CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION
INTRODUCTION

PROBLEM, CONCEPTUALIZATION
AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The process of modernisation in developing countries has brought to surface multi-dimensional problems. These problems have to be conceptualized both within a highly technical, differentiated and a modernised society and in a traditional society. Such a study also includes the nature of change in its social structure, value-orientation and norms of behaviour. An attempt is thus made to synchronize "modernisation" with "development". The basic postulates of "development" still include such concepts as 'modernisation process', secularism, sub-system autonomy and role - differentiation and a multi-faceted process involving changes in all areas of human thought and activity. The dynamics of development however requires that the social system must develop its own capacity to articulate the demand for change and also the adaptability to absorb change. In other words the basic postulates and dynamics of

1- Peter, David: Politics of Modernization (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1965)
2- Almond, Gabriel and Powell: Comparative Politics - a development approach, (Little Brown, Boston, 1966) P. 299
development must interact with each other, in order to provide a proper definitional perspective for development.

In order to bring about a social change, the system has to achieve a great deal of social mobilisation. Highly motivated social mobilisation, however, requires political communication through effective channels between the masses and the governing elite. No nation-building can take place without social mobilisation and mass-involvement, which further needs the creation of a complete network of communication system to ensure elite-mass interaction in the activities of nation-building. The channel of communication, however, vary according to the nature of political system. In developed countries such channels are already highly mobilised. But in developing countries, with their transitional organisational structure which is partly modern and partly traditional, communication media too are imperfectly mobilised. This


5 Shambri, C.P.; "Nation-Building in Third World; Some issues for discussion" (A Paper submitted in an International Seminar on political development in South Asia, Jaipur 1973) p. 6-7
results in different value-orientations among the governing elite.

In such a situation, an analysis of power-equation and the perception of values among the governing elite assume great importance.

Development will be smooth if value consensus exists among the elite, but if elite hold conflicting values, the process of development undergoes a chain of crises leading sometimes to instability and disorder. Such crises may arise not merely due to value and attitudinal differences among the elite, but they are also due to the various dichotomies that prevail within the system. Such dichotomy arises due to either a correlated relationship between mass-aspirations and elite-responses or due to inter-elite interaction in their respective roles. Naturally, it has its impact upon the working of the system.

The interaction problem becomes more acute so far as the relationship between the governing elite (political elite and bureaucrats) is concerned. Whereas because of tensions caused by the interaction of their respective cultures.

Such dichotomies may exist between the elite and the masses, between governing and non-governing elite or between governing elite themselves.
the ruling political elite may prefer a "committed bureaucracy", the bureaucrats prefer to act with some discretion within the framework of the broad policies laid down by their political masters. As P.V. Rao, I.C.S. — Retd. (1970) observes:

Public servants are bound loyally to implement the policies of the Government, but there can be no obligation that career services shall believe in the principles underlying the policies of the Government of the day. Such an obligation can be sought under a dictatorship.

A similar ideological approach from the political elite and bureaucrats continues to be a debatable point but a similarity of attitude of the elite is of prime importance, for the whole process of development and nation-building depends upon the similarities of their view on development. Such similarities of views, mutual co-operation and trust can be expected from the elite, if they come from a similar socio-economic background. It will breed tension if the background is different.

7- Address of Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi to Congress Parliament Party on Nov. 16, 1969 and the circular letter of Cabinet Secretary N.K. Mukherji on the assumption of office by Janata Party in March 1977, to all the officers of the Government of India requesting them to possess an adequate knowledge of the ideology of Janata Government.

Consequently, there has to be a positive correlation among the elite, if development is to be accelerated.

We have also to take stock of changes which are taking place in the patterns of behaviour in the traditional social set-up. As democratisation takes place, more and more sections of society are brought inside the political and bureaucratic pool. Consequently, new aspirations arise, which the politicians have to cater to. The political leadership seeks to synthesise some past authoritarian tendencies for purpose of development and also to reconcile it with the democratic urges of the people. The bureaucrats have no such compulsions. They resist change, assuming that any decision for change, if taken, should come from authority at the top of the hierarchy. On the other hand, a politician works for a change with the belief that policies and decisions will be more rational and democratic, if they are first widely debated and then approved. The process of social satisfaction thus becomes more slow and unresponsive in a bureaucratic framework as compared to a political framework.

