CHAPTER EIGHT

ELITE PERCEPTION OF DEVELOPMENT
ELITE PERCEPTION OF DEVELOPMENT

The introduction of new socio-economic reforms like large-scale development plans, land-consolidation, Community Projects and a decentralised local administration have been instrumental in bring about various types of improvements in rural society. For instance, the seed-irrigation-fertilizer technology has changed the rural economy. Likewise, it has also resulted in a gradual modernisation of social attitudes and values of the rural masses. Such a change is also visible in the rural pattern of leadership. Whereas in the traditional society, leadership was held by the elite who enjoyed prominent status in rural society, but the changing social system has stimulated leadership on a comparatively more secular basis¹.

¹ - Even in our area of study, such a change has been confirmed. Predominance of occupational caste is gradually increasing at the cost of the traditional castes.
In the present study, we have adopted the "positional" approach in identifying elite and bureaucrats and in dealing with their perceptions and interactions. This means that we have selected such persons as the elite as occupy important 'positions' in an organisation (e.g. Panchayati Raj in our case). We have also assumed that the variables which determine elite perceptions and interactions are determined by their position\(^2\). In the Indian context it has been observed in a number of empirical studies that despite modernisation, there is some impact of socio-economic variables like caste and class on elite perception of structure and the process of

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\(2\) - Nelson (1963) treats power as a subsidiary aspect of community's social structure. Political organisation has to fit in the rest of the social structure. Therefore, the pattern of social stratification in a community is the principal determinant of power. Power has to be regarded as a relationship not merely between persons, but between persons occupying particular positions. Polisy, Nelson, W.; Community Power and Political Theory, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1963).
development. In this context, Rudolph (1967) also observes:

Caste is not transformed, but strengthened by the impact of modern democratic politics, while at the same time it provides one of the institutional mechanisms by which new political systems penetrate into traditional society.

Expressing similar opinions, Iqbal Narain (1976) says:

At lower levels of the three-tier system of Panchayati Raj, the social status and caste-affiliations of the aspirants to office, tend to help them achieve position of power to a greater extent than in other cases at upper levels (Zila Parishad), economic status has been of greater importance.

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4 Narain, Iqbal; *The Rural Elite in an Indian State*, (op.cit., p.266)

Similar expression have also been made in their studies by:


Weiner, Myron; *India-Two Political Cultures* (op.cit. p. 227)


No doubt, such variables do influence elite perceptions and the nature of their interactions, but at the same time such elite are also the elected representatives of their area. They represent the needs, problems, and attitudes of their people. The elite in Panchayati Raj have to perform a dual role; one as a member of social group which constitute their source of power, and the second in the political context in which they have to act as the leaders of the entire community. This leads to a certain dilemma. Their perception on development has to be

5 - "In the interactional framework of reference, the social behaviour of a leader is expected to change. There is a greater tendency towards secular aspirations and attitudes, greater emphasis on the functional than the ascribed role and towards developmental orientation". In this context, both Mehta (1972) and Deb (1974) have developed a hypothesis that leadership is the property of the group, so as the group-structure changes, because of a change in socio-economic organisation, leadership would also change.

Mehta, S.R.; Emerging Pattern of Rural Leadership
Deb, P.C. and Aggarwal, B.K.; Rural Leadership in Green Revolution
(Research Co. Publication - 1974)
studied in the light of this dilemma.

ELITE PERCEPTION OF DEVELOPMENT

Recognising the role of the elite as leaders and representative of the masses, and development agents, in the Panchayati Raj set-up, the point for analysis is (a) whether the elite as development agents are committed to a policy of socio-economic change, or their perception of development is influenced by considerations of class and caste? (b) how they view the role of administration (of which they, along with bureaucrats, are a part) in promoting socio-economic change with a view to accelerating the process of development?

Starting with the hypothesis that the elite are committed to a policy of socio-economic change, and that they desire an active participation by the administration in such an effort, we got the response;
as given in the Table below.

| TABLE 8-1 ELITE PERCEPTION OF ADMINISTRATION AS AN AGENT OF REFORMS |
|---------------|-----------------|---------------|
| DISTRIBUTION | AGREE | DISAGREE |
| OF ELITE | % n | % n |
| LUDHIANA | 100.0(44) | - |
| Block Samitis n=44 | 100.0(37) | - |
| Zila Parishad n=37 | 100.0(81) | - |
| Total | 100.0(81) | - |
| HOSHIARPUR | 93.7(45) | 4.2(2) |
| Block Samitis n=48 | 97.2(35) | 2.8(1) |
| Zila Parishad n=36 | 95.2(80) | 3.5(3) |
| Total * | 95.2(80) | 3.5(3) |

* The percentage is not up to 100 as 3 elite from Hoshiarpur did not respond.

