CHAPTER I

THE LEADERSHIP AT GRASS ROOTS
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CHAPTER I

THE LEADERSHIP AT GRASS-ROOTS

I. Development Administration in the Third World Perspective

Development is the central theme of political processes in all countries, especially in the developing 'Third World Countries'. Development is change which is translated differently by different people and explained equally differently with reference to their priorities and achievements. There is no agreement on one single universal meaning that could be attached to it. The process of development operates on the whole system, its structures and the norms of behaviours of these structures. The old norms become inadequate to explain or justify the new relationship introduced through development. The end effect of this process is change in the set of relationships and the holding values. Development a change in the predetermined direction thus ends in modernization. Chi-Yuen-Wu describes development as a "process of societal transformation from a traditional society to a modern society and such a transformation is also known as modernization".
Development is a comprehensive process reflecting a state of mind and tendency rather than a particular fixed goal. What is crucial is the rate of change in a particular direction (Edward Weinner)\(^2\) and the dynamics of change without positing a final matured condition. (Namesh K Arora)\(^3\). The 'Third World Countries' are anxious to cover the backlog as such they are not contained with an incremental change as the West would now afford. The have set in the goal of comprehensive overall development and are mustering all the available resources to realize this goal. Such a process of development is reflected in differentiated structures of administration, their new roles and the subsequent orientation of bureaucracy towards administering the desired change. John D. Montogomery \(^4\) also emphasises this aspect of change as a process "desirable, broadly predicted or atleast influenced by governmental action". The governmental system as the main actor, influences the process of change and at times as in 'Third World Countries' plans and administers this change. Change has to be a positive process both quantitatively and qualitatively introducing 'the desirable' and at the same time introducing it at an increasing rate. Development' endeavouring to realize a 'matured condition' by establishing an enduring relationship therefore becomes a
The classical view of public administration emphasised exclusively on the administrative role of the governmental bureaucracy. It restricted bureaucracy to the conventional tasks such as law and order, defence, collection of taxes and diplomacy. When public administration had to deal with the problems of decision making and decision executing in the 'Third World Countries', the limitations of the classical view became apparent. These countries were facing the problem of administering social change with the help of an administrative system which was limited to capabilities and alien to the task. In consequence arose the concept of 'development administration' to substantiate the basic role of administration that of functioning as a purposive instrument of social planning and the execution of change. As an instrument of change, public administration has an obligation to serve the cause of the society and to cover accordingly larger areas and larger varieties of development programmes. It is this which elevates the status of public administration to a dynamic process - 'the Movement in the Third World' context.

Public administration therefore, does not remain as a mere mechanism or an instrument in the hands of
administrators or individual ruler. It encompasses larger developments of society from law and order to community development and social welfare. This concern for humanity elevates the movement to a higher moral plateau.

The concept of development administration, comprehensive and complex by nature can be described and defined in different ways. Many scholars have defined development administration emphasising its different facets. Donald C. Stone looks at it as, "blending of all the elements and resources (human and physical) ... into the concerted effort to achieve agreed upon goals'. To him development administration is a continuous process of formulating, implementing and then evaluating the interrelated plans, programmes and policies so as to attain certain predetermined development objectives in a scheduled time sequence. It would cover all administrative processes from determining the object to its final realization.

Similarly John D. Montgomery observed development administration as one to 'carry out a planned change in the economy (in agriculture or industry or capital infrastructure supporting either of these) and, to a lesser extent, in the social services of the state (especially education and health)'. The process of
modernization needs to penetrate in primary and industrial sectors of the economy. This can be achieved by providing infrastructure facilities say to agricultural and industrial sectors and also to social service sectors like education and primary health. Introduction of modern methods of agriculture like propagation of high yielding varieties of crops, increasing use of fertilizers indicate some of the areas of modernization in agriculture. Widening educational opportunities to the remotest areas or introduction of primary health centres indicate modernizing trends in these areas. This would collectively end in an allround social transformation.

This transformation would be reflected and visualised in socio-economic and political segments of the society. It may be reflected in the increase in per capita income at the national economy or larger social improvement through the extension of civic services in general and educational and health services in 'particular'. This change would affect positively the capabilities of the political system and culminate itself into a comprehensive process of modernization. With this perspective, development becomes a complex phenomenon comprising of many dimensions - social, economic, political and administrative. And it is in this context
that development administration can rightly be considered as an 'action oriented, goal oriented administrative system'.

The 'Third World Countries' as a class are exposed to the process of change i.e., the process of development. It has been a common idiom with the governing elites of these countries. They are utilizing every platform institutional, associational, formal and informal to spell out the concept of development, its impact on economic and political spheres and the need for concerted efforts to sustain this country wide phenomenon of predetermined change.

Public administration in the 'Third World Countries' is therefore having a very crucial role in extending development and strengthening its processes in all walks of life. It is this contextual salience which makes Nimod Rapheli to say that, "the concept of development administration has been exclusively used with reference to the developing nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America".

By the end of the 'Second World War', many countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America got independence. Economies of these newly independent countries were experiencing a 'retarded development' in agricultural and
industrial sectors. This was naturally the outcome of the earlier imperial exploitation of these countries by their colonial masters. They conceived state in a negative aspect and maintained minimum state services like law and order and collection of taxes. With political freedom, the newly born 'Third World Countries' had to assume a positive role in terms of modernization and development and elevate the process of community development to the larger process of nation building. The post second world war saw the 'Third World' ushered into an era of 'Welfare State'. The governments had ceased to be merely the 'keeper of peace, the arbitrator of disputes and the provider of common and mundance services and (now) assumed a positive role in realizing the welfare of the people'.