Bureaucrats also react unfavourably to the devices adopted by the politicians to secure mass base. It is

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Bureaucrats also react unfavourably to the devices adopted by the politicians to secure mass base. It is their feeling that they are better organized and trained than the politicians to deal with the administrative and developmental problems. Bureaucrats react, as and when the politicians try to waive the procedural rules or use unconventional devices in order to secure their mass base. Commenting on such an approach by politicians (specially in the case of late Partap Singh Kairon, Chief Minister of Punjab), one journalist (1973) observes:

"...he was a man blunt in speech, direct in approach, impatient with bureaucratic delays and disdainful of the proprieties of public life ... that he devoted himself single-mindedly to the economic advancement of the state, few doubted. But the progress was obtained at a terrible price. The rule of law suffered and the morale of the public servants reached an all-time low." 10

Earlier attempts to visualize inter-elitc relationship were non-paradigmatic, ideological and normative. Max Weber supplies such a functional and ideological analysis of political structure. But this approach has been criticised as one-sided, because it does not take into consideration some of the dysfunctional tendencies of the structure. In this context Martin Landau

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observes that "Administrative services are still in its pre-paradigmatic stage, marked by a plethora of competing schools, a polyglot of languages and accordingly a confusion of logics." 11

The current tendencies are, however, towards more empirical and ecological studies. 9 It has been said that recently there has developed a tendency for comparative study, to move in method and outlook, from the normative to empirical and from non-ecological to ecological. 12 As a result, it is easy to use a paradigm - a 'structural formation' for the purpose of such studies. 5 The advantage of such a study is that it helps in the analysis of the problem within the prescribed dimensions. 13 It also enables to test further hypothesis and thus generate new theories. 6

Concerning interaction too, the structural pattern has an added advantage because of its impact upon the actual relations between the elite. Heady (1968) visualizes it as a model which consists a series of concentric circles, with bureaucracy at the center. 7 The smallest circle generally

11- Landau, Martini: "The study of organizational behaviour", (Papers in Comparative Public Administration, special series No.3-American Society of Public Administration 1956)

has the most decisive influence and the larger circles represent a descending order of importance, as far as bureaucracy is concerned. The large circle may be visualized as representing general social system. The next circle represent the economic system. The inner circle is the political system which encloses the administrative sub-system and bureaucratic sub-system as one of its elements. In our study too, we also intend viewing bureaucracy and political administration as sub-system of the political system, as it will facilitate the study of their interaction. Still the question remains, whether such interaction studies should be abstracted from the whole matrix of behaviour within which they occur and then transform it into a 'model' or allow it to be expressed in the accumulated reactions that may limit and guide the formulation of political decisions. The purpose of the present study is to deal with the problem of development which confronts the nation-builders - the governing elite in a particular setting. In a sense this endeavour is a preference for the 'model frame'.


EARLIER STUDIES

The earlier studies on the subject examine the question as how far in a developing country - a classical bureaucracy can act as an effective instrument of modernisation? A number of western scholars and some of their Indian counterparts have expressed their apprehensions about the efficacy of such a bureaucracy to achieve modernisation. It has been contended that development cannot be achieved through the instrumentality of classical bureaucracy. Rather it is treated as synonymous with red-tape, nepotism and corruption.16

Riggs also observes that "pre-mature or too rapid expansion of bureaucracy, when the political system lags behind tends to inhibit the development of effective policies". Among Indian scholars Dube, Kothari and

17- Riggs, F.V.; Governmental Bureaucracies and Non-Governmental Bureaucracies, (edited by J. La Palambara), Bureaucracy and Political Development, Princeton University, Princeton, 1963), p. 126
19- Kothari, S.1 and Roy Ramashray; Relation between the politician and the Administrator at the District Level, (Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi, 1969), p. 170
Shambri are also of the same opinion that the structure and ethos of Indian bureaucracy are suited more to law and order functions than to massive nation-building, that they have not developed new traditions, but continue to draw strength from old traditions. As such they are not suitable to the administrative needs of modern India. On the other hand, Braibanti credits Indian bureaucracy with impressive adaptability and resilience. It has changed its composition, disposition and, although to a lesser degree, the character of its activity. Taub also regards the same way when he observes:

Officials behave as they do, because of the nature of the situation in which they must function, reflecting the bureaucratic system and the task they are required to perform, rather than because of any defect in their training or deficiencies in their cultural background. Seen in this light the Indian Bureaucracy has performed well.


