PANCHAYAT LEADERSHIP
CHAPTER - III

PANCHAYAT LEADERSHIP

Leadership is an indispensable phenomenon of all human activities. Every human group essentially requires leadership to influence people and to organise them towards a common goal. All human organisations require individuals who act as a link, who bind the group together and who represent their unit on the organization. Effective and efficient leadership is most essential for the scientific functioning of all organisations, institutions, associations and other similar group activities.

In a political system, leadership assumes a greater significance and wider considerations. This is due to the fact that, among all human activities political activities are supreme and sovereign in the sense the political system provides for the authoritative allocation of goods and services. According to David Easton, political system is an “Authoritative allocation of Values”. It is within the framework of such a definition it would be appropriate to assess the role of leadership in Panchayati Raj Institutions.

Under democratic decentralisation, Panchayati Raj Institutions play a vital role in bringing about rapid rural transformation. Panchayati Raj is an institutional mechanism for nation building and rural development. It is due to this gigantic task of national and rural development, leadership
in Panchayati Raj Institutions forms a crucial and significant ingredient.³ The prosperity of the Panchayati Raj Institutions depends extensively on the quality of leadership available at the grass-root levels. Leadership in Panchayati Raj Institutions is a critical variable since it exerts special influence in organising the rural masses towards the fulfillment of enshrined goals. The Panchayat leadership has to mobilise, guide and lead the rural masses towards modernisation and social development. Secondly, rural populace should be actively involved in the process of development and social change. Our Vedas and the Manusmriti have emphasised the need to have a common platform to discuss community affairs. Hence Panchayat leadership has to sustain this tradition of participatory democracy in the process of planning and implementation of rural development. Thirdly, Panchayat leadership has the onerous responsibility of making the grassroots democracy a successful exercise. The successful functioning of panchayats directly depends upon the availability of resourceful, imaginative and active panchayat leadership. Hence leadership of the Panchayati Raj Institutions has been recognised to be the most crucial variable due to the challenging tasks and functions vested in them by the legislation of the State Governments.
REVIEW OF LITERATURE:

Numerous studies have been conducted on panchayat leadership. But the studies on panchayat leadership in the State of Goa are scanty and scattered. One of the popular studies on leadership in Goa is by Sarto Esteves. The study emphasises that the success of democracy depends on the quality of its leadership. It reveals the process of evolution of leadership in Goa through the various events that have taken place during the past five centuries.

C. R. Bada's study on Village Panchayat leaders brings out the fact that emerging leadership comes from the younger age group with relatively higher education, better socio-economic status and predominantly owner-cultivating group. K. S. Bhat made a study of the emerging pattern of rural leadership in the erstwhile Mysore State. His findings reveal that there was no sudden change in the emerging pattern of rural leadership and the emerging leadership is economically sound and also have better educational background. One interesting findings of the study was in respect of the emergence of constructive leadership in rural India.

There are other general studies on Panchayati Raj Institutions and rural development that have touched upon panchayat leadership. H. D. Laxminarayan's study on panchayat leadership observes that structurally
the new panchayat is democratic and egalitarian, but the old authoritarianism of the village elders still lingers. As a result, except the reserved seats, the other seats were filled by privileged sections of the village. Voices of the members belonging to the dominant caste and well-to-do families prevailed in the panchayat. M. N. Srinivas\(^9\) proposes that for understanding power relations in rural social life the concept of dominant caste is crucial. S. C. Dube\(^10\) in his study disapproves with the notion of dominant caste and in its place suggests the case of dominant individuals. N. R. Inamdar\(^11\) observes that a broad social, economic and political outlook and a personal character of honesty, dedication and hard work among the leaders shall shape the careers of the Panchayati Raj Institutions in the directions towards their objectives. H. D. Laxminarayan's\(^12\) recent study on rural legislators provides that the position in the Panchayati Raj Institutions still appears to be hereditary in nature. The position and privileges of the traditional dominant caste are enjoyed by the dominant section in the village community.

Most of the studies conducted on panchayat leadership reveal similar trends in socio-economic background of the emerging pattern of rural leadership.\(^13\)

The studies on panchayati raj dealing with other than leadership also touch certain aspects of leadership in a passing manner. Oscar Lewis's\(^14\) study on a north Indian village (1954) analyses the nature and
functions of factions. D. Mecanzy Brown’s\textsuperscript{15} study suggests that Indian tradition of leadership is more akin to the concepts of authority and status than the Western tradition of individual freedom and party competition. Dillon’s\textsuperscript{16} study on leadership in a south Indian village shows that the patterns described by Lewis for north India is not applicable to south India. Myron Weiner\textsuperscript{17} suggests that the main hypotheses for rural leadership are the presence of charisma and tendency of power to reside in men rather than in office. N. P. Panigrahi\textsuperscript{18} observed that better leadership is emerging at local level through the participation of educated persons. Baijanath Singh’s\textsuperscript{19} study on rural leadership found that new types of leadership belong to the middle or younger age group and come from the upper middle or middle income group.