II. Development and Democracy

Development not only means physical development in 'bricks and mortar' but also development of faith in social and political institutions of the society. The faith in democratic means is one of the main foundations of development. Development and democracy are naturally interlinked and are symbiotic in relation. The committee on Plan Projects, National Development Council, Government of India, 1957, (popularly known as the
Balwantrai Mehta Committee) realizing that, development needs community consciousness as its base, in its report mentioned that, "Development of a community can take place only when the community understands its problems, realizes its responsibilities, exercises the necessary powers through its close representatives and maintains a constant and intelligent vigilence on local administration".  

The success of development administration needs larger community support for its programmes. This could be achieved by decentralizing administrative powers and by devolving these powers upon the local government bodies. To a developing democratic nation, decentralization is therefore not only a prerequisite for socio-economic and political development but equally also for the proper functioning of democracy itself. Democracy enriches man behind development and in practice reinforces development. "Democracy without development is not worth retaining so also, development without democracy is not worth achieving."

This is more relevant to those 'Third World Countries' which have adopted western prototype of democracy. Such a system lives on a popular participative process of change. Government as the most organized force
does play a prominent role. The role is more of influencing than predominating. It is more of co-ordinating than controlling nature. Indian democracy is representative of such countries. It is the biggest democracy in the 'Third World', and very much desires to stabilize itself and achieve its threefold objectives - social, economic and political development and thereby set a leading example for other countries. This could only be realized through active co-operation and involvement of the people in the process of change. The Third Five Year Plan of India in its objectives therefore clearly states that, "it is a basic premise of India's Five Year Plans that, through democracy and wide spread public participation development along socialist lines will secure rapid economic growth and expansion of employment, reduction of disparities in income and wealth, prevention of concentration of economic power and creation of the values of a free and equal society."  

Citizens' co-operation and participation in development schemes and welfare activities is thus an accepted means to realize change, make it steady and provide thereby a foundation for the maintenances and progress of the nation.

III. Development in the Indian Context

India is known by her villages, 'Real India lives in seven hundred thousand villages'. Development of these
villages so is basic for its over all development. Most of the area even now continues to be rural and more than three-fourth of its population lives in villages. The 1981 Census figure makes this clear as 78.19 percent of the Indian population lives in rural areas and out of this 50.82 percent lives below the poverty line. Thus, an integrated strategy of rural development acquires significance in the Indian context.

Even today Gandhiji's view that 'real India lives in villages' holds relevance. He perceived development of India through the over all development of the country side. In 1935 he wrote, "If India is not to perish, we have to begin with the lower rung of the ladder. If that was rotten, all work done at the intermediate rungs was bound to ultimately fall".

Agriculture is the backbone of the Indian economy and as such is the prime thrust area of development. More than 80 per cent of her population is directly or indirectly associated with it. The agricultural sector contributes nearly 45 per cent of the total income and provides employment to about 70 per cent of the country's labour force. It is in this context that an overall observation was made that, improvement and change in the national output depended on the improvement and change in the output in agriculture. Thus, there is a general
and obvious thinking to equate rural development with the development of the agricultural sector.

Truly, agricultural development cannot be overlooked in the process of rural development. But considering large scale inequalities in agricultural land holdings, the attendant poverty and unemployment and also the hierarchically rigid social structure, rural development in India cannot be equated with agricultural development only, however important it would be in the overall rural development. In a country where more than 50 per cent of population (50.82 - 1981 Census) lives below the poverty line and millions are unemployed, increase in the standard of living of these poor, deprived, ignorant, illfed, unemployed people should be equally the thrust of rural development.¹⁶

Development in the real sense therefore could be realized by supplementing agricultural development by improvement in the quality of life in rural areas. This in turn would be realized by enabling people to have additional incomes and supplementing the income from agriculture by gainful employment in allied sectors like cottage industries, by extending health services to the remotest areas and by widening educational opportunities such as formal and elementary education for the young and
informal education for the adult, adding to their quality of life and to their capacity to retain it.

Rural development in India, (and the 'Third World Countries' in general) should therefore link development in agriculture with growth in employment and income and its redistribution through suitable institutions. It should allow benefits of modern technology to cover larger areas of activities and to reach the weaker sections of the rural population. Development strategy that aims at increasing in the income of the majority of rural population would therefore be the most relevant strategy.

IV. Panchayati Raj—an Indian Experiment to Achieve Development

In a country like ours, where more than three-fourth of its total population lives in villages, development essentially means rural local development and aims at improving the living conditions of the people. This is realized by providing basic amenities by increasing production and employment opportunities and by developing rural resources for productive purposes. Development is development of its villages where life is still beset with illiteracy, ignorance, poverty and illhealth. This integrated development of the area and the people could
be realized through "optimum development and utilization (and conservation where necessary) of local resources - physical, biological and human - and by bringing about necessary institutional, structural and attitudinal changes through a package of services. This will encompass not only the economic field; i.e. agriculture and allied activities and rural industries but also social service field by establishing the required social infra-structure and by providing services in the area, of health and nutrition, sanitation, housing, drinking water and literacy with an ultimate objective of improving the quality of life of the 'rural poor' and the 'rural weak'."

To sustain these comprehensive developmental efforts we need an institutional apparatus which can protect this process as an ongoing activity. A.B.Lewis has stated that, "if an under-developed nation wants to achieve economic development, it must first change its governmental structure, so as to provide local self-government for its villages and rural districts." While looking back into our history, one can see that, there was a well developed local self-government institution which existed during the Vedic period. The Panchayats or village governments as these were called were ancient institutions and were themselves 'tiny republics'. These covered both state and municipal
functions and exercised power in the various spheres of community life such as agricultural, commercial, judicial, administrative and social including civic, educational and religious functions.

However, during the early part of the British rule in India, the village community slowly lost its unity. Centralized British administration robbed the administrative, economic, judicial and defence functions of the villages. The Britishers were not interested in development per-se of the local government bodies. Also as an inevitable consequence of the imperialist pursuits by the British, the village organization got demoralised and made room for a hierarchical administrative structure.

