feudal legacies and land tenure systems."\(^{22}\)

After making a critical evaluation of various controversies, Sharma suggests that "One should respond to this change by making the observation that 'transformation' is the essence of Indian tradition and not the 'replacement'. The mode of production thesis assumes 'replacement' as the basic feature of Indian society and the protagonists of this view consider change as replacement and not as transformation."\(^{23}\)

D.P. Mukerji advocates for a typical Indian sociology. He has analysed the Indian social processes from a dialectical frame of reference and has focussed upon the encounter of Indian tradition with the Western tradition. The result of the encounter generates new kind of traditions and values which are neither similar


\(^{23}\) Ibid., p.142.
Mukerji writes: "Nationalism as such, however, is a Western value of recent times. Gandhiji invested in it with Indianness. So it cannot be confidently stated that these creative urges came only from Indian tradition." 24

D.P. Mukerji has thus presented a unique dialectical frame for the analysis of Indian society which is Indian tradition (thesis), western values (anti-thesis) and the encounter of the two (synthesis). Mukerji suggests an alternative for development in India through planning with dialectical frame of reference. He holds the view that the value of Indian traditions lies in the ability of their conserving forces to put a brake on hasty passage. The dialectical connection between the two ultimately ends in adjustment. P.C. Joshi 25 has cautioned that D.P. Mukerji's support for the study of Indian traditions should not be misunderstood as a plea for traditionalism. Mukerji was critical of Indian Marxists


for their indeference to Indian tradition. To Mukerji²⁶ the main reason of failure for communists and socialists in India in the field of intellect and the economic and political action was primarily due to their ignorance of Indian tradition and their unrootedness in Indian social reality.

The Marxian theories of development put much premium on the economic aspect ignoring other aspects of development. Their premise is built upon the simple assumption that other forms of development automatically follow the economic development.

Institutional Approach to Development

Radhakamal Mukherjee and Gunnar Myrdal suggest an 'Institutional Approach' to the problems of development and underdevelopment. The central idea behind this approach is that the problem of development does not exclusively fall in the realm of economics alone and, thus, cannot be understood in isolation. In this context, Mukherjee observes: "a study of

economics which neglects the history of agriculture and the transformation of rural economy cannot but be partial and incomplete."\(^{27}\) Mukherjee has drawn attention to the institutional framework of the Indian villages related with the property structure in land and other assets, caste system, mutual aid and communitarian forms of labour organization and community maintenance of artisans, labourers and servicing castes etc., which have emerged in response to economic necessity under specific geographical and ecological conditions and have been further re-inforced by moral and ethical compulsions.

It is, however, not necessary to disrupt this comprehensive framework or rural communalism for development. He thus pleads for a fresh look on the entire institutional framework inherited from tradition as indispensible in such situations.\(^{28}\)

Myrdal's "institutional theory" of development and under-development is based on the principle of "circular and cumulative causation". His principle

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"circular and cumulative causation" is an elaboration of the principle, earlier advocated by C.E.A. Winslow and R. Nurkse. This principle refers to a circular and cumulative process, continuously pressing levels downwards in which one negative factor is at the same time cause and effect of other negative factors. In fact, the earlier concept implies to a circular constellation of forces tending to act and react upon one another in such a way as to keep a poor country in a state of poverty. Myrdal's extension in this principle is that "Cumulative process goes in both direction".29 In his analysis, Myrdal considers it important that those facts which may otherwise cause increasing inequalities should be regulated in the cumulative process. Its central point is that the principle of interlocking and circular inter-dependence within a process of cumulative causation has validity over the entire field of social relations. The causes of inequality are both, economic and non-economic.

Myrdal holds equality as central issue in the problems of development of underdeveloped countries.

Inequality relates to all social and economic relationship. Therefore the issue of equality becomes an important element in all such programmes like community development, agricultural policy and educational reform. He concludes that "inequality and the trend toward rising inequality stand as a complex of inhibitions and obstacles to development and that consequently, there is an urgent need for reversing the trend and creating equality."  

Myrdal\(^\text{31}\) advances four arguments to give an answer to the question, why greater equality in underdeveloped countries is almost a condition for more rapid growth? These are as under:

i) Inequality of income is a condition for saving, has much less bearing on conditions in underdeveloped countries.

ii) In underdeveloped countries, large masses of people suffer from undernutrition, malnutrition and other serious defects in their levels of living which impairs their willingness to work


\(^{31}\) Ibid., pp.54-55.
and to work intensively, thus holds down production. This implies that measures to raise income levels of the masses would raise productivity.

iii) Greater economic equality would lead to greater social equality. As social inequality is generally detrimental to development, the greater equality would consequently lead to higher productivity.

iv) The quest for greater equality will lead to social justice, which in turn will play a positive role in national integration.

Tracing examples from Indian society Myrdal makes it clear that inherent inequality in traditional social stratification are obstacles in the process of development. Certainly caste system in India is an obvious obstacle. "It fortifies the contempt and disgust for manual work prevalent in all social strata. Since an orthodox Hindu regards not only those who perform this work but everyone outside his own caste as beyond the pale, it also warps and stultifies ordinary human feelings of brotherhood and compassion."32 These

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are the reasons on the basis of which Myrdal advocates that equality is a pre-requisite for the development. For equality in Indian society radical reform is needed. He holds that "Greater equality in underdeveloped countries is almost a condition for more rapid growth."33

S.C. Dube points out that Indian modernizing elite have prepared ambitious blueprints for national development. They are attempting to accelerate the process of transformation of Indian backward economy and pre-industrial technology. According to Dube this process of "economic development involves making critical discussions and choices at various steps in the different stage of the process. The decisions of the planner are often determined by anticipation of the likely reactions and possible preferences of those for whom he is planning."34

Efforts have been made to implement programmes of planned change to alter the existing social structure.