The second important question raised by the earlier studies is about the nature of guidance by the politician to a bureaucrat in a developing democracy. Like a politician, a bureaucrat's role is that of a nation-builder. He can be successful only, if his vision is much wider than that of most of his counterparts in developing countries. He must imbibe qualities like listening to and appreciating the needs of both his political masters and the general public, the ability to retain the confidence of his political superiors; and the propensity to appreciate that development requires not only planning but also doing it by the effective use of trained and motivated staff. In this context, Riggs suggests a firm political guidance to the bureaucrats.

But, bureaucrats resist such political motivation. They believe that people's representatives are unaware of administrative methods and procedure. They cannot be relied upon to play an effective role in this field. As per nature of their job, the bureaucrats are trained for administration, policy-formulation and programming.

They have enough knowledge and experience of administrative work. The bureaucrats, thus, can carry development responsibilities more efficiently than the

23- Riggs, F.U.S op.cit, p. 129
FOCUS OF THE PRESENT STUDY

Strikingly enough controversies raised in the earlier studies try to equate both macro and micro levels of administrative process. The difference, however, lies in that whereas a macro administrative process is controlled by the political philosophy or conventions under which a society chooses to govern itself, the micro administrative process is influenced only by certain established principles, procedure and techniques, that guide the governance of that structure.

The existing assumption, therefore, is that only a particular structural-pattern influences the interactional pattern of ruling elite at that level. A deep sociological study of such elite is required to get correct results. The study should be within the actual work-setting of the concerned elite. Attempts should also be made to find the nature of linkages which exist between the elite, both vertically and horizontally.

24- In a conversation with an Administrative Officer associated with development work in the field.

The aim of this study is, first of all, to delimit the subject-matter of the enquiry, and then to deal with the interaction of the ruling elite, the political as well as the Bureaucrats, both at the District level and the Block level. This is essential, for both these administrative structures have acquired a critical position for the purpose of development. An endeavour will be made to examine the link between the two dependent variables - Political elite and the Bureaucrats at the above two levels. It is at these two levels that the elite not only articulate the needs and aspirations of the people, but also play an effective role in the formulation and implementation of development programmes.

No doubt, some empirical studies have been conducted on this subject, but they have been mainly isolated research studies either at Block or District Level. In my opinion an empirical focus which links

26- Studies at Block level, please see Mathur, Kuldi; Bureaucratic response to Development, (National Publishing House, Delhi, 1972)

Studies at District level, please see Mathur, Kuldi; Daval, Tailor & Shattagharya Mohiti; District Administration (Macmillian and Co-Delhi, 1976)

Chaturvedi, N.R.; Bureaucracy and Local Community- Dynamics of Development; (Allied Publishers Pvt.Ltd., New Delhi, 1977)

Kothari, S. and Roy Ramshrey; op.cit. Footnote 19
both these levels of research would offer a greater scope than would a research at either of the two levels, because development itself is a total activity. Ignoring any sector will create imbalances. A balanced inter-actional pattern can be ascertained only if a research project correlates the process at both the levels.

The main objective of the present research is to enumerate the inter-actional pattern of the elite, and to analyse its impact on development. Consequently, the following procedure has been adopted:

The first step is to locate the political and bureaucratic elite at the Block and District levels. In this context, we have identified the members of the Block Samities and Zila Parishads as political elite, and officers directly associated with development work at Block and District levels as bureaucratic elite.

The main hypothesis of the present study is that the class and caste composition of the elite represent a similar socio-economic setting. Naturally, a positive co-relation can be expected between elite perceptions, attitude and behaviour, due to their caste and class composition.

In the second place, an attempt will be made to analyse the bureaucratic and political elite's perception of the Panchayati Raj structure. This is
important because structural pattern has an obvious effect upon the actual relations of the interacting agents.

Then, the communication process and the nature of the contact between the elite themselves, and between them and the masses will be analysed.

Later on, elite perception of development and its impact on the process of development will be studied.

Lastly, and in the context of all the above objectives, the interaction pattern between the political elite and bureaucrats and its impact on development will be studied.