The struggle for independence carried with it the pledge and faith to re-establish gram-panchayats as a grass-root base of Indian democracy. Gandhiji and his followers believed that, India democracy after attaining independence would be built organically from below by means of self-governing villages where the power would as far as possible settle down. The architects of our Constitution therefore, thought that, by strengthening local government bodies development administration would widen its base. This forced the Constituent Assembly to
incorporate special provisions regarding the village panchayats.

Chapter IV 'Directive Principles of State Policy', Article 40, accordingly states that, "The state shall take steps to organize village panchayats and endow them with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of self-government".

When India became independent she opted for a welfare state ideology based on the principles of democracy. Co-operation and participation of every section of the community therefore became a pre-condition for its success. In a welfare state, administration should aim so that benefits percolate downwards towards the weaker sections of the society. In these circumstances the role of local government bodies becomes more crucial. Knowing properly the local problems, local governments can carry development programmes more efficiently, more effectively. This would be achieved by introducing a participative democracy and thereby developing resources in men and material and creating a developmental awareness in the minds of rural people. The attainment of independence thus opened a new chapter in the history of local government and rural development in India.
The institutional changes and developmental activities were meant to transform the rural society from a static, tradition bound, status-quo dominated predominantly agricultural and poor society to a dynamic, progressive and relatively affluent modern agro-industrial society. This became the central goal of our Five Year Plans. The First Five Year Plan envisaged the Community Development Programme as a method and National Extension Service as an agency through which this social and economic transformation of the village life could be achieved.21

The Government of India launched the Community Development Programme on 2nd October 1952 in 55 pilot projects with an aim to achieve the allround development of the country - side by securing co-operation and involvement of the people and by encouraging their actual participation in the execution of developmental projects. The Community Development Programme eventually meant to cover the whole nation. At the same time it was the first integrative approach to the village community to achieve development. It was supported by the National Extension Service providing an administrative system to tackle problems of growth and development at the local level.

Community Development Programme was aimed to create among the rural people an active interest in national
schemes of economic planning and social reconstruction. But this government sponsored programme could not bring the rural masses within the orbit of planning and could not make them active and willing participants in the implementation of plans at the village level.22 Thus, towards the end of the First Five Year Plan the programmes faced a serious crisis. The general public opinion was that, Community Development Programme had failed in its objectives to get people participate in developmental works. On the contrary, it had only created an enormous bureaucratic super structure which carried the work in the traditional hierarchic form. The earlier enthusiasm which sustained the movement in the beginning was also disappearing.

In these circumstances the Fifth Development Commissioners Conference in May 1956, observed that, "we cannot go far from where we have arrived, unless we have a wider partnership with the technical departments of the government, a wider partnership with people's institutions and a wider partnership with political institutions of the country".23 This situation indicated that next phase of the Community Development Programmes viz., the Panchayati Raj System.

At this juncture, the Government of India appointed a Committee on Plan Projects, through the National
Development Council under the Chairmanship of Shri Balwantrai G. Mehta (Member of Parliament) to examine the working of the Community Development Projects and the National Extension Services. It came out with a report on November 24th, 1957, wherein it stated that, the Community Development Programme failed because it lacked a political and democratic foundation at the village level. People were not interested because they had no real influence nor effective participation in decisions on developmental activities pertaining to their own villages.

The Committee recommended a new structure of a participative democracy at the local level in the form of Panchayati Raj. The Report further stated that, by creating democratic bodies for rural local government both Community Development Programme and Rural Development would widen their meaning, obtain new strength and gain stability. The underlying philosophy behind this was that, the unit of local government should be sufficiently small so that, the people can understand it and it should also be sufficiently near so that, people can live up to its expectations. The National Development Council affirmed the objective of democratic decentralization and suggested that each state should work out the structures which suited its conditions best. This was the genesis of the Panchayati Raj System and
ushering the system in Rajasthan, the late Pt. Nehru hailed it as "the most revolutionary and historical step in the context of new India".

Panchayati Raj institutions were established in rural India in the late 1950's with the objective of promoting grass-roots democracy and rural development through the devolution of power and resources. These bodies politically aim to create local leadership to assume responsibilities in the administration of local area development. Economically, these intended to accelerate development activities, creating socio-economic overheads in general and increasing agricultural production in particular. Socially, these bodies try to develop community sense to strengthen the process of development and to spread it over a wider social area than hitherto covered. It is believed that by associating people with the process of decision making not only the triple objective - political, economic and social development would be realized but it would make development acceptable and durable. These would henceforth be considered as better agencies for development and people also would come to regard these bodies as the prime source of development and social change in rural areas.

While looking critically at the Panchayati Raj institutions, one can see the radical shift in its objectives
from the earlier Community Development Programme. "The Community Development Movement primarily aimed at development, while the Panchayati Raj has its objectives both development and democracy. The core in the former was extension, in the later it has been power. The operative arm in the former was bureaucracy, in the later, it is peoples representative institutions. The character of the former was primarily developmental while that of the later is basically political". V.M. Sirisikar in his observations regarded Panchayati Raj as the 'heart of Indian Politics'. He further opined that, the health of Indian democracy depended on its sound working. It was the agency of economic prosperity, social progress and political development and its institutions act as the catchment areas for the discovery of new leaders.

Panchayati Raj, the Indian experiment in development administration endeavoured to realize comprehensive development of rural community by developing agriculture and through it, providing an enduring foundation for the development of rural economy. Panchayati Raj institutions equally have to provide leadership in realizing the integrated rural development and also help to build an edifice of democracy at the grass-roots level i.e. the village level. The success of these grass-roots
institutions is very much crucial in the larger context of development and democracy and this in turn largely depends on the catalytic role of leadership which these institutions are able to provide.