But the experience in the implementation of plans in the Indian society has increasingly brought home to the planners realization that traditional values and institutions play a vital role in determining the direction and rate of economic growth. "In consequence there is evidence of a growing concern for scientific appraisal and evaluation of human element and the value factors that influence economic development and technological change." Dube feels that to accelerate the process of economic development only the plans are not sufficient. For development, the structural context and the institutional framework within which the plans are to be implemented, must be taken into account. In this context he states that "In this connection it is necessary to examine the various elements of development programme severally and individually; first from the point of view of culturally perceived need and then from the point of view of compatibility with and adaptability to the ethos and idioms of the traditional culture." Dube has classified the impact of cultural factors on economic development programmes into two broad

35 Ibid., p.43.
36 Ibid., p.43.
categories: (1) the ideological and motivational, and (2) the institutional-organisational. The ideological-motivational framework consists of the elements like cultural orientation to life, time, wealth, work, experiment and innovation; and minimal consensus on such social goals as higher standard of living, education and health, and a system of incentives, rewards, sanctions and controls. The institutional-organizational framework constitutes structural units and their articulation, status system and mobility; patterns of authority and leadership; reference groups and patterns of identification and communication; structure and articulation of major institutions especially economic, political, religious and educational institutions; and systems of resource mobilization and role assignments.

The need, desirability, adaptability and compatibility of new items are assessed and evaluated according to the norms implicit in these frameworks. These norms and standards of judgement are determined by the cultural values.

Dube\(^\text{37}\) has pointed out four aspects of economic

\(^{37}\) Ibid., p.43.
development in the context of Hindu society. These are - land reforms, community development, industrialization and family. He explains how Indian social structure and major cultural aspects affect its economic development. Though there are several elements in the value-system that encourage and stimulate economic growth, it is the structural inadequacies which hamper the cause of modernization and development. If we could devise a strategy for the removal of these inadequacies, it might be quite possible to adopt these traditional values to the new ethos of development.

Bailey in his book "Caste and the Economic Frontier" makes it clear that caste sentiment in Indian society is so prevalent that two persons: one from high caste and other from lower caste, having same economic status, may not have equal social status. His contention is that the caste system or traditional social structure stands in the way of development. But the same could, to some extent, be removed through the implementation of administrative and judicial reforms. It is possible only when the economic status of the people is enhanced. Bailey in this context considers "wealth as ultimate
In support of his argument he refers to the example of shopkeepers with whom people avoid entanglement. They think that shopkeepers who have sufficient money to spent in litigation can make effective use of the government courts.

Bailey brings out the connection between the caste and the economic development and highlights its impact on the village social structure. He observes: "The man of Bisipara today derive their right to a share in the resources of production not by the membership of the caste but as citizens of India. In the village the hierarchy of caste groups is no longer a complete reflection of economic realities, nor an adequate means of ordering political relations. Under pressure of economic change the political function of caste are beginning to be taken over, as one might expect by ultimate political authority - the government of India." 39

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39 Ibid., p.275.
Diffusionist Approach to Development

The term "diffusion" here refers to the transfer of material, cultural and social elements from one society to another or from one part to a whole. There are many ways through which diffusion may take place. Some of them are as: imperialism, military occupations, missionary religions, migration, trade and transfer of knowledge.

Diffusionist approach to development views development as the consequence of diffusion of cultural elements from the developed to underdeveloped countries. The assumption behind this approach is that the underdeveloped societies lack knowledge, skills, organizations, values, technology and capital. Thus, for a switch-over from underdevelopment to development, it is imperative to assimilate these aspects of the developed countries. In this context Desai observes that "Efforts are even made to prescribe ways in which these elements could be diffused. Scholars are endeavouring to locate the factors - economic, social, institutional and cultural - in the underdeveloped societies which obstruct, distort or resist the absorption of these elements." 40

scholars have expressed different views about the successful diffusion of these elements. But one thing which is common among them is that the underdeveloped countries cannot overcome their backwardness without the assistance from the developed countries.

We propose to discuss some patterns of diffusion of material and non-material cultures in the Indian context. Diffusion of both the forms of culture plays a significant role in accelerating the process of development. The three great missionary religions of the world - the Buddhism, the Islam and the Christianity have, for instance, immensely influenced the social life in India and thereby the process of development. India after independence, became a major concern of interests for the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. - the two super-powers. In the process, both of them wanted to attract India towards their respective ideologies of capitalism and communism respectively. But India opted for a middle path (mixed economy) choosing the best parts of the both and other elements which could facilitate India’s speedy development.

In the contemporary world, the doctrine of
development has assumed great importance and universal acceptance. There are several doctrines of economic development related with different ideologies. For example, Gandhian ideology is related with the economic doctrine of swadeshi, self-reliant village community and trustship etc. The economic doctrine inherent in Marxism is the replacement of capitalist mode of production through socialist mode of production.