On the basis of the mode of exercise of leadership Evelyn Wood\textsuperscript{20} discusses different types of leaders such as aristocratic, the religious, the professional, the oligarchic, the bureaucratic and the family autocrat, in his review of published studies of leadership in rural India. Darshankar’s\textsuperscript{21} study of leadership reveals that young leadership is emerging from the younger age group. All these studies reveal that the higher middle class and rich people have monopolised leadership positions in panchayat bodies. The rural leadership is dominated by the prosperous agriculturists having better economic and social prestige in the society. Most interesting feature is that illiteracy is predominant
among leaders. So all the studies agree that a minimum educational qualification should be made an essential condition for leadership in Panchayati Raj Institutions. Education plays a crucial role in improving their vision, working comprehension and their dealings with the vast bureaucratic machinery. S. N. Mishra’s study of rural development and Panchayati Raj makes observations on panchayat leadership. They are that:

i. panchayat leaders came from young and middle age group;

ii. panchayat leaders mainly came from elite castes;

iii. panchayat leaders are literate and low educated;

iv. panchayat leaders came largely from high and middle-income group;

v. panchayat leaders came from large and middle sized families;

vi. panchayat leaders came from various occupation groups;

vii. panchayat leaders are less aware of the present situation and problems; and

viii. dramatic behaviour is essential for panchayat leadership.

Bhargava’s study of grass-roots leadership in Rajasthan shows that the emerging leadership is different from the traditional leadership but which is not totally modern too. In this connection it may be described as neo-traditional leadership.
WHAT IS LEADERSHIP?:

Within the framework of the earlier discussion and a review of the various studies on leadership in Panchayati Raj Institutions it would be appropriate to look into the nature and substance of leadership. The notion of leadership has been defined by various social scientists in different ways. For instance Jack Duncon defines leadership as the means by which one person induces others to behave or not to behave in a certain manner. Ordway Tead defines leadership as the activity of influencing people to co-operate towards some goal, which they come to find desirable. E. S. Bogardus defines a leader as a person who exerts special influence over a number of people. According to Pigors, “leadership is a process of mutual stimulation which by the successful interplay of relevant individual differences controls human energy in the pursuit of a common cause”.

The above definitions, first of all, provide the fact that leadership is a complex phenomenon. In some instances leadership denotes mobilising, organising, influencing and directing people to achieve pre-determined desired goals. Secondly, from psychological angle, leadership implies changing life style or cultural trait and attitude of the masses. Lastly, leadership symbolises a kind of status and power which, gives it a character of an elite. Thus, the concept of leadership has various dimensions, given the nature and task of leadership.
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE STUDY OF
PANCHAYAT LEADERSHIP:

The theory provides abstract knowledge of the concept. The analysis of the theories of leadership is essential in order to understand the general principles of leadership. It also sets a sort of parameter for the study of leadership. Hence an examination of the theories of leadership will be a worthwhile exercise.

The theories of leadership have originated through other disciplines like sociology, psychology, etc., in the form of theories of elites. Political scientists have also explained such theories of elites. In this connection, reference may be made to the contribution of Vilfredo Pareto, Gaetano Mosca, Roberto Michels and Jose Ortega Gasset. Max Weber the German Sociologist has enunciated a theory of elite.

Vilfredo Pareto advocates the concept of circulation of elites. According to him various kinds of circulation occur among the elites:

a. They may be between different categories of governing elites; and
b. They may be between elites and the rest of the population. In this category, individuals from lower strata may form new elite groups and enter the existing elite groups or struggle for power.28

Gaetano Mosca rejected the classical classification of Government. According to him monarchy, aristocracy and democracy enunciate that
there is only one type of government, namely oligarchy, which means a government by the elite which is present in all forms of government whether it be monarchy, aristocracy and democracy. Roberto Michels proclaims the iron law of oligarchy in which he asserts that, leadership is a necessary phenomenon in every form of social life whether it be public or private.

Ortega Gasset propounds the theory of masses. He holds that “a man is effective in society as a whole not so much because of his individual qualities as because of the social energies which have been deposed in him by the mass”.

Max Weber classified leadership into three important categories, namely charismatic, traditional and legal-rational types. The charismatic type of leadership inculcates a sense of collective participation among his fellowmen and casts a hypnotic spell on the masses. The leader appeals directly to the emotions of the masses. As long as the leader is able to sustain his psychological hold on his followers his charisma is all pervasive and all decisive. The traditional variety of leadership depends upon the symbols of a traditional and cultural ethos of a society. The leader derives his strength by appealing to tradition and commands his followers to accept his superior leadership. The legal-rational type of leadership is rooted in respect for rules, regulations and norms. The leader adheres to the accepted legal institutions and framework. His strength lies
in his operational tactics, which is legal and rational as against what is not legal and rational. The basis of his hold on the masses or followers lies in the exemplariness of confirming to extant laws of the society.\textsuperscript{32}

Ijlal Anis Zaidi\textsuperscript{33} propounds four different theories of leadership viz., functional theory, situational theory, positional theory and reputational theory. Functional theory explains leadership in terms of functions. Leadership emerges as a consequence of the needs of a group and of the conditions under which the group is to function for its existence. Situational theory is based on the assumption that different situations require different leadership behavior. Situation means the characteristics of the group, characteristics of the context in which the group functions and the tasks to be confronted by the group. Positional theory explains those persons as leaders who hold some specific position in an organization or an institution. Reputational theory considers those persons as leaders who are most popular in the community.

The above theories of elites provide a framework for the study of leadership in Panchayats.

The functions of leadership presuppose the following tasks:\textsuperscript{34}

i. Definition of group goals;

ii. Initiation of action for the realisation of these goals;

iii. Development of a strategy for the achievement of the defined goals;
iv Sustenance of the interest of the members of the group in these goals;

v Clarification of issues and solutions of problems (inter-personal or otherwise) with a view to ensuring the speedy realisation of the goals; and

vi Exercise of a measure of control over recalcitrant members, who block the achievement of these goals.

The study of panchayat leadership should focus on at least six variables:

i Socio-economic traits of leadership;

ii Making of leadership and factors determining leadership;

iii Attitude and beliefs of leadership;

iv Panchayat leadership in election politics;

v Panchayat leaders and political parties; and

vi Testing of hypothesis.