V. Concept of Leadership

Leadership studies are of recent origin. And these means different things to different people. Scientific research on the concept began by the close of the 20th Century. Till then it was a subject of speculation. After a comprehensive review of literature on leadership Stogdill \(^{28}\) (1974) concluded that, "there are almost as many definitions of leadership as there are persons who have attempted to define the concept".

Gray A Yukal \(^{29}\) says that, the term leadership has been defined in terms of individual traits, behaviour, group interaction, role relationship, occupation of an administrative position and perception of others regarding the legitimacy of influence. He accordingly gives the following representative definitions.

1. Leadership is "the behaviour of an individual when he is directing the activities of a group toward a shared goal" (Hemphill & Coons.1957;p.7).

2. Leadership is "interpersonal influence, exercised in
a situation and directed, through the communication process, toward the attainment of a specified goal or goals" (Tannenbaum, Weshler and Massarik, 1961; p.24).

3. Leadership is "the initiation and maintenance of structure in expectation and interaction". (Stogdill, 1974, p.41)

4. Leadership is "an interaction between persons in which one presents information of a sort and in such a manner that the other becomes convinced that his outcomes (benefits/costs ratio) will be improved if he behaves in the manner suggested or desired" (Jacobs, 1970, p.232).

5. Leadership is "a particular type of power relationship characterized by a group member's perception that another group member has the right to prescribe behaviour patterns for the former regarding his activity as a group member" (Janda 1960, p.358).

6. Leadership is "an influence process whereby O's action change P's behaviour and P views the influence attempt as being legitimate and the change as being consistent with P's goals" (Kochan, Schmidt and DeCotila 1975, p.25).

7. Leadership is "the influential increment over and above mechanical compliance with the routine directives of the organization" (Kutz and Kahn, 1978, p.528).
Leadership is basically an interaction - pattern which not only influences the behaviour in a desired direction but simultaneously legitimizes the act of influencing.

The Theories

The concept has developed over the time. During the past seventy years, social scientists have advanced different theories for the study of leadership. These theories can be grouped into three main categories (i) trait theories, (ii) situational theories, and (iii) behavioural theories.

Earlier studies on leadership focused on a few individual leaders who possessed certain characteristic traits. Here a small number of individuals who were influential in the community were selected and studies centered around them. It was presumed that, a leader naturally possesses the qualities of leadership, and that, 'a leader is born and not made'.

Between the two World Wars, numerous studies were conducted to discover personality traits uniquely and invariably associated with leadership role. Quite a few reviews have been made of leadership studies to identify these traits. In this context the most comprehensive
survey was conducted by Stogdill in 1948. According to him, the more commonly identified leadership traits could be listed as follows:

1. Physical and constitutional factors; height, weight, physique, energy, health, appearance.
2. Intelligence
3. Self-confidence
4. Sociability
5. Will (initiative, persistence, ambition)
6. Dominance and
7. Surgency (i.e. talkativeness, cheerfulness, geniality, enthusiasm, expressiveness, alertness and originality)

This group believes that, an outstanding leader is having extraordinary powers to read men's mind, predict events and to compel obedience hypnotically. This they think as a 'Gift of God', a conditional loan from a devil or the result of some accidental supernatural circumstances.

The trait approach dominated studies on leadership before the Second World War. The main exponents of this approach were C. Thomas in 'The Executive and His Control of Man', 1915 and Cox Catherine M. in 'The Earlier Mental Traits of Three Hundred Geniuses', 1926. The criticisms
levelled against this approach was that, it lacked continuity, institutionalization and that it could not provide for the present day managerial input mechanisms such as training programmes. Gouldner\textsuperscript{33} provides an excellent discussion of the inadequacies of this theory and comes to the following conclusions, "At this time there is no reliable evidence concerning the existence of universal leadership traits".

Dissatisfaction with the 'trait theories', led to the second phase of leadership studies. Here the focus of attention was shifted from the individual leaders to the situation. Scholars asserted that, the effectiveness of leadership depended more on the situation than on the individual. Situation would throw up leadership and the choice of A or B as a leader would accidental and therefore meaningless. They further mentioned that "qualities, characteristics and skills required in a leader are determined to a large extent by the demands of the situation in which he is to function as leader"\textsuperscript{34}. Krech, Crutchfield and Ballechy remarked that the emergence of leadership and its functions in a group were determined by the structure, situation and tasks of the group.\textsuperscript{35}

This group believes that, leadership is not something that can be imported from outside. It is one
that emerges, grows and is achieved according to the new needs of the situation. The leader in one situation need not necessarily be the leader in another situation even with the same group. This school strongly believes that, leadership is a function of the situation. Situational factor is important in making one, a leader of a group. Leadership develops out of the group need and the nature of the situation within which the group has to function. Leadership thus emerges in response to a situation may be war, social crisis or challenge to the group from within or without. Netaji and Gandhiji can be listed as the best examples of this type.36

The third group emphasises behavioural aspects of a group to define the concept of leadership. More than the individual or the situation it is the quality and competence of all the members that according to this school determine the effectiveness of the group. Recent studies on leadership accordingly give special emphasis on the problems and processes involved in the working of a group.37 This approach considers leadership as a process of interaction in which the leader and the followers mutually influence in a given situation. Tannenbaum38 one of the leading exponents of this school defines leadership as the "interpersonal influence, exercised in a situation and directed through the communication process toward the attainment of a
specified goal or goals". Cartwright and Zander\(^3^9\) view leadership as "the performance of those acts which help the group to achieve its objectives." They further say that, "leadership consists of such acts by group members as those which aid in setting group goals, improving the quality of the interactions among the members, building cohesiveness of the group; or making resources available to the group"\(^4^0\).