Different countries have also gone for different ideologies in opting for the basic strategies of development in the framework of their respective ideology. U.S.A., for instance, has opted for capitalism or free enterprise and Russia has accepted communism. These ideologies are, now, playing very important role in the technological diffusion. Moore, in this context, observes: "In fact communism is simply one alternative type of this doctrine. Now although the quest for economic growth appears materialistic, it is precisely the economy, and its associated technology, that are lagging and ideology that is leading. A worldly doctrine, it is single most successful conversion movement in the history of ideological diffusion." In fact, it is not only true in case of

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only developed communist countries alone, it is equally true for all developed countries. Aid to underdeveloped countries has become today the matter of ideological considerations. The developed countries in the name of aid (in the form of foodgrains and technologies) are ceaselessly trying to import their respective ideologies to underdeveloped countries. Ideology, thus, plays a very significant role to accelerate the process of development in a country.

In the context of diffusion of material culture in Indian rural society, general opinion is that government aims to reduce the hiatus between urban and rural life. One visible consequence is the mass exodus from rural areas and the acceptance of technology in the countryside. Frequent migration of rural people to the urban areas is resulting into depeasantization on the one hand, and import of craftsmanship, skills and factory products to the rural areas which in turn shows impact of urbanization on villages. The inconclusive results of the present programmes of rural development seem to indicate that what is actually taking place is the creation of totally new kinds of units, which are neither urban nor rural in the conventional sense.
We could infer from the above discussion that the impact of urbanization on villages is viewed as "development", and migration of the rural people to the urban centres is seen primarily as a social problem for those who manage India's urban structure. In this context Halpern observes: "Modern science and technology have made primary dependence on a man-land relationship within a village community increasingly unnecessary. Competing ideologies and government systems agree on this point as do village people throughout the world. It is the village people who are providing the force behind movements to more fully include them in a national system based on modern technology." 42

Thus technology is an essential requirement for modernisation of India's economy. Rural development requires a 'relevant technology' both for initiating the process and later for sustaining and consolidating the process. Mathew 43 opines that initial technology requirement may be met by a transfer of technology to


rural areas, which can be done in three different ways: (i) capital-embodied, i.e. incorporated in equipment and intermediate goods; (ii) as human-embodied, i.e. incorporated as knowledge and experience of human resources, and (iii) as disembodied technology, such as handbooks, product and process specification etc. Technology required for sustaining and consolidating the process of rural industrialization needs to be developed locally in each area.

Mellor also realises the importance of the diffusion of new technology for rural development in India. He stresses this point as the most important feature of rural development policy should be the generation of highly profitable new technology and its diffusion. Adelman and Dalton in the analysis of factors of modernization in village India observe that improvement in agricultural technology, commercialization and transportation are must for rural development. But


the basic hurdle which comes in the way of process of diffusion or in modernization is the traditional social structure and lack of awareness among rural people. Here role of mass media gets significance. In this context, Sharma and Singh\textsuperscript{46} indicate that mass media alone could enter the calculus of development and offer the greatest possibilities for effective action through its capability of disseminating technical expertise and useful knowledge among millions of villagers, particularly cultivators living in far-flung areas.

V.K.R.V. Rao observes about the impact of science and technology in the process of rural development as follows. The application of science and technology has very much influenced the methods of production. Its effective use in the agricultural sector in the form of extension in irrigation, chemical fertilisers and pesticides, high-yielding and fertiliser responsive seeds and chemico-genetic revolution in agricultural technology has not only raised area under cultivation but production also. It has brought prosperity to

certain selected rural classes and areas in the country.47

Government of India has passed many legislations and taken several steps in the context of planned change to create a responsive atmosphere for the diffusion of gains of science and technology in the rural areas. The abolition of the Jagirdari, Zamindari and Raitwari systems have reduced the major economic disparities in the rural society. The abolition of these systems and introduction of some land reforms have initiated in some measure the process of "equalization".

Thorner48 overemphasises the resistance put by the landowners to the changes in the patterns of land-ownership and control, but undermines the increasing awareness about these changes among the deprived sections. His approach thus represents only one side of the picture. In this context P.C. Joshi observes: "It is one thing to highlight the gap between actual accomplishment on the one hand and the possibilities of effecting changes on the requirements

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of the total transformation on the other. But it is quite another to see only changelessness where some change has occurred though not on the desired scale. What is more significant is that the areas of some perceptible change provide useful insights on the process of change. On the basis of these insights, forms of action can be devised so that areas of 'no change' or marginal change' can also be transformed into 'areas of perceptible change'.

To conclude we can say that the abolition of these systems along with other socio-economic and political reforms have initiated a series of processes which show changes in the social structure and the value-system. Along with this there are various other programmes which have been undertaken by the government for the development of agrarian society. These are: Community Development Programmes, Intensive Area Development Programme, High-Yielding Variety Programme, Multiple Cropping Programme, Integrated Rural Development Programme etc. A comment on these programmes will take place in the latter part

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of the chapter. But we can definitely say that the efforts to diffuse the gains of science and technology have received the attention of the people in the countryside. The percolation of these gains has been influencing rural economy to some extent.

**Development as a Governmental Ideology**

Rural development has acquired special significance in the countries of the Third World. The developing countries have been faced with the task of transferring a traditional society with low levels of literacy, political experience and production. These countries have experimented with various developmental plans and strategies to restructure and transform the traditional social structure in conformity with particular politico-economic goals. India, after independence, has launched vast programmes of "planned change" encompassing social, economic and political processes. Among the programmes of rural reconstruction, the Community Development and Panchayati Raj institutions have achieved special impetus.

Since Independence the government through its various plans and programmes initiated various measures
to accelerate the process of change and development in rural India. For an understanding of the patterns of development and change, it is imperative to see it in terms of the approaches adopted by the government. These approaches could be classified as (1) the "transformation" approach and (2) the "improvement" approach. The "transformation" approach aims at a radical change in the existing system in terms of scale of operation, production techniques, and socio-legal reforms. It may involve the implementation of new land tenure systems or the enactment of new forms of land legislations. The "improvement" approach aims to encourage agricultural development within existing peasant production system. This primarily concentrates on improving the productivity and the organization of production with a view to help the farmers through various plans and schemes.