CONCEPTUALIZATION

1) DEVELOPMENT

Before we examine the main argument presented in the present study, it will be conducive to clarity, if we make the concepts used in this study clear. The concept of "development" by itself is quite elusive and defies any single definition. Economists identify it with economic productivity; sociologists with social change or social differentiation; political scientists with

27 For example, Lucian W. Pye after examining as many as ten definitions, has conceded that there are other possible interpretations of political development.

democratization, political capacity or expanded governmental administration with bureaucratization, optimum efficiency, performance or capacity to assume all burdens. In this study "development" has been regarded as something societal, rather than differentiated, specialised economic, political and social referent. So the term development here has been used in the context of a "change", that can be brought about through a series of programmes which are designed to attain certain clear-cut and specified objectives and goals expressed in operational terms. The elite are engaged in a variety of inter-dependent and inter-related tasks, which can be termed as promotional, enforcemental and developmental. This study is limited towards the analysis of Agricultural Development only, because the main thrust of the Punjab Government these days is directed towards it. Furthermore, development schemes initiated and implemented within an organisational framework can be quantitatively measured. This is not possible in other fields of development.

2) STRUCTURE

By "structure", we mean an ordered arrangement with an organisation. The components of the structure 28

28- In this specific context, development becomes a parameter of a political system's capability to accommodate & bring about modernization in the three areas of economy, society & culture with capacity, differentiation and equality as their central notions.

are the human beings who are arranged in relationship that are institutionally defined and regulated. It also indicates a network of relationship between the persons who have different roles to play at different levels of hierarchy. It also provides the basic framework of norms and values within which role incumbents interact. In the present study the term "structure" implies the organisation and functioning of development administration within the framework of Panchayati Raj.

3) ELITE

A basic assumption on which elite concept in the present study is based is the ability of the elite as community leaders to articulate, represent and protect the interests of the masses and to work for their uplift. We have tried to avoid the traditional factor of 'power' and substitute it by the 'welfare' element in

29- Hierarchy can be defined as a system for ranking positions along a descending scale from the top to the bottom of an organisation

Preesthus Roberti op-cit. p.31
the conceptualization of elite. The availability of the elite has also been linked with the structure, through which they are supposed to function and interact. We thus opt for a model, where though the elite are recognised as an independent variable, yet their two sub-parts - political elite and bureaucrats are treated as dependent variables. Here, we are using the term 'elite' for such political leaders as are the elected representatives of their

30 - Lamwell and Kaplan refer to 'power' element in elite-mass relationship. According to them, dominance of the leader is not purely formal but effective among the rank and file. The leader is respected, in part because of his personal qualities, but in part because of his possession of power itself. He enjoys prestige and he is accorded rectitude.


However, Tannenbaum challenges the 'power' concept. According to him - "Leadership defines, initiates, and maintains social structure. The social system is to speak, programmed through leadership. Understanding leadership, then should be simple and parsimonious approach to understanding the larger social system. Leadership can have consequences for the lives and welfare of large number of people and therefore those who are concerned with the practical consequences of human actions must be concerned with leadership."

people within the dimensions of Panchayati Raj whereas the term "bureaucracy" have been conceptualized for such Officers, as, in similar dimensions and for similar purpose, are associated with the political elite.\

4) COMMUNICATION

"Communication" in our study is recognised as a process, whereby links are maintained within the system - links which connect various levels within a hierarchy which moves upwards, downwards and sideways. It also includes elite-mass relationship, which can either be through bureaucracy, or political elites or both. "Communication" is thus treated as a process which becomes both interactive and purposeful. The effective

31- While Lesswalian formula of who says, what, to whom and with what effect, involve some essential ingredient of the communication system that helps maintain power-relationship, it has been criticised as restrictive and one-directional for a framework of critical research by both Bernard Berelson and Jean Blondel. As they observe - "actually our purpose is to see communication as a movement of demand and decisions from one part of the system to another, so no operation of the system can take place unless part of the system can communicate with each other. Communication links together the parts of the system and also the present with the past and the future, so that demands are followed by policies."

utilization of power, leadership and decision-making process depends much upon an efficient communication system. It can also be used by the elite as an instrument for stimulating masses for the declared development objectives. The means of communications referred to in this study are both mass-media communication and interpersonal communication.