Leaders are part and parcel of the social structure. The phenomenon of leadership in the panchayati raj institutions has been discussed more extensively and vehemently than that of leadership at the State or National level. There is a close relationship between the socio-economic variables of the Indian rural society and the leaders emerging out of such a rural society. Hence the study of socio-economic
traits of leaders is essential in order to understand their representativeness in the social stratum.

Leaders in ancient period were born leaders due to the principle of hereditary leadership. In today’s democratic system an individual must prove his leadership qualities before he is accepted as a leader by the masses. Before arriving at proper conclusions, it is necessary to identify and analyse the factors that determine leadership. Factors like ability, honesty, intelligence, resourcefulness, integrity, broad social outlook, imaginativeness, industriousness, etc., largely determine the quality of leadership. These factors must be acknowledged and evaluated for their contribution in determining the nature of leadership.

The success of leadership to a large extent depends on their attitudes, beliefs and ideas. Greater prominence is given to analyse the personal characteristics of the leaders, their ability to comprehend and corroborate with the aims and aspirations of grassroots democratic institutions.

Leadership in Panchayati Raj Institutions is the most crucial variable in terms of the realisation of the tasks and functions vested in them by the statutes of the state governments. For instance, in panchayat set up, leaders enact legislation, co-ordinate and control administrative functions, and plan and watch various developmental projects and influence over the policy making. To what extent the leaders associate in
the legislative, administrative and planning functions of panchayat bodies has to be looked into and analysed systematically to draw appropriate conclusions.

HYPOTHESES FOR THE STUDY OF PANCHAYAT LEADERSHIP:

Based on the various field studies, the following hypotheses are generated for the purpose of this study. In the course of this study, these hypotheses will be tested either for confirmation or rejection:

I. The leadership at village panchayat level will be truly representative of village panchayat socio-economic morphology;

II. The leadership at village panchayat level will be younger in terms of age;

III. The leadership will mostly emerge from the numerically dominated caste of the region;

IV. The weaker sections like scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and backward classes will have leadership only to the extent of the statutory reservation provisions;

V. Women leadership is only to the extent of the statutory reservation provision;
VI. Emerging leadership will be mostly literate to the extent of matriculation;

VII. The leadership is more development and service oriented than status and power-oriented;

VIII. Emerging leadership has more cordiality towards bureaucracy;

IX. The leadership evince keen interest in the problems of their constituencies;

X. The leadership has a working knowledge of panchayat finance; and

XI. Caste is a chief determining factor for leadership.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILE OF PANCHAYAT LEADERS:

The analysis of biographical characteristics of the leaders has been given higher priority and greater prominence in the researches than their actual democratic and functional role. The panchayat leadership emerge out of the rural socio-economic milieu. Socio-cultural factors like age, occupation, caste, income, etc., have a strong relationship to panchayat leadership and in many ways are the determining factors. Information on various aspects of leadership is collected from all the members of the selected village panchayats. The details of membership category and their statuses are given below in the tabular form.
Table-3.1: Membership Structure Of Selected Village Panchayats:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village Panchayat</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nuvem</td>
<td>6(66.7)</td>
<td>3(33.3)</td>
<td>9(100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paroda</td>
<td>5(71.4)</td>
<td>2(28.7)</td>
<td>7(100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sancoale</td>
<td>7(63.6)</td>
<td>4(36.4)</td>
<td>11(100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verna *</td>
<td>5(62.5)</td>
<td>3(37.5)</td>
<td>8(100)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Total membership of the panchayat is nine. One member had resigned during the survey. Byelection for the same seat has been conducted in November, 1999.

The distribution of seats between males and females as depicted in the above table is as per provisions of the new Act of 1994. This is also the case with the representation to backward classes. Whether the statutory percentage of male and female membership in these bodies can provide the effective functioning of these bodies is a matter of opinion. Obviously, the distribution is not that really important, but what really matters is the training, wisdom and motivation of the members. This can give a qualitative edge to the village panchayats.
Sex:

Democracy presupposes egalitarianism. An important problem of our society is the persistence of gender bias in social, political and economic spheres of our society. Hence it is not only interesting, but also necessary to know, how far the male and female sexes have been represented in local government such as the panchayat system. In the present study, it is found that the women representation, on the average is around 33 percent which meets the statutory reservation quota. A study of the percentage of women representation shows that women in the selected village panchayats are more active and conscious of their societal obligations. It also indicates that, but for this provision, the women representation would not have reached the statutory minimum of one-third of the total number of seats. It means, women folk have not been equitably represented as per their population. This may be due to the tradition-bound men dominated society. Secondly, in the Indian cultural ethos, women perform only domestic functions. Thirdly, they are affected by the caste and class divisions, feudal attitudes, patriarchal nature of the family, village social environment, ethnic and religious separatism and the like. But in a true democratic spirit, the equal representation of males and females is a compulsory necessity. Moreover
in the words of Plato, women are equally capable of doing the man's role in the political system.\textsuperscript{38}

Age:

In the traditional societies, age is respected for its ascribed qualities. In the village panchayat level, to a certain extent, the younger age group is predominating in rural leadership.\textsuperscript{39} Here also it is observed that nearly 74 percent of the members belong to the age group of 30 to 49 years. The emergence of younger leadership has resulted in the better environment for development and social change, which are essential requirements for the process of modernisation.\textsuperscript{40}

It has been argued that, rural local self-government institutions can be revitalised only when the dynamic younger generation occupies the levels of power and authority at the rural level. This is an apportune time for the younger generation to seize the opportunities, with a view to give new shape, thrust and dimension to rural institutions.