**The Transformation Approach**

During the early years following India's independence in 1947, the major policy decision was the abolition of landlordism. Before independence three types of land tenures, namely, Jagirdari, Zamindari and
Raitwari were in existence. These systems determined the land relations of various socio-economic groups associated with agriculture. A.R. Desai observes: "In Zamindari area, the zamindar receives by far the larger share of agricultural income than the cultivating tenant. The staggering disparity between the colossal income of the former and meagre income of the latter is basically due to the zamindari type of land relations."  

Zamindars were the rural aristocrats and by right were superior to peasants. It implied a claim to a share in the produce of the soil which was completely distinct from the land revenue demand. The Zamindar's share was called 'Malikana', and it differed from state to state. The Zamindar also levied a cess, and exacted certain customary taxes from the peasants under him.

The origin of Jagirdari system in India could be traced from the Moughal period. The Jagirdars were

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officers and servants of the emperor, and the Jagirs were normally assigned to them in lieu of their pay and services rendered to the king. The Jagirdars or their agents could formally collect only authorised land revenue and other taxes. The Jagir of a person was usually transferred from one locality to another on every three or four years. In the Jagir area the Jagirdar had to pay 'tribute' to the ruler of State. The tributes paid by the Jagirdars were not subject to revision. The Jagirdars enjoyed freehold rights in respect of the land assigned to them.

Raitwari system had come into existence during British rule. It was an agreement directly arrived at between the government and raiyat or "cultivators" of land, to the complete exclusion of intermediaries. Under this agreement, "the Government usually sought to receive its due in the form of a money value fixed upon the actual fields under cultivation."\(^{53}\) In the Raitwari system money value was fixed according to a fixed

\(^{53}\) Mukherjee, N. and Frykenberg, R.E., "The Ryotwari System and Social Organization in Madras Presidency", in Frykenberg (ed) Land Control and Social Structure in Indian History, Manohar, New Delhi, 1979, p.238.
valuation of the soil in each field, supply of water, proximity to market and other specific local circumstances. The amount of revenue annually realized varied according to conditions affecting the crop instead of the size of the harvest. The rate of revenue was thus flexible and subject to periodical revision.

The Raitwari system differed basically from the Zamindari system "not so much in how revenue was assessed and taken from the ryot, whether by "fixed field" or by "fixed share" but by the number of non-governmental intermediaries and agents interspread between the Government and the cultivator or ryot."54 In fact, the relationship between land and people in India has been very complex. The land tenure systems have greatly influenced all aspects of life of the people in the rural areas. The Jagirdars and Zamindars used to intervene in every walk of social and cultural life of the people. The standard of life of a village community generally reflects the amount of wealth at its disposal and the manner in which it is distributed among various sections of the community. Desai observes: "The standard of the

54 Ibid., p.238.
life of the farmers approximates more to that of the lower strata of the city population.\footnote{55}

The abolition of these land tenure systems aims at the reducing of the gap between the landed interests and the tenants and farm workers. But the impact of these legislations and such other measures has been uneven. In some areas, its impact is even insignificant. These land reforms have not taken into account the vast variability of these land tenure systems. In this context Sharma observes: "The legislators and planners did not have a proper view of the diversified nature of the Indian social structure which has had a close connection with the systems of land relations. The view that various systems of land tenure had the same order of feudalism have not been corroborated by the changes in the post-independence period. These land tenure systems were related to the variations in agrarian social structure. Thus a uniform social order did not exist."\footnote{56}

While the basic motive on which the land reforms were based, was the acceptance of the principle that

\footnote{56} Sharma, K.L., op.cit., 1986, p.139.
"land must belong to the tiller. Exploitation of all sorts must be eliminated." 57 Restrictions were also imposed on prevention of eviction, resumptions of land, regulating 'voluntary surrenders', extent of land that can be retained by the landlord for personal cultivation, regulation of subletting etc. This had created a new class of 'protected tenants' with heritable and transferable occupancy rights. To accelerate the process of disposal of tenancy cases, special land tribals were created.

The decision in opting for land reform as a development strategy has, in fact, resulted from the recognition of a growing agrarian problem characterized by major disparities in the distribution and control of land by various rural groups, and by the political exigency of having to deal with a peasantry which has had to begin to initiate or threaten, the grabbing of land held by larger landowners.

The **Improvement Approach**

The starting point of improvement approach could be traced from the development policies pursued by

British colonial government in Africa, India and elsewhere. In India, the improvement approach was extended considerably after Independence. India's first Five Year Plan has clearly stated that one of its aims was to increase agricultural production through the application of scientific knowledge and capital investment, and that this was to be achieved mainly through increased agricultural production.

The improvement approach to agricultural development has, indeed, incorporated "a set of proposals for organizational changes at the village level that carried the potentiality for mobilizing effective public opinion as a sanction in enforcing plan policies of agrarian reforms. The core of approach was the recommendation for a Community Development Programme. Like its predecessor, the constructive programme, it was designed to stimulate popular pressures for social reform from below that would ultimately make institutional change inevitable, while avoiding the destabilizing effects of a frontal attack on the prerogatives of the propertied classes."58

Now, we propose to critically examine and evaluate the work performed by several developmental agencies related to the process of development in rural India.