Interaction

"Interaction" arises when there is a certain degree of co-ordination or conflict or difference between the interacting individual or groups. Coordination may later on develop into a stable pattern of interaction, while difference into tension. The nature of such a pattern can then be termed as a relationship between the units concerned. Interaction pattern within a structure, in an ideological perspective visualizes that all systems acquire essentially a similar structure, based on certain established norms of social behaviour. The interacting process between the elite in such a system, is measured according to these established norms of social behaviour. The existing approach, however, is more ecological. It asserts that behaviour is not random, it is an outgrowth of the cultural traits and values of the elite in the system. As such the role of the elite will have to be examined in terms of the workability of elite-partnership in both administrative and social set-up of the system."
SETTING

The setting of the present research project is within the territorial jurisdiction of the state of Punjab. There are twelve districts in the state, which falls within three administrative units known as divisions—Jullundur, Ferozepore and Patiala. The districts of Gurdaspur, Amritsar, Jullundur, Kapurthala and Hoshiarpur are in Jullundur Division. Ludhiana, Ropar, Sangrur and Patiala fall in Patiala Division, whereas Ferozepore, Bhatinda and Faridkot comprise Ferozepore Division. The districts are further divided into blocks and there are one hundred and seventeen blocks in the state. The purport of this work is to analyse the interaction of bureaucrats and political elite at the district and block levels—especially in the context of development. Since it is a comparative study, the criteria of selecting a 'more developed' and a 'less developed' unit for sample study have been adopted. This approach will prove advantageous in arriving at a balanced view of the problem.

On the basis of the available data and as per census report of 1971, the districts of Punjab have been classified as "more developed" districts and "less developed" districts. Jullundur and Ludhiana are among the more developed districts, whereas Hoshiarpur and Bhatinda are among the less developed districts. The
initial selection of the districts has thus been made on the basis of 'stratified sampling.' It is within these stratified groups that we have selected at random our districts and blocks. Thus, among the more developed districts, we have selected at random 'Ludhiana District' and among the 'less developed districts,' Hoshiarpur District has been selected as our area of study.

Ludhiana district is further divided into ten blocks - Ludhiana, Managat, Mechhiuara, Samrala, Deraha, Dehlon Sujhar, Pakhowal, Jaqran and Sidhwan Bhat. Out of these, three blocks - Mechhiuara, Managat and Sidhwan Bhat have been recognised as 'less developed' blocks.

Similarly, there are eleven blocks in Hoshiarpur District. They are Mukerian, Oamuys, Taluara, Bhunga, Hoshiarpur I, Hoshiarpur II, Tanda, Mahilpur, Garhsenkar, Saroya and Balachaur. Out of these three blocks - Taluara, Saroya and Bhunga have been recognised as 'less developed' blocks. Thus, among the developed blocks, we have selected 'at random' Ludhiana block in Ludhiana district and Tanda block in Hoshiarpur district. Among the 'less developed' blocks, Sidhwan Bhat in Ludhiana district and Taluara block in Hoshiarpur district have

32- Grwal, R.S. and Rangi, P.S. Underdeveloped areas in Punjab with special reference to Agriculture. (Punjab Agricultural University - Table 6) p. 11 & 16
been selected, whereas appendix 'A' shows a map of the
total blocks in Punjab, appendix 'B' and 'C' shows the
maps of Ludhiana and Hoshiarpur districts with their
blocks.

DEMOGRAPHIC AND DEVELOPMENT DATA OF LUDHIANA AND
HOSHIARPUR DISTRICTS

LUDHIANA DISTRICT

Ludhiana is one of the central district of Punjab
state. It lies between the North Latitude 30° - 34° and
31° - 01° and East Longitude 75° - 18° and 75° - 20°. It
is bound by the Jullundur district in the north, Roper
in the east, Faridkot and Ferozepur in the west and
Patiala and Sangrur in the south. The Sutlej river
separates it from Jullundur district. The district
covers an area of 3657 square kilometers with a population
of 14,19,421 (as per 1971 census). The region contains
a fertile alluvial soil.

Religionwise, Sikhs constitute 63% of the total
population, of whom Jats are in a predominant position;
Hindu population of the district is 36%. The scheduled
castes represent 22-36% of the district's population.