Gerontocracy is no longer a virtue, nor a necessity for the simple reason that, it has not been able to transform rural institutions into vibrant organisations, capable of socio-economic regeneration in the rural areas. Hence it is an encouraging sign that the younger generation is progressively taking over rural leadership from older generation. This is
true of the selected village panchayats, as is evident from the statistics available in table number 3.2.

Thus Table number 3.2 shows that in Nuvem Village Panchayat, more than 75 percent of the members, in Paroda Village Panchayat 75 percent of the members, in Sancoale Village Panchayat more than 70 percent of the members and in Verna Village Panchayat 75 percent of the members belong to the age group of 30 to 49 years. At least two inferences can be drawn from the above table. Firstly, the older generation of 50 and above is now reduced and supplanted by the age group of 30 to 49. It shows that, the young as well as middle aged populace is taking lead in the country-side. Secondly, the younger generation is making mark in the domain of rural leadership. The reduction of voting age from 21 to 18 years might be an important causative factor in inducing this age group to predominate the leadership arena. The Sarpanch in the selected village panchayats are mostly in the age group of 30 to 45, which by Indian standards are on the younger side.
Table 3.2: Distribution of Selected Village Panchayat Members by Age:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Salcete Taluka</th>
<th>Mormugao Taluka</th>
<th>Grand Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nuvem</td>
<td>Paroda</td>
<td>Sancoale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-29</td>
<td>1 (11.11)</td>
<td>2 (28.57)</td>
<td>2 (18.19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-39</td>
<td>4 (44.44)</td>
<td>3 (42.86)</td>
<td>4 (36.36)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-49</td>
<td>3 (33.33)</td>
<td>2 (28.57)</td>
<td>4 (36.36)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-59</td>
<td>1 (11.11)</td>
<td>0 (0.00)</td>
<td>1 (9.09)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60 and above</td>
<td>0 (0.00)</td>
<td>0 (0.00)</td>
<td>0 (0.00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>9 (100.00)</td>
<td>7 (100.00)</td>
<td>11 (100.00)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Education:

The successful working of the democratic political system particularly at the grass-roots level depends on the education of governing elite. Education plays a crucial role in improving their vision, working and comprehension. Education also helps them in regard to their dealings with the vast bureaucratic machinery. Goa is one among the States, that have high literacy. 75.51 percent of the State population are literate.\(^{41}\) In the selected village panchayats of Paroda, Sancoale and Verna illiteracy stands at Zero per cent, whereas in Nuvem village panchayat 11.1 percent members are illiterate. Among the literates, above 50 percent belong to the high school education group. The following Table 3.3 shows a clear picture of literacy rate in the panchayat bodies. The fact that 11 percent of the members have entered college but failed to attain degree, 3.1 percent of the members are degree holders and 3.1 percent of the members are professionals emphasises that, in Goa education percent is high. It is observed that top leadership is in the hands of educated persons. It is a welcome sign since better leadership is emerging at local level through the participation of educated persons. Education ensures sound decision-making and efficient management of local affairs. These rural institutions provide a basis for the dynamic progressive minded younger generation to participate meaningfully and usefully in
Table – 3.3 Educational Level Of Selected Village Panchayat Members:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational Level</th>
<th>Salcete Taluka</th>
<th>Mormugao Taluka</th>
<th>Grand Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nu vem</td>
<td>Paroda</td>
<td>Sancoale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illiterate</td>
<td>1 (11.11)</td>
<td>0 (0.00)</td>
<td>0 (0.00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literate no formal education</td>
<td>0 (0.00)</td>
<td>0 (0.00)</td>
<td>0 (0.00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>1 (11.11)</td>
<td>0 (0.00)</td>
<td>1 (18.18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle School</td>
<td>0 (0.00)</td>
<td>2 (28.57)</td>
<td>0 (0.00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td>7 (77.78)</td>
<td>2 (28.57)</td>
<td>8 (72.73)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College no Degree</td>
<td>0 (0.00)</td>
<td>1 (14.29)</td>
<td>1 (9.09)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College Degree</td>
<td>0 (0.00)</td>
<td>1 (14.29)</td>
<td>0 (0.00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post Graduate</td>
<td>0 (0.00)</td>
<td>0 (0.00)</td>
<td>0 (0.00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional Degree</td>
<td>0 (0.00)</td>
<td>1 (14.29)</td>
<td>0 (0.00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>9 (100.00)</td>
<td>7 (100.00)</td>
<td>11 (100.00)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the grassroots level democracy. In this sense, the base of rural democracy can be deepened and widened giving a deep meaning to rural democratic institutions.

**Religion and Caste:**

Hinduism is the religion of the majority population in the state while Christianity constitutes the second major religion. Goa has about 65 percent of Hindu population, 30 percent of Christian population and others constitute 5 percent. Christian population is comparatively more in South Goa District, specifically in the rural areas of Salcete and Mormugao Talukas. The religion-wise pattern in selected village panchayats is such that 68.4 percent of the members are Christians, while 31.58 percent of the members are Hindus. The following Table- 3.4(A) provides religion-wise distribution of members in the selected village panchayats.

One interesting observation that needs to be made about the caste system in Goa is that, it exhibits a mixed cast culture and caste structure, which is a very peculiar characteristic of this region. The traditional caste classification into Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas and Sudras is still dominant in Goa. However this classification also prevails among the Christian religion. For instance, the Brahmin caste group exists both
among the Hindus and the Christians. This type of caste culture has
developed because of heavy conversion during the Portuguese colonial
rule in Goa.