**Community Development Programme**

The Planning Commission in India under its supervision started first fifty-five Community Development Projects on October 2, 1952. Actually, it was a programme of intensive agricultural development, located in the areas where irrigation facilities were available or required rainfall was expected. This programme had two broad objectives: the one, "to provide for a substantial increase in the country's agricultural production, and for improvements in the system of communications in rural health and hygiene and village education", and the second, "to initiate and direct a process of integrated culture change aimed at transforming the social and economic life of the villages". The basic motive behind Community Development Programme was essentially to establish cooperative and panchayat institutions in the rural

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areas to make the village as the primary unit of economic and political action. The main thrust behind this proposal was "to use cooperatives as the major instrument of rural economic development appealed to socialist and Gandhian planners alike as desirable in itself for reversing the trend towards individualism and class division." 60

The impact of Community Development Programme on different segments of Indian society has been critically analysed in many empirical and theoretical studies. S.C. Dube's study on Community Development Programme is mainly concerned with the responses of change in the context of different segments of the rural population and the role of state officials and extension workers as agents of social change. To A.R. Desai, 61 the Community Development Programmes have created an alarming situation by helping only the substantial farmers, and by creating a sense of feeling of deprivation among the lower sections. Domination of upper strata in the organization, and the

60 Frankel, F.R., op.cit., 1984, p.103.
people's lack of enthusiasm towards it have also been reported in various studies. The major reasons attributed for its ineffectiveness are elite bias, bureaucratization, the absence of electoral representation and the flow of decisions from top to bottom. The initial philosophy behind Community Development Programmes was the all-round development of the rural society, but it has tended to reinforce a marked pattern of inequality based on differential access to new technology and infrastructural facilities.

Frankel's view is that even "the planners were not naive about the practical obstacles to the reconstruction of the village community as the basic unit of social action in helping the growth of inequality and the emergence of class interests of modern times. She quotes Tarlok Singh, "For several decades, as well-knit social organization, the village community has been slowly but steadily declining. As the pursuit of individual interest within and outside the village had become more common, the influence of community over its members had diminished. The growth of inequality in the

ownership of land, transfers of land to non-cultivators and migration to towns are evidence of these trends... the conflict of interest within the village community have sharpened and the process continues. There are, however, few values which can be said to be common for the whole community, and certainly there is no common purpose which inspires all section equally."^63

Kusum Nair^64 has attempted to depict as far as possible a truely representative picture of human situation in rural India during the post-independence period. She reveals that all the rural development programmes undertaken by governments to accelerate the process of development could not succeed to achieve its end. They have badly failed without any success. It seems that Kusum Nair, in her depiction of a representative picture of Indian rural society, has used enough black paint of her stock in highlighting the misery and poverty in the rural areas. She has thus ignored to present the positive aspects of the developmental

63 Ibid., p.103.
64 Nair, Kusum, Blossoms in the Dust; The Human Element in Indian Development, Allied Publishers Pvt.Ltd., New Delhi, 1961, p.xxiii.
programmes. The developmental programmes however, on the whole, despite of their shortcomings, have accelerated the pace of agricultural development and have contributed a lot in arousing peoples consciousness and awareness about the modern means of agriculture.

**Panchayati Raj**

In January 1957, Balvant Rai Mehta Study Team was appointed to study and evaluate the functioning of the Community Development Projects and National Extension Service Scheme in the country. It was to assess the extent to which the movement was successful in creating social and economic conditions for rural development. The study team in its report offered two main recommendations: (i) there should be decentralization of administration and it should be under the statutory control of elected bodies and only this decentralized administration could effectively implement the programmes of rural development, (ii) the basic unit of democratic decentralization should form the Block or the Panchayat Samiti.

After the approval of the report by the National Development Council, Panchayati Raj institutions covered almost all the states during a short period. Ashok Mehta
Committee, in its report in 1978, has offered a detailed account of the functioning of Panchayati Raj institutions in different states and provides a valuable insight into the structural and operational aspects of Panchayati Raj. It states that in a country, like India's size and diversity, certain unevenness in performance is inevitable. The Committee recommends for the establishment of democratic bodies below the state level as an imperative from the political and socio-developmental perspectives. Democratic institutions with periodic elections at all levels will provide a forum for all sections of society to actively participate in the processes of political assertion of their strength in large number by the weaker sections and economic development at the local level. It has also recommended the transfer of substantial quantum of power from the state level to local level.

A number of reports in the past have hinted at the effectiveness of the Panchayati Raj institutions in the country. The important reasons attributed to its ineffectiveness

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are the structural inadequacy of the institutions, role of bureaucracy, lack of political will and absence of conceptual clarity. But, time and again, a number of initiatives have been taken to improve upon the functioning of Panchayati Raj institutions.

Panchayati Raj has been viewed as an attempt to implement the process of democratic decentralization, a shift from a highly centralized and elitist political system to a pluralistic and a participant political system. This has broken the long standing practices of centralised authority that characterized the governance of India even before the British rule. The general political background of this move was the enfranchisement of the masses, who with universal adult franchise became a significant determinant of Indian politics. Thus the introduction of Panchayati Raj had the effect of establishing an entirely separate line of administration for economic development reaching down from the state to the village, as well as creating a set of elective institutions pushing up from the village to the higher levels of

government. Panchayati Raj institutions, functioning as channels of distribution of governmental plan expenditures, both in terms of cash subsidy as well as different agricultural inputs, have administered enormous economic funds and resources to accelerate the process of rural development.