The elite-response does not show any significant variation, But for a negligible minority of respondents in Hoshiarpur District (3.5%), the elite, by and large, have approved the role of Administration as an agent of socio-economic reforms. Apart from promoting agricultural production, the elite also favour governmental efforts towards introducing social reforms like Abolition of Dahej, Prohibition, Family Planning etc.
The elite do not hesitate in discarding the individualistic concept of non-interference by the government in the socio-economic life of its people. On the contrary, they advocate active administrative participation in this direction. The elite, however, distinguish between the government's policy of social reforms and the methods adopted for their implementation. Accordingly, a good policy, badly planned, leaning too heavily on bureaucratic methods, is not likely to succeed. In this context, the elite were critical of the way in which the scheme of family planning was implemented during emergency. A number of persons during the course of their interview were of the view that "No sensible person doubts the urgency of population-control these days. The harsh methods adopted to implement it during emergency, made the people angry. Whereas the Bureaucrats were given a free hand, we as representatives of the people were not taken into confidence by the government. Our protests in many cases of genuine injustice were ignored. We had no option but to side with the
local population, when they expressed their resentment during elections'.

The elite observation thus confirms our hypothesis that they are development-oriented. They are keen, not only to modernize the agricultural economy of the area, but also to introduce some social reforms. They, however, abhor bureaucratic coercion for socio-economic modernisation.

While recognizing the elite support for a socio-economic change, and assuming that they are development-oriented, we have also to find how far such perception of the elite is influenced by caste-class-income factor? In a number of recent

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6 - "The five centuries old Sikhism has made a big impact on Punjab's economy, especially agriculture, and has also brought about a social revolution. It has broken the shackles of caste system and provided an equal opportunity to the oppressed and down-trodden to attain human dignity".

Govt.of Punjab: Agriculture in Punjab (Punjab Public Relation Department, 1977) p.13
studies, it has been shown that efforts of mass-based programmes end up with "pockets of development and progress" at the elite level and 'little changes' at the wider societal level. In our study also, we have found that Panchayati Raj Organisations are controlled by the elite of dominant class and caste and of higher income group. The bureaucrats also belong to the more affluent sections of society. The problem, therefore, is to find whether this group would like to give more preference to economic development within the existing social structure, or is prepared to change the whole class-cum-caste basis of the existing structure? In other words, what is the relative importance given by the elite and the bureaucrats to economic and social problems, and to the schemes for development. In the case of Bureaucrats, we have already found that they do not correlate economic change with social change and are apathetic towards social change. A study of elite view of the development problems and schemes, therefore, becomes necessary, before coming to a final conclusion.
ELITE PERCEPTION OF DEVELOPMENT PROBLEMS

Like bureaucrats, the elite too were presented with a similar classification of development problems into 'Economic' and 'Social' problems. Unlike Bureaucrats, the elite response was more free and frank as they were less hesitant in discussing these problems. Whereas the illiterate elite expressed their opinions in more general terms, the educated ones, differentiated various problems with due classification and comments. Table 8-2 gives an idea about the nature of elite response.

TABLE 8-2 NATURE OF ELITE RESPONSE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DISTRIBUTION OF ELITE</th>
<th>NATURE OF RESPONSE</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Elite who Responded</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Elite who did not Respond</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LUDHIANA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Block Samitis n=44</td>
<td>59.9(26)</td>
<td>40.1(18)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zila Parishad n=37</td>
<td>45.9(17)</td>
<td>54.1(20)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total n=81</td>
<td>53.0(43)</td>
<td>47.0(38)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HOSHIARPUR</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Block Samitis n=48</td>
<td>64.5(31)</td>
<td>35.5(17)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zila Parishad n=36</td>
<td>72.2(26)</td>
<td>27.8(10)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total n=84</td>
<td>67.8(57)</td>
<td>32.2(27)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The response shows a slight variation between the attitudes of Ludhiana and Hoshiarpur elite. The percentage of elite who were keen to discuss problems of development is larger in Hoshiarpur district (67.8%) than in Ludhiana (53.0%). This difference is due to the accelerated pace of development in Ludhiana. Perhaps Ludhiana elite have fewer problems concerning development to discuss than their counterparts in Hoshiarpur, where the pace of development is not as rapid as in Ludhiana. Perhaps it is, due to the fact that the elite in Ludhiana district mainly belong to the Jat community and have fewer problems to discuss. On the other hand, Hoshiarpur has a diffused population which comprise different classes and caste and have more problems. Hence the urgency of the Hoshiarpur elite to discuss their problems.

So far as economic problems are concerned, the main thrust of the elite, like bureaucrats, was on the problems concerning agricultural production. The sense
of priority expressed by the elite was as follows:

(a) Insufficient and erratic supply of agricultural inputs like diesel, electricity, irrigation, seeds and fertilizers, and their high cost.

(b) The problem of agricultural mechanization.

(c) The problem of land reforms.

(d) The problem of rural indebtedness.

(e) The human-element problem.

The Hoshiarpur elite referred to some peculiar local problems such as 'channelisation of choes' which creates problems of communication during rainy season, and the scarcity of drinking water, in the hilly tracts of the district.