A particular caste group plays a very dominant role in the Village
Panchayats. This is also true with the selected village panchayats. In the
Nuvem village panchayat, the Vaishya and Sudra caste members
dominate with 33.3 percent, while Kshatriya caste members constitute
22.2 percent, whereas Brahmin caste members constitutes 11.1 per cent.
In the Paroda village panchayat the Sudra caste members dominate with
57.1 percent, while Vaishya caste members have representation of about
28 per cent. Vaishya caste members predominate with 36.3 percent in
Sancoale village panchayat, while Brahmin caste members constitute 27.2
per cent, where as Kshatriya and Sudra caste represent upto 18.1 percent
each. In the Verna village panchayat, the Sudra caste members
predominate with 62.5 percent, while Vaishya caste members have
representation upto 37.5 percent. It is interesting to see that the backward
communities represent excess to their reserved quota. [See Table No. 3.4(B)]

Prof. M. N. Srinivas, the well-known Sociologist evolved the
concept of dominant caste. He is of the opinion that the dominant caste
group members usually provide leadership in the rural set up. Looking to
the religion-wise or caste-wise distribution of the members in the selected
village panchayats, the said observation holds true.
### Table 3.4(A): Distribution Of Members Of Selected Village Panchayats On The Basis Of Religion:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Salcete Taluka</th>
<th>Mormugao Taluka</th>
<th>Grand Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nuvem</td>
<td>Paroda</td>
<td>Sancoale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindu</td>
<td>1(11.11)</td>
<td>1(14.29)</td>
<td>6(54.55)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>0(0.00)</td>
<td>0(0.00)</td>
<td>0(0.00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>8(88.89)</td>
<td>6(85.71)</td>
<td>5(45.45)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>0(0.00)</td>
<td>0(0.00)</td>
<td>0(0.00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>9(100.00)</td>
<td>7(100.00)</td>
<td>11(100.00)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 3.4(B): Distribution of Members of Selected Village Panchayats

**On The Basis Of Caste:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>Salcete Taluka</th>
<th>Mormugao Taluka</th>
<th>Grand Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nuvem</td>
<td>Paroda</td>
<td>Sancoale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brahmin</td>
<td>1(11.11)</td>
<td>1(14.28)</td>
<td>3(27.27)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kshatriya</td>
<td>2(22.23)</td>
<td>0(0.00)</td>
<td>2(18.18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaishya</td>
<td>3(33.33)</td>
<td>2(28.57)</td>
<td>4(36.37)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sudra</td>
<td>3(33.33)</td>
<td>4(57.15)</td>
<td>2(18.18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>9(100.00)</td>
<td>7(100.00)</td>
<td>11(100.00)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Occupation:**

Occupational pattern of the members in the selected Village Panchayat is shown in table –3.5. It reveals that around 25 percent of the leaders have private business. This is contrary to the all India pattern, wherein agriculture is the main occupation in rural India. Among the 12 women members in the selected village panchayats, 8 members, i.e., 66.6 percent of women members are housewives, which means that 34.4 percent are employed. This indicates that rural women are being encouraged to come out of the traditional house-hold work. Agriculture group occupies the next position with their percentage standing at 17.1. Next in the hierarchy is the service group (14.2%) which includes the members of both private and government service. Each of the professional group and the self-employed group constitutes 8.5 per cent. The percentage of rural artisans is very negligible whose share is only 2.8 per cent. From the above analysis it can be inferred that only wealthy people have an access to prestigious leadership position.
Table - 3.5: Occupational Pattern Of Selected Village Panchayat Members:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Salcete Taluka</th>
<th>Mormugao Taluka</th>
<th>Grand Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nuvem</td>
<td>Paroda</td>
<td>Sancoale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>3(33.33)</td>
<td>3(42.86)</td>
<td>2(18.18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional</td>
<td>1(11.11)</td>
<td>1(14.29)</td>
<td>0(0.00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service</td>
<td>0(0.00)</td>
<td>2(28.57)</td>
<td>2(18.18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural artisan</td>
<td>1(11.11)</td>
<td>0(0.00)</td>
<td>0(0.00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>1(11.11)</td>
<td>0(0.00)</td>
<td>3(27.27)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture labour</td>
<td>0(0.00)</td>
<td>0(0.00)</td>
<td>0(0.00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-agriculture labour</td>
<td>0(0.00)</td>
<td>0(0.00)</td>
<td>0(0.00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House wife</td>
<td>3(33.33)</td>
<td>1(14.29)</td>
<td>2(18.18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self employment</td>
<td>0(0.00)</td>
<td>0(0.00)</td>
<td>2(18.18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-workers</td>
<td>0(0.00)</td>
<td>0(0.00)</td>
<td>0(0.00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>9(100.00)</td>
<td>7(100.00)</td>
<td>11(100.00)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Income Distribution:

About 70 percent of the members in the selected village panchayats have less than Rs. 25,000/- annual income. Interestingly, members belonging to the lower income group represent village panchayats. It appears that the members are hesitant to express their real income. However the Sarpanches belong to the higher income group i.e., Rs. 25,000/- to Rs. 50,000/-. The income of 5.7 percent members is Rs. 50,000/- to Rs. 1,00,000/-. While only 2.8 percent members annual income exceeds Rs. 1,00,000/-. Table–3.6 provides realistic picture of income distribution.