These scholars have tried to define leadership as the behaviour of an individual when he is directing activities of a group towards achieving a shared goal. They believe that, leadership emergence as a result of group dynamics. The leader is essentially a party to group mechanism. He influences other members of the group towards the achievement of the group goals and purposes. As a leader he directs his group to the desired goal and also convinces the group that his line of action would improve the performance of the group. It is this conviction that legitimizes his leadership role. And it is this interpersonal influence that makes organizational behaviour more than a mechanical compliance.

**Classification of Leadership**

In social sciences many scholars have attempted to classify leadership on functional basis - the nature and
the style of functioning. The most common classification has been as follows:

i. Non-official and official
ii. Formal and informal

Hans Nagpaul classified leadership in the following categories:

i. Institutional leadership or formal leadership
ii. Situational leadership or informal leadership
iii. Dictatorial leadership or authoritarian leadership
iv. Democratic leadership or creative leadership

Non-official leadership is popular and representative while official leadership represents organizational bureaucracy which unlike the first is impersonal and formal. Democratic and authoritarian are styles of leadership functioning and indicate the degree of involvement of the members of the group in decision-making and decision-implementing.

Social anthropologists classify leadership in the following two groups:

i. Traditional leadership as one based on the principles of caste, wealth and family status. Leadership
in this context is based on ascriptive characteristics. In a social system the individual assumes a role or enjoys benefits according to his membership of his primary group eg: family or caste gets a placement according to the group's position in the social hierarchy.

ii. Charismatic leadership as one which attracts the followers almost blindly (non-rationally). Max Weber defined the term 'Charisma' as, "a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and is treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities. These are such, as are not accessible to an ordinary person but are regarded as of divine origin or as exemplary and on the basis of these the individual concerned is treated as a leader". Charismatic influence is non-rational. It is distinct from physical or intellectual charm. Perhaps it is one's own sense of perception or excellence of vitae personalized in the charismatic leadership.

Iqbal Narain in his studies had added one more category to the leadership classification and has called it as 'material benefits oriented leadership'. Leadership is legitimized to the extent it brings material benefits to the group or the area through implementation of
development programme. These would cover loans/subsidies, location of a Primary Health Centre, Construction of class rooms or sanction for an approach road. This is the initial impact of development efforts. Developmental leadership which is instrumental in bringing these benefits to its group or area therefore assumes significance.

The studies done at the University of Iowa during 1938 to '40 identify three different styles of leadership in terms of the style of decision-making function such as autocratic, laissez-faire and democratic.\textsuperscript{45} The autocratic leadership makes all or almost all decisions regarding the activities of the group. They have conscious or unconscious tendency towards dogmatism, absolutism and an inflexible exercise of power. A good example of an autocratic leadership would be that of Adolf Hitler. In a group where the individual is given a free hand to take individual decisions, the leader in essence, will abdicate his leadership role. This type of leadership behaviour is called as 'laissez-faire'. The laissez-faire leadership is more employee-centered rather than job centered. Decision here more 'emerges' than 'taken' by the group. Collective responsibility and participative decision making of a group generate democratic leadership.\textsuperscript{46} In otherwords, democratic
leadership means delegating authority to the people and getting them involved in decision making. The democratic leadership is more employee-centered and ideographic in its functioning.

VI. Attributes of Developmental Leadership

Leadership is an ensemble of qualities - each relevant in the context of the dominant function expected from it. Various scholars therefore have emphasised different qualities as essential attributes for leadership. According to Kerih Davis the following faculties are essential for a leader; (a) Intelligence (b) Maturity and wider interest base (c) Motivation and drive and (d) Human relations attitude.

(a) Intelligence: This helps a leader to perceive the goal and influence the strategy to realize it. At the same time he need not be much more intelligent than the average follower. If he is too intelligent, people would find it difficult to communicate with him. The leader too would find it very difficult to appreciate people's action. This would finally lead to a communication gap.

(b) Maturity and wider interest base: This helps a leader to be stable emotionally and socially and to rise above the situation. The average follower feels secured
with a steady leadership.

(c) **Motivation and drive:** This gives a leader an inner strength to sustain an activity, conduct it with vitality, endure strains during the process and to keep initiative till the goal is reached. His rewards are more intrinsic than extrinsic.

(d) **Human relations attitude:** This introduces a positive orientation in the followers and is reflected in the unreserved co-operation by them in realizing the goal. It helps the leader to win his argument and win over the people too.

Leadership as a managerial function means organizing men and material to realize a predetermined goal. A leader has to sell his ideas properly to the people, make them feel that they share in formulating these ideas and that the projects are truer expressions of the community will. The leader must convince the people that, his thoughts are similar to what they are collectively thinking. Then only he would identify himself with the people. His success as a leader becomes vivid, to the extent he establishes this particular identity.

It is at this juncture that, the qualities of a leader such as (a) intelligence (b) maturity and wider interest base (c) motivation and drive and (d) human
relations attitude came into the play. Intelligence helps the leader to conceive developmental project/activity as a continuum of the larger community development process. His experience in various social and political associations develops in him, the requisite skills to work not only for the people but to work with them. While working with the people, he guides them and enthuses them in a co-operative venture elevating their interest in a particular project to 'faith' in the larger process of development. When followers fall short of his expectations, it is his inner motivation that helps the leader to overcome the situation. By cultivating, maintaining and developing human relations, a leader can be assured of a reserve of forthcoming co-operation, continuation of the performance and thereby can legitimize his role as a leader.