(a) INSUFFICIENT AND ERRATIC SUPPLY OF AGRICULTURAL INPUTS

The distributive system of agricultural inputs was described by the elite as defective. Previously, the farmer's requirements were attended to at his door step by the Gram Sevak. Under the revised procedure, agricultural inputs like seeds and fertilizers are distributed to the farmers through Marketing and
Cooperative Societies. As a result, mostly the rich and influential farmers avail themselves of the supply of such inputs. Only the residuary share goes to marginal or small farmers. Even this supply is adulterated and untimely. In an interview, a large number of Ludhiana elite complained that, "In spite of the proximity of Punjab Agricultural University, the benefits of advance research in agriculture, is not easily available to average farmers, but only to rich farmers. As an example, they stated that during last Kisan Mela, All India Radio, Jullundur announced that seeds of 711-wheat will be distributed among the farmers at the rate of one bag per farmer. Actually, no such distribution was made, when the farmers visited the University. Similarly, promises made by the Punjab Government to distribute High Yielding Variety Seed were also not kept. Really speaking, most of the farmers prefer to keep their own seeds in reserve. The promises made by the authorities are a mere propaganda".

The elite also stated that the supply of electricity and canal-water to the farmers was erratic.
If, due to lesser availability of canal or tube-well water, farmers resorted to diesel pump, they had to face the problem of insufficient supply of diesel. Such problem further led to increase in the cost of agricultural inputs. The general opinion was that the benefits of High Yielding Variety Programme started by the Government have not equally percolated to all sections of farming community. On the other hand, it has resulted in the creation of income-disparities among them.

The elite complained that the Agricultural Price Policy of the government was wrong. Though there should be an overall relationship among the input, output and prices, actually there is no such correlation among the three. Whereas the prices of vital agricultural inputs like tractors and fertilizers have increased to the extent of ninety percent (as compared to 1974 level), the price of the two major grains (wheat and paddy) have virtually remained constant. The elite were told that the basic reason for the Government's policy to keep the prices of foodgrains low, is to keep down the cost of living.
in the urban areas. In lieu of high prices of inputs, Government compensates the farmers in the form of subsidies and bonus. The elite observation was that such doles meant nothing for the rich farmers, and were too insignificant for average and marginal farmers. Such concessions also affected the economy, for their implementation proved a burden on the exchequer. Moreover, they were available only to such farmers as enjoyed the confidence of the organisations which were instrumental in providing such concessions. Others failed to receive even these nominal concessions. The elite asserted that it would be more beneficial, if instead of subsidizing the inputs, the farmers were given a guarantee of a minimum price for their output.

(b) **THE PROBLEM OF AGRICULTURAL MECHANIZATION**

It is evident from the empirical material on mechanization, that the specific characteristics of technology and the institutional setting in which it is used are interacting. In Japan and Taiwan, small mechanical tillers, thresher-motors have been the basis for sophisticated mechanization of even very
small holdings. It was suggested by many respondents that to reduce agricultural costs and promote production including multiple cropping, mechanization of agriculture is the only answer. Some of the respondents complained that commercial interests, rigid notions of the bureaucrats and wrong impressions about Punjab's prosperity are coming in their way to boost agricultural production through mechanization.

Whereas Punjab Government realizes its vital stake in the mechanization of agriculture, the authorities at Yojna Bhavan (Planning Commission) have strange thoughts on this issue. They wrongly think that mechanization of agriculture is a labour replacing process. Actually no such thing has happened. On the other hand, Punjab is in dire need of manual

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7 Gotsch Carl.H; *Agricultural Mechanization in Punjab - some comparative observations from India and Pakistan* (extracts from the Book -"Land Tenure and Peasants in South Asia" Orient Longman 1977 Ed.by Robert Eric Prvkenberg) p.181-192
labour. This explains the easy absorption of labour force which has migrated from Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. As regards the mechanization of agriculture, Punjab has a different experience from that of the other states. Suggestions are made to promote small-scale industries in the state to promote the mechanization of agriculture. A number of respondents pressed for cheaper and smaller tractors. Such tractors, it was suggested will benefit a vast multitude of small and middle-class farmers. It will reduce their input costs. These tractors will also be more suitable in small farms, than the present

9 - Since long Punjab is pressing for cheaper and smaller tractors for a vast multitude of small and middle farmer, The Tribune, (Chandigarh Oct. 23, 1977).
Dr. A.S. Kahlon, PAU, Ludhiana and S. Paramjit Singh IAS, Financial Commissioner, Punjab have also expressed similar opinions that small-scale industries can form the nuclei of a net-work of rural growth centres, which can go a long way in further promoting the development of agriculture in the state. The Tribune (Chandigarh Jan. 12, 1977 and Oct. 30, 1977)
heavy ones. The respondents complained that commercial interests manipulated in such a way that the small farmers had no choice in the purchase of tractors. Much against their wish, they had to purchase big tractors. The rich and average farmers could make use of such tractors, but a large number of farmers with smaller farms could not afford to buy and maintain these heavy machines. Thus the majority of farmers could not derive the full benefits of mechanization of agriculture. The rigid bureaucratic notions and the administrative tilt towards commercial interests at national level has also been observed by World Bank. They observe:

All too often government policies discriminate against development - particularly agricultural production in the rural areas. They are designed to provide assistance to manufacturing and processing industries or to raise government revenues. As such they tend to raise the cost of agricultural inputs, relative to output and prices, making innovation un.rewarding and highly risky to the farmers.10

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There appears to be a contradiction in the attitudes of the elite belonging to higher and lower income groups, towards the problem of land-reforms. The 'Progressive Farmers', who are rich as well as educated, complain that the policy of land-ceiling may appear to be politically viable, but it is economically unsound. Unless land-holding is made economically viable, no enterprising farmer is likely to take risk by introducing costly inputs for increasing agricultural production. Such farmers also discount the general impression that their rich heritage is due to excessive land-holdings. They assert that their affluence is due to their spirit of adventure in undertaking risky ventures, and experimentation with new techniques and scientific methods of agriculture.

11 - Referring to the statistical abstract of Punjab of 1974-76, the progressive or rich farmers tried to prove that actually the number of such farmers holding land above 7.5 acre has decreased between 1961-1971, from 68.8% to 31.1%, whereas the number of marginal farmers holding land below 7.5 acres has risen from 32.8% to 68.8%. Therefore, their income was not due mainly to land-holdings but to their spirit of experimentation and risk-taking.
On the other hand, the elite belonging to low-income group referred to insufficient land in the possession of marginal or small farmers. Such farmers also desire to have access to suitable technology and capital in order to raise their agricultural output. They contend, that "so long as the institutions which provide improved agricultural inputs are biased against small farmers, they cannot progress. Their lot can only be improved if land-reforms precede other farm improvements".

The line of argument adopted by such elite was that land-reforms should be viewed in the context of the multiple objectives of rural development. They must precede any massive input of resources in small farms and rural works - especially where the incidence of tenancy is high and the distribution of land is extremely skewed, or the rural oligarchy controls credit and marketing institutions. Such institutions or oligarchs appropriate for themselves the bulk of the input and even the income generated by rural development projects.
(d) THE PROBLEM OF RURAL INDEBTEDNESS

A number of elite distinguished between rich farmers and middle and small farmers. They argued that the impression about the agricultural prosperity of Punjab in other parts of the country is not correct. The 'Green Revolution' has benefitted only the rich farmers. The small and marginal farmers have not benefitted from it. The Punjab Government itself admitted before the Agricultural Commission that "the Wheat Revolution has neither improved the economic conditions of the small and marginal farmers nor benefitted the agricultural labour". On the other hand, the attempts of small and marginal farmers to utilize quality seeds, fertilizers, pumps and tractors have resulted in incurring heavy debts. The elite stated that the truth of the statement could be

12 - This is evidently a depressing admission made by the country's most prosperous state, whose per capita income is twice the national average. But it is true. Benefits of the Green Revolution have gone into the pockets of the rich few - Statesman (Calcutta August 25, 1971)
verified from the records of the village cooperative societies and the land Mortgage Banks\textsuperscript{13}.

Similarly, a study of the saving-investment pattern of farm families in Punjab has shown that, while the average disposable income of small farm size group has increased to 43\% in 1970-71 (base year being 1966-67), of medium-farm size group by 40\%, in the case of larger farm size group, it has increased by 70\% \textsuperscript{14}.

\textsuperscript{13} - A study report of the Department of Economics and Sociology, Punjab Agricultural University, Ludhiana conducted for the marginal farmers of Hoshiarpur district found that "on the average these farmers had 4.29 acres of operational holdings, out of which only 3 acres were irrigated. Their gross annual income was Rs.4822/- or Rs.400/- p.m. per family. Of this Rs.3957/- were spent on living expenses. Agriculture accounted for 69\% of the income, while 31\% came from subsidiary occupations. 72\% farmers were under debt, which averaged at Rs.1000/- per family. Only 61\% of loans were used for productive work. The marginal farmers thus did not have the will to start profitable enterprises such as poultry and Dairy Farming, because they lacked money as well as guidance". \textit{Economic Times (New Delhi, June 24, 1971)}

Such studies clearly confirm the assumption that agricultural prosperity in Punjab is limited only to the class of rich farmers and its impact on the medium and small class farmers is only marginal.

(e) THE HUMAN ELEMENT PROBLEM

The elite also referred to the lack of education about agriculture among the small farmers as an important cause of low-level development. Agricultural fairs (Kisan Melas) organised by Punjab Agricultural University, Ludhiana, or the visits of the University Experts to the villages catered only to the needs of the already rich and educated farmers. The small farmer thus lags behind the rich farmer in the adoption of new technology (i.e. seeds-fertilizer and irrigation). There is a need of communicating new research techniques in agriculture to small farmers as well. The Development Commissioner, Punjab, referred to this point in his speech at Jullundur: "Demonstrations of new techniques of agriculture should be made on the farms of the small farmers, instead of rich farmers alone. Small farmers needed to be helped and convinced about the
utilization of fertilizers and other inputs.\textsuperscript{15}

The overall assessment of the elite towards development (economic problems) was that attempts made in this direction should not be ad hoc or piece-meal. A multi-dimensional approach with proper coordination between bureaucratic and non-official agencies must be made to tackle such problems. The benefits of development must be made available to the rural masses as a whole. Actually, what happens is that a large number of farmers have to run from pillar to post for their agricultural requirements and information. In this process, they are always exploited both by governmental and non-governmental agencies.