33- As Sikhs constitute the majority of the population
it can be assumed that a majority of scheduled
caste population of Ludhiana will also be Sikhs.
(Source - District Welfare Office, Ludhiana)
Ludhiana is a district with a high density of population—368 persons per square kilometer. The rural population constitutes 65.19% of district's population. The economy of the district continues to be agro-based despite its rapid shift towards industrialisation.

DEVELOPMENT DATA

Selecting 'Agriculture' as a variable for measuring the development of a particular area in Punjab, Ludhiana is called as a 'more developed' district because:

1) 85% of the total area of the district is under cultivation, (out of the total area of 378 hectares, 323 hectares are sown). This is the highest in the State.

2) The whole area under cultivation is covered by high yielding varieties of wheat. The district leads the country in yield per hectare (30.7 qtls)

34- District Census Book - Ludhiana District (Director Census Operations Punjab - Census 1971 - A glimpse of the District), p. 3-4

35- Ludhiana is on the industrial map of India for its hosiery, cycle and cycle parts industries and for its sewing-machines.

compared to 14.6 qtl. of Punjab and 5.6 qtl. of India. Its contribution to central wheat pool is eight times that of India and two times of Punjab.

3) The total irrigated area in the district ranges from 81 to 87% of the total area, while the proportion of area irrigated by tube-wells in the district is as high as 93 to 98%.

4) The district of Ludhiana along with Jullunder district possesses a very high concentration of agricultural machinery. About 27% of total number of tube-wells and 24% of tractors are found in these two districts.

5) The use of chemical fertilisers is also the highest in this district. From 72.8 kgs of fertilizer consumption per net area sown (in acres) in 1966-67, it has risen to 250-00 kgs in 1975-76.

6) The average gross value-productivity for Ludhiana District is Rs. 2240/- per hectare, whereas for Punjab state it is Rs. 1899/- per hectare.
HOSHIARPUR DISTRICT

1) CENSUS DATA

Hoshiarpur district is located in the North-East of the State, bordering Himachal Pradesh on the East. On the North-East, it is fringed by the foothills of the Shivalik Range. The Beas river forms its North-Western boundary and separates it from Gurdaspur district. The river Sutlej in the south separates it from Kapur district. In the west it is connected with Jullundur district. The district lies between the North Latitude 30°-57' and East Longitude 32°-05'. The district covers an area of 3883 sq. kilometers, with a population of 10,52,153 (as per 1971 census). The district consists of sub-montane, semi-mountainous and plain region. One hundred and eighty eight 'choos', taking their origin from the 'Katar Dhar Sola Singhi', (Sixteen horn-ridge) flow through the plains of the district at short distance from each other. Precisely for this reason, it is called as a 'District of Choso'.

Religionwise, Hindus constitute 59.25% of the total population of the district. (The highest figures for any district in the state). Sikhs are only 39.38% of the district's population. The percentage of rural population is 88%. The density of population is 271 person per sq.kilometer. The economy of the district is predominantly dependent upon agriculture.
towards industrialisation is negligible.

II) DEVELOPMENT DATA

With 'agriculture' as a measuring variable, Hoshiarpur is termed as one of the 'least developed' districts because:

1) It has got the lowest net area sown in the state. It is estimated that nearly 30% of the area of the district is affected by choos, and as such not fit for cultivation.

2) The area under high yielding varieties of seeds in 1975-76 was only 86 per thousand hectares.

3) Irrigation in the district is available to only 43% of the total area of the district. The proportion of the area irrigated by tube-wells is 76% of the irrigated area.

4) Mechanisation of agriculture has yielded some good results but they are insignificant as compared to Ludhiana.

5) The use of chemical fertilizers in 1975-76 was only 64 million tones in the district.

6) The gross value productivity for Hoshiarpur distt. is only Rs. 1744/- as compared to Rs. 1890/- for

38- District Census Book - Hoshiarpur District
(Director Census Operations Punjab-Census 1971 - A glimpse of the District), p.3-4
In Ludhiana district, the blocks adjoining the river Satluj (known as Bat area) are comparatively less-developed. Their percentage of irrigated area, crop intensity and pace of agricultural mechanization is low as compared to other blocks. As has been pointed out earlier, Sidhwan Bat has been selected at random as a sample block from this area. In Hoshiarpur district the percentage of irrigated area in the least developed block is only 13.3%, as compared with the district's average of 30.0%. These blocks are also characterized by undulating topography and the deep water level, with meagre underground water-resources. Out of these blocks, we have selected Talwara on a similar random-sampling basis. Among the selected more-developed blocks of Ludhiana, the percentage of irrigated area is 87.1%, whereas that of Ludhiana district, the percentage is 64.9%. Similarly, the percentage of irrigated area in Tends block, selected as a more developed block in Hoshiarpur district is 44%, in comparison to 30% of the district as a whole.