Members Perception About Government Schemes And Their Implementation:

Panchayati Raj bodies are not mere local government institutions in the traditional sense of the term. Acting as channels of popular participation in development, they are involved in the vital task of socio-economic reconstruction of rural India and as such they have been given wide ranging powers and responsibilities. Under the present system, all the rural development functions have been assigned to these bodies by legislative enactments. The Government has implemented variety of programmes to strengthen rural economy, poverty alleviation
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income in Rs.</th>
<th>Mormugao Taluka</th>
<th>Sancoale</th>
<th>Paroda</th>
<th>Nuvem</th>
<th>Grand Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Up to 25,000</td>
<td>8 (100.00)</td>
<td>4 (57.14)</td>
<td>1 (11.11)</td>
<td>7 (77.78)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25,000 to 50,000</td>
<td>0 (0.00)</td>
<td>2 (28.57)</td>
<td>1 (11.11)</td>
<td>1 (11.11)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50,000 to 1,00,000</td>
<td>0 (0.00)</td>
<td>0 (0.00)</td>
<td>0 (0.00)</td>
<td>0 (0.00)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,00,000 and above</td>
<td>0 (0.00)</td>
<td>1 (9.09)</td>
<td>1 (9.09)</td>
<td>1 (9.09)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>35 (100.00)</td>
<td>11 (100.00)</td>
<td>7 (100.00)</td>
<td>9 (100.00)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table - 3.6: Income Distribution Of The Members Of Selected Village Panchayats:
programmes and employment generation programmes. To make rural people aware of these schemes and programmes and to implement them successfully, the members themselves have to be aware of these programmes. In this connection it is worthwhile to examine as to what extent the members are aware about the implementation of these schemes and programmes and to what extent they have reached the rural masses in their respective village panchayats. Table–3.7 presents the responses of the selected village panchayat members about implementation of Government schemes and programmes.

There are no unanimous responses by the members as to implement of these schemes and programmes in their areas. This is rather tragedy on the part of these institutions that the leaders are unaware of these schemes and programmes. When the leaders are ignorant, one cannot expect the system to develop. This shows that the members once elected concentrate on their own progress. Secondly, the Government has not taken any appropriate measure to educate the rural public about its various schemes and programmes. It can be inferred that to make these institutions an ideal institution first of all, its leaders must be enlightened.

Members were asked on the financial issues of the Village Panchayats. The researcher asked the respondents to highlight the taxes levied in their areas. Surprisingly many members did not know the range
Table 3.7: Awareness Of The Members Of Selected Village Panchayats Regarding Implementation Of Government Schemes And Programmes In Their Respective Village Panchayats:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Schemes</th>
<th>Salcete Taluka</th>
<th>Mormugao Taluka</th>
<th>Grand Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nuvem</td>
<td>Paroda</td>
<td>Sancoale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>YES</td>
<td>NO</td>
<td>YES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rojgar Yojana</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land allotment</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oldage Pension</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loans / Subsidies</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRDP</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRYSEM</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
of taxes levied by their panchayats. Only a few mentioned about house tax, water tax and light tax. Most of the members insisted that the Government should generously give grants for the implementation of programmes. Surprisingly none of the members thought of increasing their own resources either by way of taxation or by any other means. This shows that village panchayats are highly dependent on the State Government. It can be inferred that the village panchayats are unwilling to go for intensive and extensive taxation and in the process depend on the State Government. This clearly negates the conception of decentralised self-government.

The new Panchayati Raj Institutions are in existence for more than three years. In order to know, whether the variety of schemes and programmes implemented by the Government have judiciously reached all sections of rural masses, the members were requested to respond on a four point scale as is shown in Table-3.8. It must be stated that 54.2 percent members opined that the Government schemes and programmes are well implemented, while 37.1 percent members said that they are poorly implemented, whereas 8.5 percent members expressed that they are misused by Government Officials. It can be inferred that the Panchayati Raj Institutions are marching towards their goals at a snail’s pace.
Table - 3.8: Response Of The Members Of Selected Village Panchayats Regarding Implementation Of Government Schemes And Programmes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Salcete Taluka</th>
<th>Mormugao Taluka</th>
<th>Grand Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nuvem</td>
<td>Paroda</td>
<td>Sancoale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Well implemented</td>
<td>3(33.33)</td>
<td>6(85.71)</td>
<td>5(45.45)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poorly implemented</td>
<td>5(55.56)</td>
<td>1(14.29)</td>
<td>5(45.45)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misused by Govt. Officials</td>
<td>1(11.11)</td>
<td>0(0.00)</td>
<td>1(9.09)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Opinion</td>
<td>0(0.00)</td>
<td>0(0.00)</td>
<td>0(0.00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>9(100.00)</td>
<td>7(100.00)</td>
<td>11(100.00)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Leaders Perception About Reservation For Women And Their Functioning:

A predominant trend in the world today is recognition of Women's rights. Women have acquired a secondary status in social life, economic activities and decision-making. Women suffer from low self esteem because of social subjugation and lack of economic independence. In view of this, reservation of one-third seats for women in Panchayats is a silent revolution to improve their status and now being considered for other levels of decision-making. This can create a pool of experienced potential women leaders. A French writer Guibert said, 'Men make laws, women make manners'. Women's reservation bill is both a direct attempt at empowering women to make laws and also to make Parliament and our State legislatures a better mannered place. It is also an attempt to redress the power imbalance, which is against the laws of nature. An American columnist Will Henry puts it, 'Nature gave women too much power; the law gives them too little'.