**SOCIAL PROBLEMS**

The approach of the elite towards problems of development, like that of the bureaucrats, was more on economic than social. Social problems were not given adequate importance by them. The elite from both the

\textsuperscript{15} The Tribune (Chandigarh, Sept. 11, 1978)
districts referred only to two main social problems 'Poverty' and 'Illiteracy'. A slight reference was also made towards the social backwardness of some areas. It appears that, while they could not deny the existence of some important problems with social bearings, the elite were unable to co-relate the social and economic aspects of development. Hence they referred to social problems merely in general terms. Another possibility is that most of the elite represent the affluent classes and as such are not much concerned with the social problems of the area. More surprising was the attitude of the Scheduled Class elite. They were also occupied mostly with the economic problems and gave only secondary importance to social problems. They were either hesitant to discuss the problem of social discrimination or being elite and office-bearers of Panchayati Raj, they were not concerned with such problems 16. Their apathy towards the problems of social discrimination, however, does not deny the existence of such a problem.

16 - This issue of the hesitation of Scheduled Caste elite to discuss social disabilities of their caste has been highlighted in a recent unpublished thesis approved by Karnataka University. Kamble, N.D.; Socio-Economic and Political Profiles of Scheduled Castes (Karnataka University, Bangalore, 1978)
Likewise, the elite were also less enthusiastic in discussing government-sponsored development schemes. Most of them referred only to the Integrated Agricultural District Programme (IADP) and the Punjab Government sponsored Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP)\textsuperscript{17}. Some references were also made to such minor schemes as Poultry and Dairy Farming, initiated by the State Government, for the welfare of the medium and small class farmers. In the context of Community Development Schemes, the elite referred to the 'Model Village' scheme, followed by minor schemes like village Drainage and the pavement of village streets.

Earlier we have found that bureaucrats, by and large, have shown their apathy by not commenting upon the success or failure of the Government-sponsored Development Schemes. In the case of elite, we therefore, proceed with the hypothesis that their

\textsuperscript{17} References have already been made to the Schemes of IADP and IRDP in previous chapters.
perception about the success or failure of the development schemes will be correlated to the nature of development in their area, i.e. elite of developed areas will be more satisfied with the success of development schemes and vice-versa. The elite response is given in Table 8-3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 8-3</th>
<th>ELITE ASSESSMENT OF THE SUCCESS OF DEVELOPMENT SCHEMES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DISTRIBUTION OF ELITE</td>
<td>NATURE OF RESPONSE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LUDHIANA</td>
<td>Block Samitis n=44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Zila Parishad n=37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total * n=81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HOSHIARPUR</td>
<td>Block Samitis n=48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Zila Parishad n=36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total n=84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The percentage is not up to 100 as 2 elite from Ludhiana and 7 from Hoshiarpur did not respond.

The response shows a significant variation between the elite of the two Districts; whereas in Ludhiana District 46% elite believe that the Govt-sponsored
development schemes have been a success, the percentage of such elite in Hoshiarpur District is only 25.0. Similarly, within Ludhiana District 52.2% of elite at Block level believe in the success of these schemes, while their percentage has decreased to 40.0 at the Zila Parishad level.

The reason why the elite of Ludhiana Block have responded to the success of development schemes is that Ludhiana along with Pakhowal and Dehlon Blocks has the distinction of securing a number of achievements within the wider context of the country. The elite

Areas where Ludhiana District leads other States of India and other Districts of Punjab.

1) Highest average yield production of wheat in the country - 31.60 qtls.
2) Highest market surplus per hectare in the State - 18.7 qtls per hec.
3) Highest percentage of cultivated area under wheat in the State - 79%
4) Highest acreage of wheat under High Yielding Varieties - 100%
5) Highest average yield of rice in the State - 36.14 per hectare
6) Highest fertilizer consumption per hectare in the country - 159 kgs.

Source: Agricultural Statistics: Ludhiana District (IADP Information Unit Ludhiana, Punjab - 1978)

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18 Areas where Ludhiana District leads other States of India and other Districts of Punjab.
of other blocks in Ludhiana District and at the Zila Parishad level, as well as those of Hoshiarpur District have not vouched so well for the success of development schemes, because their areas continue to be backward and agriculturally less developed. Some of the elite of Hoshiarpur District during an interview observed that, "No doubt scattered schemes are there. Pavements and drains have been built, but there is no continuity in the already initiated development schemes. Even the development of most of the 'Model Villages' remains incomplete".

The analysis thus confirms our hypothesis that the elite of the developed areas will be more satisfied with the success of development schemes than their counterparts in the undeveloped or under-developed areas.