**Green Revolution**

The form and consequences of green revolution have been the subject of discussion in different disciplines from time to time. The studies on Green Revolution could be classified into two broad categories. The first highlights its positive and optimistic aspect, and the second points out the evidences of the negative consequences of the green revolution. But the more important to see here is: what it means? And who profits from it?

Some of the aspects which are unintended and virtually neglected are those of unfortuitous expansion of acreage devoted to High Yielding Variety Programmes. Its effects on nature, nutrition and most significantly, its wider propaganda to push it as an alternative to land reforms and other structural alternatives are the focal points of debate. "The general exaggerated expectations
based on ideal field trials were not fulfilled. New
seeds have been mainly beneficial in terms of wheat, "67
(which makes some to call "wheat revolution") and to
some extent "rice and maize". The other gains were
neglected. Even wheat yields had begun to stagnate by
1970's. There has been to some extent an increase in
food production but at the expense of non-food
production. 68 All these and other observations indicate
that purely localized gains have been made by the rich
farmers in particular areas. The Green Revolution has
although succeeded in its ostensible goal of producing
more food, it has essentially failed in terms of human
needs and aspirations. 69

Small Farmer's Development Agency and
Marginal Farmer's and Agricultural
Labourer's Agency

These agencies aim to ameliorate the lot of
small and 'sub-marginal' farmers. The scheme was

67 Day, A.K., "Green Revolution Contrasts -
'rice and 'wheat", Economic and Political Weekly,
No. 25, June 1977, p. 921.

68 Dharm Narain, "Growth and Imbalance in Indian
Agriculture", Journal of Indian Society of
Agricultural Statistics, June 1972.

69 Desai, M.D., "Small Farmers Development
Agencies - Experience in Surat District",
Economic and Political Weekly, No. 31,
initiated during 1970-71, but the programmes were put into operation during 1971-72. These agencies as corporate and autonomous bodies are required to function at the district level with the district head as the chairman of S.F.D.A. and M.F.A.I. The district officers of other development departments as well as the representatives of the institutional agencies are also involved in the execution of this programme.

The functions of SFDI are: (i) to identify the eligible small farmers to be covered under the scheme in its area; (ii) to investigate and identify their problems; (iii) to formulate programmes incorporating suitable measures to deal with the problems; and (iv) to devise ways and means for implementing the programmes.

The role of MFAL agencies is that of a catalyst. But the focus of their attention is on marginal farmers and agricultural labourers, whose interests are to be promoted through the generation of fruitful employment.


*Ibid., p.96.*
The agencies have been created with a basic motive to raise the earning capacity of the target groups, which sought to be achieved through programmes relating to improved agricultural and subsidiary occupations etc., while the focal point of SFDA directed towards intensive farming, the MFAL stressed on the provision of subsidiary occupations and other employment generating programmes.

Due to built-in inadequacies and limitations of these agencies, the programmes of development made to suffer. S.R. Maheshwari in this context observes: "The lack of sufficient credit facilities has been a major constraint on small and marginal farmers in adopting improved agricultural techniques and undertaking economic activities." 72

Studies conducted in this area have indicated that these agencies have marginally helped the small farmers and the landless labourers. A study of Small Farmer Development Agency reveals that "S.F.D.A. is not structured in such a manner that the target farmers of backward area could get benefit; on the contrary farmers

72 Ibid., p.97.
in the relatively better off areas would get substantial benefit." 73

A study conducted by the programme evaluation organization of Planning Commission has also revealed that "wrong persons benefitted at times, under the rural sector scheme of S.F.D.A., and Marginal Farmers and Agricultural Labourers." 74

It happens frequently partly because of administrative drawbacks (such as improper identification of the target groups) and partly because of the hinderance created by the socio-political structure of the village.

Since the SFDA scheme covers 'potentially viable' small farmers, it becomes imperative to consider whether the concept of viability should have a uniform pattern for the country as a whole or it should have regional variations. Furthermore, after having formulated appropriate strategy, the SFDA should work to phase out the financial as well as such other requirements over


74 The Times of India, April 23, 1979.
a years of time. There is, however, substantial gap between the performance and the targets laid down under these programmes. "In fact they were not tailored to the needs of farmers and farms, instead farmers were to adjust themselves to the programmes designed and given by different departments."75

The basic philosophy behind these governmental plans is to accelerate the process of agricultural development and thereby to set in motion the "Green Revolution in the country. Reports, both official and non-official, indicate that in the process of agricultural breakthrough and achievements, only a section of agricultural population has derived maximum benefits and the bulk of farmers have suffered. Such huge imbalances have created wide gaps between the two sets of farmers, the big and the small. Prasad in this context observes: "The enormous economic power which gets concentrated in the process in the hands of landlords and the rich peasants makes them politically powerful and thus allows them to dominate over the social and economic activities

of the area. They claim the bulk of the benefits that flow in the area, in the name of developmental activities of the government."76

**Integrated Rural Development Programme**

It is claimed that the concept of Integrated Rural Development was originally propounded by the World Bank. This, through the processes of rural development, was to integrate rural poor into the social, political and economic life of the country. In the Indian context, it is more than the 'community development'. In India, the concept was put forward in the year 1976 by C. Subramanyam, the then Finance Minister of India as: "Systematic scientific and integrated use of all our natural resources and as part of this process enabling to engage himself in a productive and socially useful occupation and earn an income that would meet at least the basic needs."77

Lalit Sen78 discusses the concept of "integrated

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area development" in much detail. Its twin aspects are functional and spatial. Here integration refers to the appropriate location of social and economic activities over a physical space for the balanced development of a region.