A 'Developmental leader' is expected to cultivate qualities necessary to attain the goals of development. He should be aware of the historical framework and prevailing conditions within which he is planning to realize the cause. Secondly, he should acquire the ability to reconcile multiple class interests and to identify himself with the 'real' interests of the people and help their realization. In the third place developmental leadership should have a strong moral and physical courage to reject unwarranted temptations to
compromise, ability to take calculated risks and conviction to pursue steadfastly in the face of temporary setbacks. He should possess the ability to communicate his vision to communicate at its possible success to his less imaginative and less experienced followers. Finally, a developmental leader should have the ability to learn quickly from his mistakes. Risks, even calculated, mean risk and an element of uncertainty. He should be aware of this, think over the adverse reflection and in the light, adopt his decisions in such a way as to achieve success in subsequent attempts. This quality would help him to learn systematically from his mistakes. It is this type of leadership which will help in realizing development. Also these qualities can be continuously inculcated in leaders through input mechanisms such as training and orientation courses - thematic as well as specific role directed, providing him information, knowledge and requisite functional skills.

VII. Grass-Roots Leadership and Rural Development

'Government based on democracy is a laudable one'. This is easy to preach but difficult to practise. Much of the success of democracy depends on the type of leadership that springs up while it is functioning. The debacle of democracy in Asia, Africa and in Latin America
provides ample proof that, democracy cannot function well without an adequate support or responsible leadership. At the same time it is not an easy task to rejuvenate and revitalize the semi-stagnant rural economies of the 'Third World'. It requires men of high calibre, vision and foresight not only at the top but also at lower levels i.e., the grass-roots levels of administration. Thus, the success of democracy and developmental efforts depends to a large extent on the availability of the right type of leadership at the grass-roots.

We are social animals we live as members of groups. Our behaviour, mode of thought, our ideals - all are influenced and largely determined by the group to which we belong. Leader from the rural area naturally is a part and product of this group mechanism. He has a larger share in shaping and articulating group ideals. It is he who influence other members of the group towards the attainment of group goals and purposes. There should be a committed cadre of leaders that has conceived the spirit and help to implement the goals with a missionary zeal and support it by inculcating social awareness amongst the people. Such a cadre should actively work with the people involving them in decision making, its implementation and monitoring process. It is difficult but the leader at the grass-roots has to see whether the villagers are motivated to work for their own
betterment and the betterment of the community and to
attain material and higher goals individual as well as
those of his fellowmen.52

Rural development acquires great significance in
all the 'Third World Countries', where the economies are
predominantly agrarian and backward. Rural development
aims at improving the economic and social life of these
people with a specific thrust on rural poor. Rural
development not only would cater to the overwhelming
majority of the population that lives in villages but
would equally help to accelerate the pace of overall
economic development of the country.53

Since independence, India has made spectacular
progress in the fields of industry, science and
technology. But it still continues to be one of the
poorest countries of the world. Without massive rural
reconstruction, the country cannot attain the much talked
of economic progress and prosperity. Panchayati Raj aims
at this progress and prosperity by providing a self
reliant and democratic base. It is the vehicle of
progress at the very grass-roots of our national life. If
it has to succeed, the institution very much needs
energetic, enthusiastic, selfless and committed
leadership to mobilize resources, men and material and to
direct these for effective goal realization.
VIII. Brief Survey of Literature on Panchayati Raj Leadership

Leadership has been an area of interest for scholars abroad as well as in India. A large number of studies have therefore been undertaken particularly in sociology, psychology, political science and in managerial sciences. Some have attempted to find out personal, social and economic background of leaders while others have tried to understand leadership behaviour in varied situations and there through evolve the concept of leadership.

From 1980's onwards, there have been a host of studies undertaken on leadership in Panchayati Raj institutions and its role in rural development. These studies have been micro level, centred around individual leaders, their socio-economic background, nature of electioneering, their value orientation and their perception of rural development. We get a diffused body of literature on Panchayati Raj leadership from various states.

B.S. Bhargava has studied Panchayati Raj leadership from different perspectives. His book 'Grass Root Leadership' contains three research papers. The first paper signifies the importance of the role of leadership
at the grass-roots bodies. The second and third paper respectively deals with structural aspects of the Rajasthan Panchayati Raj system and a case study of leadership in one district of Rajasthan namely Jhunjhun. The study provides a good comparison between modern and traditional leadership and the role of Panchayati Raj institutions in developing matured leadership. Emphasising the importance of the training for grass-roots leadership, he acknowledges the potential of the emerging leadership and says that, "many case studies have brought to light the fact that, Presidents of Panchayati Raj institutions at the three levels specially at the middle level are providing themselves as potential M.L.As".  

In another study entitled 'Panchayati Raj System and Political Parties', he opines that, "political linkages have developed between the key leaders of Panchayati Raj institutions and the higher level leaders". He further says that, it is no longer true to consider the leadership of these bodies, only as 'vote banks' for the higher level leaders. The political relationship is now based on the principle of mutual benefits. This shows the beginning of 'the politics of bargaining' as Panchayati Raj leadership is becoming more and more material benefits oriented. In the same book he observes
that, "leadership that has emerged in Panchayati Raj is more interested in politics than in fulfilling development obligations". Together his studies bring out the latent strength of leadership and its self-awareness as the key-players.

A.Y. Darshankar in his study on Panchayati Raj leadership of Beed district of Maharashtra observes that, leadership in Panchayati Raj institutions is regarded as a position of authority rather than one of service. Distribution of favours and patronizing trusted followers become one of the important functions of leadership in Panchayati Raj institutions. According to him, nepotism thrives unchecked and local leaders consider Panchayati Raj bodies as pockets of power and patronage. He further says that, agricultural class dominates positions in the Panchayati Raj institutions irrespective of their caste and political affiliation. It is the main occupation in rural areas. And also that agriculturists can conveniently contact and keep liaison with voters in their villages as they have sufficient leisure at their disposal. Obviously, executive posts such as Chairmanship of Panchayat samities and Presidentship of Zilla Parishad have been monopolised by the rich people from the agricultural class.