SELECTION OF RESPONDENTS

Selection of respondents has been made within the infrastructure created by the Punjab Panchayat Samiti and Zilla Parishad Act of 1961. The elites have been
classified into two categories for purpose of detailed analysis. The Elite, who are the elected, coopted, main nominated and associated member of Zila Parishads and Panchayat Samitis of the selected areas have been categorised as 'Political elite', while the category of such officers as are the ex-officio members of these bodies, alongside those officers as are actively associated with the development process, have been named 'bureaucratic elite' or 'bureaucrats'. The following respondents therefore have been recognised as 'political elite' and 'bureaucratic elite' for purpose of this research.

POLITICAL ELITE

a) The block level political elite include -
   i) the elected members of the Panchayat Samitis of Ludhiana, Sidhwan Bet, Tanda and Talwara
   ii) co-opted members from cooperative societies and marketing societies
   iii) nominated women and scheduled castes members of these blocks and
   iv) the M.L.A's falling within the areas of these samitis.

b) The district level political elite include -
   i) Chairman of Zila Parishad
   ii) Chairman of each

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Out of 12 Zila Parishads in the State only two Zila Parishads are functioning-Mohaliarpur being one of them. Elections to Ludhiana Zila Parishad have been completed, but the body has not been legally notified in the Government Gazette. Hence, there has been no election for Chairman, Zila Parishad, Ludhiana.
Panchayat Samiti of these two districts as members of Zila Parishad Ludhiana and Hoshiarpur (iii) two elected members of each Panchayat Samiti of these two districts as members of the Zila Parishad (iv) one scheduled caste member from each Panchayat Samiti of these two districts as member Zila Parishad (v) M.A.'s and M.P.'s representing the constituencies that fall in these districts. Henceforth all these persons have been termed as 'elite' in our study.*

**BUREAUCRATIC ELITE**

a) The Block level bureaucrats include the block development officers of Ludhiana, Sidhuw Din, Tanda and Talwara and the sub-divisional officers (civil) of Ludhiana, Jagraon and Desuya as ex-officio members of the concerned Panchayat Samiti

b) The District level bureaucrats include the Deputy Commissioners of Ludhiana and Hoshiarpur, (ii) Secretary Zila Parishad, and District Development and Panchayat Officers, Ludhiana and Hoshiarpur, and (iii) the Chief Agricultural Officers and District Industries officers of Ludhiana and Hoshiarpur. Henceforth all these persons have been termed as 'bureaucrats' in our study.*

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40- In order to avoid duplication, such members of Zila Parishad as were earlier interviewed as members of Panchayat Samitis are excluded.
As the selection of the elite is limited by the Punjab Banchayat Samiti and Zila Parishad Act of 1961, therefore within the specified structure they represent a total universe. This makes the study a parametric one instead of a sample study. The respondents too have not been chosen on the basis of any methodological rigour, for the concerned elite and bureaucrats happened to be serving the structure at the time of their contact, period i.e. during the years 1975-1977.

SURVEY TECHNIQUES

After pre-testing and on the basis of preliminary data, a schedule of questions was administered separately to both elite and bureaucrats. All the elite were confronted with an identical situation. Similar was the case with bureaucrats. The variables used were both quantitative and qualitative. Whereas quantitative variables were used to record the demographic data of the elite, qualitative variables were used to record their attitudinal responses.

The mode of data-collection was primarily through personal-interviews. In certain cases (for some officers) contact was made through mailed questionnaire.
difficulty was faced with the uneducated elite, but the knowledge of local dialect helped me in getting the correct response from them.

The responses were then consolidated, coded and tabulated. The tabulation for elite was made, both at the Panchayat Samiti and Zila Parishad level, and separately for both the districts. The responses as a whole were also totalled districtwise, to get a parametric view of the problem. For bureaucrats, the responses were tabulated as a whole, irrespective of the districts in which they were posted.