G. Parthasarathy\textsuperscript{79} refers to four "routes" in the context of the Integrated Rural Development: (i) the institutional route of Gunnar Myrdal, (ii) the 'New Economics' route, (iii) the Neo Marxian route and (iv) the Gandhian route. V.K.R.V. Rao defines this concept as "the optimum utilization of the natural and human resources of a given rural area for the enrichment of the quality of life of the population."\textsuperscript{80}

The Integrated Rural Development Programme was introduced in India in 1979-80, to ameliorate socio-economic conditions of the weaker sections of rural society below poverty line including small and marginal farmers and the agricultural and non-agricultural labourers. It is


essentially a programme for the rural poor with much wider set of activities.

During the Sixth Plan, IRDP was basically an anti-poverty programme. It estimated 350 million people living below poverty line, of which 300 million living in the rural areas comprising small and marginal farmers, landless labourers, rural artisans and other workers. To bring them above poverty line, the IRDP programme has formulated specific schemes of benefit-oriented assistance. It aimed at the increased production and productivity in agriculture and allied sectors, as well as imparting assets and skills to increase the earnings of vulnerable groups in the rural sector.

The target group of the IRDP comprises of the weaker sections of the rural population, which includes the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, agricultural and non-agricultural labourers, rural artisans, marginal and small farmers and those below the poverty line. Under the I.R.D.P. programme family forms an unit for assistance. The assistance is mainly in the form of subsidies and loans to raise the level of income of the rural poor by investing it in income generating activities.
In the Sixth Plan Rs.1,500 crores were allocated for I.R.D. Programmes with a provision to provide half of the money by the Central Government and the another half to be met by the State Governments. Around Rs.35 lakhs were earmarked for each community development block. The I.R.D. Programme is not confined only to agriculture. It also covers animal husbandry, minor irrigation, sericulture, horticulture, fisheries, small and cottage industries including the services and the business activities.

It is entirely in the perview of the administrative machinery to bear the responsibility of formulation and execution of the I.R.D. Programmes. The main drawback with these programmes is that these programmes are central government's sponsored programmes, and its guidelines are worked out by the Centre which leaves hardly any scope for change in the context of rural local situations.

Analysis of the social consequences of rural development policies needs a systematic and thorough evaluation of the plans of rural development involving in different dimensions of the planning process. This can be viewed in terms of the government's programmes of development in affecting the rural population; the
emerging patterns of social and economic differentiations in the rural areas, as a result of change in the Indian social system and the social basis of leadership formation and their roles in social change and development.

A.M. Khusro's study reveals that land reforms had led to a marked decline of tenancy and increase in owner cultivation. However, he was not sure about how much land was recovered from landlords. How much they had retained and how much was leased out to other tenants? Another important fact of the study is that landlords have retained best land for themselves while unproductive or less productive land has been given to tenants.

Dandekar and Khudanpur in their study of an extraiyatwari area of Bombay observes as follows: "Firstly, the extensive resumptions and changes of tenants that took place even after the enforcing of the Act showing that the protection given to the tenants could not be effective in practice, secondly more or less a normal

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market in land showing that the provision for promoting the transfer of lands into the hands of tillers were not quite effective and thirdly, an almost complete absence of any signs of lowering the share and cash rents or of any changes in tenancy practices.\textsuperscript{32}

The authors conclude that "for all practical purposes the Act did not exist."\textsuperscript{33}

There are various other studies\textsuperscript{34} which hold an identical view. But Rajendra Singh's study shows a different point of view. To him, "these are rather extreme and unrealistic statements... Had land reform policy been a fiasco and hoax the rise of middle class peasantry would not have been possible."\textsuperscript{35}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{33} Ibid., p.187.
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After a careful study of the policies of land reforms and its impact on Indian social structure we can conclude that (i) land reforms or policies have broken the old tenancy arrangements in most parts of the country; and (ii) the impact of land reforms have been uneven. The reforms have not uniformly affected different sections of Indian peasantry. The beneficiaries in such cases have been mostly large occupancy tenants while the small tenants and tenants-at-will are adversely affected.

The agrarian reforms in India have been moderate in nature without any radical or conservative contents. They have followed the middle path as "a middle of the road agrarian reform policy has less social cost because it serves the general interest better than a drastic reform policy." In evaluating the "middle of the road policy therefore, its dual significance must be borne in mind. It is simultaneously anti-big landlord and anti-rural poor, furthering the limited class interests in the rising intermediate classes. It is noteworthy

that the most important characteristic of the middle of the road land policy was that it was most favourable to the interests of the intermediate classes and least concerned with the interests of the rural poor.\textsuperscript{87} Rajendra Singh's\textsuperscript{88} study in Uttar Pradesh confirms Joshi's viewpoint. He is of the view that the State of Uttar Pradesh has failed in relating its land policies in benefitting the poorest of the poor - the Harijans and other landless castes forming the bulk of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes population in the state. In providing an answer to the question that only the intermediate castes are the maximum beneficiary from these land reform policies he argues that this group of tenants have joint family structure which provides free labour and spare some of them to go to urban centres to earn and send back cash earning to the villages. They have thus the tendency to accumulate money and purchase the land of ex-zamindars who parted it off by selling in order to escape from the land ceiling laws.

\textsuperscript{87} Ibid., p.28.

\textsuperscript{88} Singh, R., op.cit., 1982, p.31.
Rajendra Singh further maintains that this new class has reduced the control of ex-zamindars on land and even in some cases they have surpassed their ex-masters. This rich middle-lower caste cultivator's group is conservative, politically alive, numerically strong and a reckonable force to arbitrate for its interests.