In this he highlights the way in which panchayats are used for patronage and as 'vote banks' by the political masters. He also stresses the importance of financial viability of panchayats to make these more effective and function meaningfully.

C.R. Bada's study of Gulbarga district of Karnataka was mainly intended to find out the extent to which age, caste, education, land ownership and the size of family have a significant role in determining the pattern of leadership in village panchayats of the district. The findings reveal that, contrary to the general belief, the emerging leaders come from younger age group, with relatively higher educational attainments better socio-economic status and belong predominantly to the owner cultivating group. The study further confirms that, caste and income still continue to be the significant determinants of leadership at village level.

Andra Beteille in his study on rural elites of a village in Tanjore district of Tamil Nadu concludes that, due to technological revolution in agriculture and with land reforms, the middle class are also assuming leadership position and are replacing the high caste Brahmins on the basis of their numerical strength and their newly acquired wealth.
B.C.Shah in his study of Mogri village of Kheda district of Gujarat state makes the following observations. "Firstly the old traditional base of leadership is eroded. Secondly, new bases of leadership such as numerical and popular supports have come up. Lastly, the economic base of power and leadership still persists." He further says that, "female leadership has yet to break up the steel frame of caste and social orthodoxy and bring about their political emancipation envisaged in the new set up." He however observes that the Panchayati Raj has no doubt proved to be a major institutional break-through at the grass-roots level. Unlike many other state sponsored schemes, it has greatly attracted the attention of rural masses and has created a new power structure which has turned out to be a booster to rural leadership.

J.N.Pandya in his study of leadership in Panchayati Raj institutions from Kheda district of Gujarat gives a comprehensive picture of leadership from different villages and talukas. In a sense he attempts a wider coverage of the sample, covering three levels of leadership in Panchayati Raj institutions. He feels that, micro level studies have inherent limitations in that their findings, howsoever empirical, do not help to
generalize beyond a point. Large scale studies covering many villages, talukas, districts and states could provide such a help. He attempts a vertical as well as the horizontal study of Panchayati Raj leadership in Kheda district and comes to the conclusion that the core leadership such as Presidentship is dominated by the Patel (Upper caste). Further, frequent elections to Panchayati Raj institutions can have a positive effect on the weaker sections mobilizing and politicizing them and creating in them, the desire to catch the power structure of the village. However, they are far away from the office of the President. He finds that the Panchayati Raj leadership has now been transferred to the younger generation between the young age group of 20-40. He concludes that, "better economic condition rooted in land holdings still play an important role in deciding core leadership of the village panchayat."69

The studies by P.N.Sheth, P.R.R.Mehta, S.P.Jain and B.C.Shah indicate that old leadership in Panchayati Raj of Kheda district of Gujarat is giving way to the new leadership. It can be said that, Bariyas, hitherto in the lower ladder of the society, are replacing the old traditional leaders of Patidars from village to the district level. The Bariyas, who were generally tenants of the Patel land lords, have come up as a new class with
more political consciousness and now demand a share in
the power structure of the district.\textsuperscript{71}

Iqbal Narain, K.C. Pande and Mohanlal Sharma\textsuperscript{72}
conducted a detailed investigation of the profile of the
emerging rural elite at different levels of the
Panchayati Raj institutions in Rajasthan. The following
are the main findings of their study:

i. The higher and the middle castes are
over-represented in comparison with the lower castes. In
the most developed regions, the middle caste is
especially in a strong position. Throughout the state,
lower castes have remained weak and ineffective. Their
numerical strength has not helped them to obtain
influence in Panchayati Raj bodies.

ii. Within the caste, it is essentially, those with
economic resources and education are recruited to the
elite. It is more a question of dominating-individuals
rather than that of dominating-castes.

iii. The gap between leaders and the people is
confirmed by the findings of this study. This gap is the
outcome of the serious lack, of associations or
organizations where people can more directly express
Paramatma Saran in his study of leadership of sixteen villages of Patna district (Bihar) tries to explore the extent to which changes in economic, political and social conditions in a modernizing society introduce corresponding changes in the attitudes and values of rural leadership. He tries to analyse the data in terms of conflict between traditional and modern values in rural communities. He finds that, the role of leadership can help the process of modernization.

Mats Khilberg's main focus of study was on the role and importance of Panchayati Raj for the development of rural areas both economically and socially. He had reservations about the Panchayati Raj institutions functioning as agents of change. To him, modernization is a comprehensive process operating simultaneously at different levels in the society and needs a system-wide mobilization to sustain it. In the chapter on 'New Leadership' he made the following observation. "The performance of Panchayati Raj should not be evaluated as an agent of modernization but less ambitiously as an instrument for communication between elite (leader) and the rural masses. When it comes to mobilizing and organizing rural masses for development, other instruments are needed, more dynamic than the
institutions of local self-government."\textsuperscript{75}

B.C. Muthayya and others in one of their research projects try to provide an understanding about the impact of behavioural dimensions on the process of development. The authors consider leaders as agents of change. It is therefore expected of the leaders that, they should give direction to the people, help them in taking decisions and also encourage their participation in development works.

Iqbal Narain\textsuperscript{76} in 'Democratic Decentralization: the Idea, the Image and the Reality' says that, new leadership is power-motivated and not development-oriented; Sarpanchas and Pradhans have become new monopolists of power and there seems to be evident a political consciousness without any supportive civic consciousness among the leaders.

N.R. Inamdar\textsuperscript{77} emphasises that, successful functioning of village panchayats depends on the availability of "resourceful imaginative and active Panchayat leadership". He further states that, "the quality of leadership will ultimately determine the success and failure of Panchayati Raj".\textsuperscript{78}

There are also other studies on Panchayati Raj as M.V. Mathur and Iqbal Narain (ed.) 'Panchayati Raj,
Planning and Democracy', V.G.Nandedkar's Local Government: Its Role in Development Administration', G.Ram Reddy (ed.), 'Patterns of Panchayati Raj in India' and Henry Maddick's 'Panchayati Raj : A Study of Rural Local Government in India'. These studies give an overall understanding of the system and its functioning. Leadership obviously is one aspect of these studies but it is not the central theme.