The overall assessment, in the present context, is that the elite along with bureaucrats prefer economic development within the existing class-cum-caste structure to changing the whole basis of existing social structure, through social reforms. No wonder social change is more tardy than the change in economic development.
The elite were also requested to express their opinion about the mass response to development schemes. Earlier bureaucratic assessment was that the masses are satisfied with the progress of the development schemes. We proceeded with a similar hypothesis in the context of elite-response. The opinion of the respondents is given in Table 8-4.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 8-4</th>
<th>MASS SATISFACTION WITH THE PACE OF DEVELOPMENT-ELITE'S PERCEPTION</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NATURE OF RESPONSE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>HIGHLY SATISFIED</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DISTRIBUTION OF ELITE</td>
<td>% n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LUDHIANA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Block Samitis n=44</td>
<td>2.2(1) 68.3(30)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zila Parishad n=37</td>
<td>2.8(1) 54.0(20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>n=81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HOSHIARPUR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Block Samits n=48</td>
<td>18.8(9) 18.8(33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zila Parishad n=36</td>
<td>- - 33.3(12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>n=84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The response shows a significant variation between the two Districts. Whereas the people of Ludhiana
appear to be 'satisfied' with the progress of
development schemes - with a percentage of 61.7, the
response of people of Hoshiarpur District, who are
satisfied, is only 25.0 percent. The response is
natural because whereas Ludhiana is a developed District,
Hoshiarpur is a backward District. Even in Ludhiana
District, the level of elite-response has come down to
54% at the Zila Parishad level, from 68.3% at the
Block level, the cause being that Ludhiana District
includes certain Trans-Sutlej Blocks (Bet-area) that
are recognized as backward areas.

The elite response thus contradicts the bureaucratic
response that people, by and large, are satisfied with
the progress of development schemes. Our hypothesis in
this context is thus not wholly correct. As the elite
interact more frequently and freely with the people of
their area, it will be safe to assume that elite
perception of mass-satisfaction is nearer to reality
than the bureaucratic perception. However, it confirms
our earlier hypothesis that the elite or mass
satisfaction is correlated with the development of a
particular area.
BUREAUCRATS AS DEVELOPMENT AGENTS—ELITE PERCEPTION

Bureaucracy is one of the important instruments through which government-sponsored development schemes are being implemented. It is on their sincerity, and their interaction with the local elite and masses, that the success of development schemes depends. One has to view mass attitude towards their sincerity as development agents. A question was, therefore, put to elite as mass-representatives as how the people view the sincerity of the bureaucrats in implementing development schemes? Our hypothesis continues to be the same that the satisfaction of the people of a particular area is correlated with the development of that area. The elite response is given in Table 8-5.
The elite response again shows a significant variation between the two districts. As per elite perception, the satisfaction percentage of Ludhiana people is 66.6 whereas that of Hoshiarpur people, it is only 45.2. Our hypothesis that mass satisfaction with the sincerity of bureaucrats is co-related with the pace of development in an area is thus confirmed. The people in Ludhiana District appear to be more satisfied than the people of Hoshiarpur District.
Apart from the pace of development which determines the mass-satisfaction in a particular area, it appears that socio-economic background of the constituents also plays its part in determining the level of mass-satisfaction. In this context, we must have a fair idea as to who, according to the elite, are 'people'. Actually, in Ludhiana, the Jats are a dominant class and occupy significant positions in bureaucracy and Panchayati Raj Organization. (This we have already confirmed in our earlier Chapter on Socio-Economic profile of the elite and bureaucrats). Most of the Ludhiana population also belong to the same community. Linking this fact with the pace of development in Ludhiana, it can now be explained why the Ludhiana elite state that people in Ludhiana are satisfied with the sincerity of bureaucrats. In contrast Hoshiarpur has a diffused pattern of population, with a large number of scheduled class people. Thus, there is a clash of interests between the bureaucrats, the elite and the rest of the population. Hence, the elite response in Hoshiarpur is that people are not much
satisfied with the pace of development in the district.

Proceeding further with the same assumption that mass-satisfaction is co-related with the intensity of development in an area, we can put forward a similar hypothesis about the political elite. The response of elite is given in Table 8-6.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DISTRIBUTION OF ELITE</th>
<th>NATURE OF RESPONSE</th>
<th>AGENTS-ELITE PERCEPTION OF MASS OPINION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Highly Satisfied</td>
<td>Less Satisfied</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% n</td>
<td>% n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**LUDHIANA**

- Block Samitis $n=44$
  - 2.2(1) 75.0(33) 22.8(10) - -
- Zila Parishad $n=37$
  - 2.8(1) 59.4(22) 37.8(14) - -
- Total $n=81$
  - 2.5(2) 67.9(55) 29.6(24) - -

**HOSHIARPUR**

- Block Samitis $n=48$
  - 4.2(2) 41.6(20) 54.2(26) - -
- Zila Parishad $n=36$
  - - - 61.1(22) 36.1(13) 2.8(1)
- Total $n=84$
  - 2.3(2) 50.0(42) 46.4(39) 1.3(1)