The introduction of Panchayati Raj institutions and Community Development Programmes have further helped in the strengthening of intermediate castes. The new political institutions have brought in qualitative and quantitative changes in the traditional and rural power structure. The intermediate castes are emerging as a dominant force in the rural areas to share power with the dominant castes.

Leadership as an area of research in India has attracted social scientists from different disciplines to analyse and interpret the phenomena of leadership. In the analysis of the phenomena of leadership, the types and characteristics of leadership have been the subject of frequent reference with particular reference to Community Development Programmes and Panchayati Raj institutions in India. These studies, however, vary in
relations to the nature and context of the problem. Dhillon, in his study of a South Indian village, classifies leaders into three categories: the primary, the secondary and the tertiary, in relation to the influence and the hierarchical status of leadership in the village Panchayat operating in the village itself without any outer influence. On the other hand Lewis study of a North Indian village reveals the emergence of new leadership altering the traditional base of power in terms of its characteristic and the socio-economic factors in leadership formation, and has also shown that the patterns of influence and communication within extended family groups reaches out to several villages. Evelyn Wood, in his analysis of leadership formation, finds that the traditional leadership still continues to be powerful. Its supremacy is, however, being challenged in some areas by the new forces operating within rural India. Hitchcock, on the contrary, finds that the traditional leadership is becoming less effective and

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is slowly being replaced by the change-oriented leadership.

Several studies dealing with the Panchayati Raj and rural social structure provide information regarding the process of leadership formation and the subsequent structural changes in the rural community power structure. Dube\textsuperscript{93} has analysed the traditional structure of authority in rural areas. He has seen the gradual replacement of ascriptive order by the achievement order in the rural areas. Singh,\textsuperscript{94} on the other hand, in his analysis of traditional and emerging power structure in rural areas, has found the dominance of upper castes and classes who still continue to dominate in holding the positions of power in the villages. He feels that secular democratic value-system as the basis of new power system has not yet found place in rural social structure. The village power system is more accessible to the economically dominant groups in the society. While Rajendra Singh\textsuperscript{95} in his study observes the emergence of new economic powerful force of intermediate castes in the same areas.

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95 & Singh, R., op.cit., 1982. \\
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Our analysis of the processes of change and development makes it evidently clear that in spite of the fact that there is perceptible change towards the concentration of social, economic and political positions of power and the traditional base of power is gradually being weakened, the upper castes and classes of the society still continue to hold power in the rural areas. The affluent intermediate castes are making substantial efforts to come up in the village power structure as a formidable force to share socio-economic and political power in the rural areas. The government's sponsored schemes like SFDA and MFAL have further strengthened their economic base. The funds and facilities made available under such schemes have resulted into inequalities in helping the well-off sections of the society. The economic gains and benefits are mostly reaching to a limited group of individuals from the dominant upper caste and class groups in consolidating their economic base. The weaker sections of the society including Scheduled Castes have not been able to reap the benefits of the development plans as factors such as built-in-inadequacies in the polity and development
administration, caste and kinship have adversely affected their participation.

**Caste System and Development**

In its traditional form, the caste system as anascriptive system of status and hierarchy, has influenced all aspects of social, economic and political life in the Indian society. The caste being the predominant feature of Indian social structure has drawn at large the attention of contemporary social scientists as to regard caste as the most significant factor influencing the processes of economic and political development.

There is a very close relationship between the social stratification and the political systems. Whereas the system of social stratification provides a broad framework for the functioning of the political system, the system of social stratification has a direct bearing on the functioning of the political system. Caste system makes available to the leadership structural and ideological bases for political mobilization, the mobilization of political support, makes the social structure of caste as an exclusive support base. In this process, both the
caste and the political system are brought into to interact and to influence each other. Caste being the basic category of social stratification has very much influenced the social bases of leadership formation in India. In the past, at the local level, the dominant caste was often the focus of power. Now because of change in Indian social system and the changing political structure, the distributive aspects of relationship between caste and the positions of power have undergone perceptible change and new sets of relationships have emerged in the sphere of political power.

Earlier attempts to analyse the phenomenon of charge and development were mainly concerned with the interaction between the socio-cultural aspects of the traditional Indian social structure and the modern forces of change. The caste in India, as a static, rigid and hierarchical system has been viewed as an obstacle to rapid economic growth. But now with a change in the cultural situation in modern India, the primitive and stagnant religious traditions have undergone change and have given way for the emergence of the modern forces of change and development. Thus the earlier notions
that the caste as an obstacle to economic development needs fresh re-examination.

The "funds and facilities" made available under the plans of rural development have been a part of increasing inequalities in helping the upper echelons of society. The economic gains and benefits are mostly reaching to a limited group of individuals from the dominant upper castes. Along with the upper castes the well off agriculture middle caste groups have also been substantially benefitted. The weaker sections of the society have not, so far, been able to avail substantial benefits of development plans.

The built-in structural and socio-economic inequalities in Indian society have perpetuated the cumulative process of inequality. The initial distribution of economic assets and the right of ownership of land which the traditional upper castes enjoyed at the exclusion of other sections of the society has helped them to avail the major share of the benefits. Although the Zamindari system has been abolished and several land reforms too have been undertaken, the lacuna and inadequacies in these land reforms, have left the traditional rural
social structure almost unchanged. The upper castes have still wide control over village land which has immensely helped them to avail the major share of economic benefits. The intermediate farming castes have also drawn substantial benefits. The lower middle and the lower castes including Scheduled Castes have not been able to take the advantages of the programmes of development to the extent they were to be benefitted by these schemes.