While analysing the studies on leadership in Panchayati Raj institutions, one gathers an impression that, most of these studies have been limiting the role of Panchayati Raj institution to social service organizations. Some even don't expect it to be a developmental/ modernizing agency (Mats Khilberg). This was natural in the initial stages of Panchayati Raj which had more a moral appeal than a developmental one. Leadership was primarily interested in implementing welfare measures in rural areas and extend such development benefits as educational facilities, health services, sanitation, public amenities etc. These had focus on developmental product and not on the developmental process as such.

The effectiveness of Panchayati Raj lies in initiating this developmental process. Therefore the
effectiveness of its leadership lies not only in the extension of welfare services but more in locating, strengthening and developing the overall growth potential of the area. If not, then Panchayati Raj institutions would turn to be expenditure biased and development would be equated with the realization of physical targets. Developmental leadership should not fall in this trap but consciously strive to make the process of development enduring and engulfing, reaching effectively wider areas of the community life. In the economic context leadership should help in identifying natural resources and help their perspective planning. Socially, it should encourage associational participation. Politically, the leadership should make community members aware of the change that is taking place around and their role in materialising it. The leader should locate sources of finance and help to locate industrial potential and thereby generate employment and self-employment in the area. It is his developmental interaction with higher authorities, his awareness of local resources and his skills in organizing these resources that would legitimise his role and his efforts to involve people in this process would make the whole exercise interacting and rewarding.

Many of the earlier studies on Panchayati Raj leadership do not seem to have given premium to this aspect of developmental leadership, the dimension which
gives the functioning of these bodies, a proper perception. The present study keeps leadership as the central theme and intends to study its impact on the development administration as a whole, not restricting its role to one or a few functional areas of administration. The study also intends to conceptualise and crystallise leadership role as the role of an actor (not only as an agent) in the process of modernization. The focus of the study will be on the developmental role of leadership in building and strengthening positive inputs in realizing area development, in locating development projects, in offering collateral support in their administration and thereby supporting the overall social, economic and political activity of the area.

IX. Methodology of the Study

The present study tries to highlight the nature and problems of leadership and its contribution to development at the grass-roots level of ten village panchayats, collectively representing the topography and characteristics of the coastal district Alleppey (Kerala). Out of the ten selected panchayats three each have been selected from the developed Special Grade and the First Grade village Panchayats, three from the less developed Second Grade and the remaining one from the Third Grade. This classification of panchayats is income-based as.
adopted in the State Panchayat Act. The study attempts to provide a comparative profile of panchayat leadership from these ten, developed and less developed, village panchayats of the Alleppey district (Kerala) in particular and of the district in general. It would also help to arrive at reasonably valid generalization on the developmental leadership.

The following table gives the details of the selected village panchayats.

Table 1.1: Distribution of Village Panchayats

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Taluk</th>
<th>Developed Grade</th>
<th>Less Developed Grade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Special grade</td>
<td>First grade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Sherthalai Aroor</td>
<td>Perumbalam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Kuttanad Neelamperoor</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Ambalapuzha Punnapra Purakkad</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Karthigappally Karthikappally nnapuzha</td>
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<tr>
<td>5. Mavelikara Chettikulangara</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. Chengannur Venmony Ala</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The study covers the functioning of these ten village panchayats for a period of four years - from 1988 January, the year in which these bodies started functioning afresh as elected bodies after a gap of four
years. The data collection for the study is based on field techniques of research methodology.

Office records of village panchayats have been used for the collection of primary data. Secondary data has been collected through governmental reports and other related studies pertaining to Panchayati Raj administration and leadership in general and of Kerala in particular.

Empirical data for the study was obtained by administering a structured questionnaire to (a) the non-officials (b) through informal discussions with knowledgeable persons from the area (Un-structured questionnaire). The interviews were conducted personally by the researcher.

Apart from the questionnaire schedule, additional information was obtained through informal interaction with the leaders. Previous contacts and long stay in the panchayat area seem to have made the respondents more informal and friendly with the researcher. This helped to get more information about the functioning of the panchayats.

The information so collected and compiled was supplemented by non-participant observations of the
panchayat committee meetings. This helped to get a feel of the process and activities. Wherever possible the information so collected was statistically processed to make it more meaningful.

Village panchayats in Kerala unlike those in other states are populous and resourceful. Thus, the present case study, it is hoped would help in generalising reflections on the developmental leadership at work. It would also enrich information and understanding of leadership function at the state level, as well across the state.

X. Objectives of the Study

The present study tries to examine the following observations:

1. The panchayat bodies at the cutting edge make the system of governance responsive and developmental processes participative.
2. The Panchayati Raj bodies in the present context are more a development agency than a welfare agency.
3. The non-official leadership in the panchayat bodies is expected to perform the role of modernizing agents. It is expected to strengthen developmental process by locating resources, generating employment and helping to build infra-structure for
development.

4. The non-official leadership to be effective in the context of development needs management inputs and orientation.

5. The success of panchayat institutions rests very much on the crucial and catalytic role of the non-official leadership and its matured partnership with official leadership.

The study attempts to develop a socio-economic and political profile of non-official leadership and to assess its role in transforming the rural society. It would focus on the obstacles, institutional and non-institutional, which the village level leadership face while realizing developmental objectives. It would also endeavour to suggest certain remedial measures administrative, financial and political so as to improve the performance of the organization under the guidance of the matured developmental leadership.
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