Once again there is a significant variation between the two districts of Ludhiana and Hoshiarpur.
Whereas the people of Ludhiana appear to be more satisfied with the sincerity of their leaders (67.9%), the level of satisfaction in Hoshiarpur District is 50%. Even at the Block level (grass root), the satisfaction percentage in Ludhiana is as high as 75.0%, whereas it is only 41.6% in Hoshiarpur. Thus the hypothesis that mass-satisfaction is co-related with the intensity of development in an area applies both to bureaucrats and the elite. In this context, reference is also made to our earlier hypothesis (in Chapter III page 16) that the elite-mass relationship is correlated with the intensity of development in a particular area, and the hypothesis stands fully confirmed. The fact also explains why mass satisfaction with the sincerity of elite and bureaucrats as development agents is more in Ludhiana than in Hoshiarpur district.

BUREAUCRATIC ADJUSTMENT WITH THE NEW CONCEPTS OF DEVELOPMENT-ELITE PERCEPTION

We have already conceptualized development in terms of socio-economic change. The rural elite and the masses are gradually becoming tuned to such a process of
change. They are also conscious of the bureaucratic role in this process. Next we explore how the elite view the bureaucrat as an agent of development. No bureaucrat will deny the importance of his role in the development effort. Some earlier studies however referred to bureaucratic-consciousness about their privileges, powers and status. The general impression is that the bureaucrats have been unable to adjust themselves completely to their new role as agents of development.

Interviews with the respondents in this connection showed that the elite do not doubt the knowledge and capabilities of bureaucrats. Bureaucrats may not be totally familiar with the contemporary meanings of the term 'Development', but they have a fair knowledge of the practical aspects of development. This is due to the nature of their job and experience. The Elite maintain that Government appoints them with the assumption that they know well their job and will work sincerely. As such there is no ground to doubt that they lack knowledge about development.
The elite also felt that most of the policy-decisions on development projects were taken under political pressure to promote the political career of certain influential politicians. Bureaucrats thus have no major share in policy-formulation on development.

The elite were also questioned regarding the principles under which bureaucrats must function. They were requested to give preference out of the four variables - viz. Ideological Commitment, Political Control, Administrative Experience and Neutrality. Whereas the bureaucrats have preferred 'neutrality'

19 - There is a general impression among the people that Ministers, MLA's or MP's in order to get themselves re-elected, devote more attention to their constituencies and would like that major development projects should first be started in their areas. This also confirms earlier bureaucratic assumption that political power in such areas is by and large in the hands of the upper category of landed - interests and that such elements have also been able to manage themselves to be the elected representatives of their areas in state or union legislatures.
by which they mean 'non-interference' by the politicians in their administrative work, the elite response was recorded with a similar hypothesis that the elite too would prefer neutrality in the administrative work of Bureaucrats. The elite-response is reflected in Table 8-7.

**TABLE 8-7**
**ELITE PERCEPTION OF ADMINISTRATIVE FUNCTIONING OF BUREAUCRATS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DISTRIBUTION OF ELITE</th>
<th>NATURE OF RESPONSE</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Based on Political Administration</td>
<td>Ideology</td>
<td>Control</td>
<td>Neutrality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% n</td>
<td>% n</td>
<td>% n</td>
<td>% n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**LUDHIANA**
Block Samitis* n=44 11.4(5) 18.2(8) 40.9(18) 13.6(6)
Zila Parishad* n=37 10.8(4) 13.5(5) 72.9(27) - -
Total * n=81 11.1(9) 16.0(13) 55.5(45) 7.4(6)

**HOSHIARPUR**
Block Samitis* n=48 12.4(6) 8.4(4) 62.5(3) 14.5(7)
Zila Parishad* n=36 2.8(1) 8.3(3) 58.3(21) 27.8(10)
Total * n=84 8.3(7) 8.3(7) 60.7(51) 20.2(17)

* The total percentage is not up to 100, as 8 elite from Ludhiana, and 2 elite from Hoshiarpur, did not respond.

The response of the elite does not show any significant variation in the two districts. In both
districts, a predominant majority of elite prefer to utilize the administrative experience of Bureaucrats for development purpose - the percentage being 55.5 in Ludhiana and 60.7 in Hoshiarpur. The elite are not much concerned about the ideology or the principle of neutrality, the respective percentage being 11.1 and 7.4 in Ludhiana and 8.3 and 20.2 in the case of Hoshiarpur. Hence the hypothesis that the elite too prefer the principle of neutrality in the administrative work is wrong. Actually, the elite response is in contradiction to bureaucratic response. The latter prefer 'neutrality' in the sense of non-interference in their work by the elite, whereas the former like to utilise the administrative experience of bureaucrats for purposes of development. The elite approach is more logical. They do not challenge the knowledge and administrative experience of bureaucrats. Their only desire is that such experience and qualities should be properly channelised. They do not want that bureaucrats should simply do what they are told to do, but should give the benefit of their knowledge and experience to the elite and for mass-welfare.
ELITE PERCEPTION OF COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP

We have already assumed that the elite in a modern democratic system has to perform a dual role. He represents his own social group and also acts as an elected representative of his area. As an elected representative he also represents a system or an ideology. No doubt, our study has shown that the existing Panchayati Raj Leadership is dominated by the elite of higher caste and class, but at the same time they cannot keep themselves in power or in authority in the existing system of universal suffrage without mass support. We have, therefore, to accept as well that such elite are also the leaders of their area.