Reservations are intended to correct historical injustices. Also reservations are necessary for redeeming the egalitarian promise of Indian Democracy. The responses of the members regarding reservation for women is depicted in Table-3.9. It is a good indication that 65.7 percent of the members approve of reservations, while 31.4 percent members
Table - 3.9: Distribution Of The Members Of Selected Village Panchayats On The Basis Of Their Opinion Regarding 33% Reservation For Women:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Opinion</th>
<th>Salcete Taluka</th>
<th>Mormugao Taluka</th>
<th>Grand Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nuveem</td>
<td>Paroda</td>
<td>Sancoale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Approve</td>
<td>4(44.44)</td>
<td>6(85.71)</td>
<td>9(81.82)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disapprove</td>
<td>5(55.56)</td>
<td>0(0.00)</td>
<td>2(18.18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No opinion</td>
<td>0(0.00)</td>
<td>1(14.29)</td>
<td>0(0.00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>9(100.00)</td>
<td>7(100.00)</td>
<td>11(100.00)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
disapprove of reservation for women. It indicates that, a section of men are still reluctant to share their decision-making powers with women.

Including women members in Panchayats will not resolve the entire issue. Instead, women should be encouraged to play a more active role. The male representatives have to establish a rapport with the female representatives and give due respect and attention to their views. Also they should be given full liberty in expressing their views and opinions. It is observed that most of the women representatives come from a family with political background. Table-3.10 provides a frank opinion of the members regarding whether women are manipulated by men in their functioning. It is found that 34 percent said that women are not manipulated while 40 percent agreed that women are manipulated. In reality women representatives are ornamental in nature. They are members on record only. They are not free from male dominance in the village administration. Even after 3 years in existence, under the new system, no significant change in the power equation is observed in the villages. Thus in the process of decision-making and development of these institutions women have to operate along with men.
Table 3.10: Perception Of The Members Of Selected Village Panchayats About The Functioning Of Women:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perception</th>
<th>Salcete Taluka</th>
<th>Mormugao Taluka</th>
<th>Grand Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nuvem</td>
<td>Paroda</td>
<td>Sancoale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manipulated by Men</td>
<td>6(66.67)</td>
<td>5(71.43)</td>
<td>3(27.27)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-manipulated</td>
<td>1(11.11)</td>
<td>1(14.29)</td>
<td>7(63.64)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-opinion</td>
<td>2(22.22)</td>
<td>1(14.29)</td>
<td>1(9.09)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>9(100.00)</td>
<td>7(100.00)</td>
<td>11(100.00)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Emerging Pattern Of Rural Leadership:

Based on our analysis, a number of trends on the emerging pattern of leadership can be discussed and commented upon.

Firstly, the Panchayat leadership is younger in age. The younger people are taking interest in rural electoral politics and governmental affairs. It is quite interesting that this group is involved in the process of rural development and modernisation.\textsuperscript{43} It does not mean that older people have been completely displaced. Their presence is also significant in village panchayat. This shows that village communities are still under the grip of traditionalism. Hence ascribed traits still shape leadership at panchayat level.

Secondly, Panchayat leadership is under the grip of locally dominant religion. In Verna, Nuvem and Paroda village panchayats Christians dominate the leadership pattern. Where as in Sancoale village panchayat Hindus control the panchayat leadership.

Thirdly, the weaker sections like scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, backward classes and women have not been able to penetrate the panchayat power structure except for their allotted reserve quota. Their representation is confined to the statutory requirement only. It shows that they are very weak and not able to raise their share in the power structure.
beyond the statutory quota.

Fourthly, panchayat leadership is composed of literate groups. Literate people are taking part in the panchayat affairs. This shows that literacy has now increased in the rural areas. Literate people are preferred since they can better manage the local affairs. Interestingly graduates and professionals are taking the mantle of leadership in village panchayats.

Panchayat leadership in Goa is confined to the rural middle economic class. Unlike in other parts of the country, the business people have monopolised panchayat power. However most of these business people are also agriculturists. It shows that the system of panchayati raj institutions has changed but the components of power structure have not changed. On the contrary, agricultural labourers and other poor people are not able to penetrate the rural power structure inspite of the bold and revolutionary experiment in democratic decentralisation of power and authority.

Panchayat leaders are not completely aware of the problems of panchayat administration and management. This is revealed by their perception of panchayat finance. Panchayat finance is an important aspect of panchayat administration. The members are not aware of the panchayat’s financial powers including the techniques and methods of
resource mobilisation. Their basic objective seems to be to demand grants from the higher apex body, thereby perpetuating their dependent status. Without financial autonomy there cannot be autonomy in administration. The village panchayat cannot have full freedom to formulate their development plans, policies and programmes unless they are ensured financial autonomy. It must be pointed out that financial autonomy and administrative autonomy are two faces of the same coin. It is difficult to achieve one without the existence of the other.

Panchayat leaders are not aware of the Government schemes and programmes which are mainly meant for the poor masses, old age persons, landless, unemployed, handicapped, women and children, scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, backward classes and similar other classes. A system reflects the quality of its leaders. If the leaders are not enlightened and if they cannot educate the people about the benefits of Government schemes and programmes then there cannot be welfare of all sections of the village community.

**Leaders Under Decentralised Democracy:**

Democracy in India is an ongoing project. The 73rd and 74th Constitutional Amendments are new dynamics towards democratic
decentralisation. Democracy is an expression of a good society and good society depends upon Good Governance. Good governance is possible only if the leaders are enlightened and dynamic and if the citizens are vigilant and active participants. Decentralised democracy is needed to give an opportunity to citizens to actively involve themselves in the administration, decision-making and development activities. Secondly, under decentralised governance, the institutions will be more transperable, accountable, responsible and active institutions. Decentralised democracy performs in a desirable manner through its instruments viz., planning, administration and democracy, all decentralised in a perfect manner. The researcher had discussion with the panchayat members regarding the working of decentrealised democracy in Goa. Table-3.11 gives an idea about the same.