No doubt, leadership exhibits the basic characteristics of a deference relationship. The dominance of the leaders may not be purely formal but effective among their rank and file. The leader is respected because he exercises power. What we intend to find is whether such leadership is traditional or development-oriented. Following independent variables were selected for elite-response.
Behaviour, Intelligence and Capacity to get things done were grouped together and were recognised as development-oriented variables. Wealth, Power and Status were grouped separately and were recognised as traditional variables. Religion and Ideology were also grouped as separate variables. The elite were requested to give their preference for these variables which in their opinion were instrumental in their popularity among the people of the area. The elite-response was recorded with the hypothesis that the respect for leadership among the masses normally depends on traditional factors like wealth, status and power. The elite response is reflected in Table 8-8.
TABLE 8-8 ELITE PERCEPTION OF COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NATURE OF RESPONSE</th>
<th>DISTRIBUTION OF ELITE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Block Samitis n=44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behaviour</td>
<td>86.4(38)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intelligence</td>
<td>13.6(6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Capacity to Wealth</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Get Things</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Power</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Done</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Status</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ideology</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

LUDHIANA

HOSHIARPUR

The response does not show any significant variation between the two districts. It appears that the elite favor that modern leaders should have qualities like good behaviour, and a remarkable intelligence to grasp the problems of the people. The leader must also possess a capacity of interacting with the bureaucrats on behalf of his constituents and ensure that the work of his constituents is done. The response is 81.4% in Ludhiana, and 86.9% in Hoshiarpur district.
Traditional qualities like wealth, power, status and religion which ensured leadership in the past now occupy only secondary importance. It is surprising that even political ideology occupies an insignificant preference in elite-preference (4.9% in Ludhiana and 2.4% in Hoshiarpur District).

A number of elite observed during interviews that these days people are mostly concerned with their economic problems. They confide in, and trust such leaders as are instrumental in their economic uplift. A modern leader has no option but to associate himself with the problems and requirements of his constituents. Wealth and status are gradually losing their impact on the people as the basis of leadership. Power by itself is distrusted, though it is given recognition due to its utility, for it increases the capacity
of a leader to be useful to his people. Ideology is treated significantly only during State and Parliamentary Elections. The criterion of elective post in the local bodies continues to be the welfare of the people, and not merely political ideology.

The emerging leadership has thus to cultivate some qualities if they want to win the confidence of their constituents. It was suggested that in the

20 - Despite changed circumstances and a secular outlook adopted by leaders in the context of development, it has also been observed that the role of power, authority and status cannot be minimised. Status and authority in the Indian villages are still ascribed and the fact is recognised and accepted by all. With changing times, the leaders have sought for other secular forms of power such as holding elective posts, but the overall effect of their position is the same as before.

Sen Lalit; Opinion Leadership in India - A study of inter-personal communication in eight villages
(National Institute of Community Development, Hyderabad - 1959)
modern context the elite -

1) must develop an aptitude to learn and share their knowledge and experience with his people;
2) must help his constituents in times of need;
3) must show his interest in village problems and a keenness for village uplift;
4) must possess a progressive outlook. He must make himself available to his constituents at all times;
5) must develop the qualities of integrity, honesty and dynamism.

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OVERALL ASSESSMENT

Unlike bureaucrats, whose perception of development appears to be limited (i.e. to the implementation of government-sponsored development schemes and reforms), the perception of elite in terms of development is more liberal. They interpret 'development as a process of socio-economic' change and a change in the values and attitudes of the people. They are prepared to co-operate with the government-sponsored schemes and reforms, provided such schemes are implemented through a democratic process instead of bureaucratic compulsion.

It also appears that whereas bureaucrats' feelings about their role-performance as development agents are of self-satisfaction, the elite do not feel so. They as well as the people of their area correlate the role performance of the concerned elite with the intensity of development in their area.

We find that whereas the bureaucrats are non-committal about the success of government-sponsored development schemes, the elite too appear to be suspicious.
Both the bureaucrats and the elite are primarily concerned with the problems of agriculture development. Social problems, for them do not occupy a high priority. However, the elite have been more articulate in discussing development problems, as compared to bureaucrats. Their response give a clear insight regarding the existing bottle-necks, that are retarding the progress of development.

The elite are conscious of the changing values of development. They know that in spite of their class/caste domination in the development bodies, they cannot take their positions for granted. They cannot totally ignore the aspirations of the constituents they represent, for whom they have to adopt a secular and sympathetic outlook. The bureaucrats appear to have no such feelings.

We can therefore assume for further discussion that such an attitudinal variation between bureaucrats and the elite will have a lot of influence on their role-performance and interaction as partners and coordinators in the process of development.