The table provides that, 57.1 percent members opined that decentralisation is working well in Goa. This indicates that majority of the people are actively participating in democratic processes. It is interesting to note that, about 14.2 percent of the members opined that decentralised democracy is not at all working, while 11.4 percent members expressed that, it is working badly. It is rather disappointing to note that, a considerable number of members are not satisfied with the working of the
system. Most Surprising is the fact that, 17.1 percent members expressed ignorance about the working of democracy. The leaders after being elected in a democratic manner cannot perceive about the functioning of democracy. Such leaders are disgrace to the nation.

--- Contd. on next page ---
Table – 3.11: Perception Of The Members Of Selected Village Panchayats About The working Of Decentralised Democracy In Goa:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perception</th>
<th>Salcete Taluka</th>
<th>Mormugao Taluka</th>
<th>Grand Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nuvem</td>
<td>Paroda</td>
<td>Sancoale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working Well</td>
<td>3(33.33)</td>
<td>3(42.86)</td>
<td>9(81.82)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working Badly</td>
<td>0(0.00)</td>
<td>3(42.86)</td>
<td>0(0.00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not-at-all</td>
<td>4(44.44)</td>
<td>0(0.00)</td>
<td>0(0.00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know</td>
<td>2(22.22)</td>
<td>1(14.28)</td>
<td>2(18.18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>9(100.00)</td>
<td>7(100.00)</td>
<td>11(100.00)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Leaders Under The New Act:

Constitutional 73rd Amendment Act, is a salient revolution which attempts to transform Indian society. With this new Act, a shift has taken from decentralised administration to self-government.

This is evident from the following:

i. All the three tiers have fixed jurisdiction over 29 items provided under the Eleventh Schedule of the Constitution;

ii. Decentralised democracy in India has gained legitimacy;

iii. Government has become more accessible and more accountable to the people;

iv. The scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, backward classes and women have become more powerful through reservations;

v. It provides a training ground for political leaders;

vi. There shall be greater stability, because there will be greater interaction between civil society and these institutions.

The perusal of Panchayati Raj legislation in various States reveals that the State Governments exercise supervision and control over them through different channels. With all the restrictions and controls exercised from above, panchayat raj bodies are reduced to the status of agents of the State Governments today. Consequently, responsibility of the elected
functionaries to the local electorate is reduced in proportion to the increase of controls from above. This tendency has to be curbed by providing safeguards in the system so as to prevent the State Governments from duly interfering and controlling the local bodies.

The researcher had discussions with the panchayat members in order to collect their opinions about the functioning of Panchayati Raj Institutions in the right direction under the new Act. The responses are computed under Table number 3.12. Majority members feel that the panchayati raj institutions are functioning in the expected manner. Their objective is to evolve a system of self-governance, based on the participation of masses. This is opined by 54.2 percent of the members. 14.2 percent members expressed that, the panchayati raj institutions are not functioning in the right direction. They felt that judicial and legal powers should be given to the Village Panchayats. While 22.8 percent members experience no difference in the functioning of Panchayati Raj Institutions earlier to the passing of the Constitutional Amendment and after. Where as 8.5 percent of the members felt that, there is a change but not very significant. From the above discussions, it is evident that the high ideals set up by the new Act, have much remained on the papers without being implemented in reality.
Table – 3.12: Opinion Of The Members Of Selected Village Panchayats About The Functioning Of Panchayati Raj Institutions In The Right Manner And Using Their Powers Independently Under The New Act:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Opinion</th>
<th>Salcete Taluka</th>
<th>Mormugao Taluka</th>
<th>Grand Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nuvem</td>
<td>Paroda</td>
<td>Sancoale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>3(33.33)</td>
<td>1(14.29)</td>
<td>9(81.82)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>1(11.11)</td>
<td>4(57.13)</td>
<td>0(0.00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat</td>
<td>1(11.11)</td>
<td>1(14.29)</td>
<td>0(0.00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No difference</td>
<td>4(44.44)</td>
<td>1(14.29)</td>
<td>2(18.18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>9(100.00)</td>
<td>7(100.00)</td>
<td>11(100.00)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Making Of Leadership:

A traditional saying is that, leaders are born but not made. With the increasing democratization and the obvious importance of the electoral processes, many individuals occupy leadership positions. The electoral process provides opportunities in other platforms and enables groups to confer leadership to individuals. Today, to become a leader, there are two choices before an individual. First, an individual on his own may decide to carve out for himself a leadership role. In the second place, people can play a crucial role in making individuals to occupy leadership positions. The people here may have different affinities and affiliations ranging from religion and caste to political parties.

On the basis of informal discussions with the members, it is evident that, at the local level, individuals are taking up leadership role on their own accord. Some have contested the elections due to persuasion by friends. Here, group loyalty and economic position have become the determining factors for contesting and winning elections. Also the role of caste and political parties is dominant, though most of the members declined to accept this fact. Jayaprakash Narayan once remarked that “caste” is the most important political party in India. It does not require much justification to argue that political parties allot tickets mainly on
caste consideration and the success of election is also determined by this factor.

Contesting for election, is a first step towards making of leadership. It is the success in elections that facilitates the leader to perform leadership role in the rural environment. The success of election depends on two factors:

i. Environmental factors; and

ii. Individual factors.

The environmental factors include friends, caste, political party and a faction of political party. Among these, friends play a dominant role for the victory in the elections. Also the factors of caste and the role of the political party are significant. In reality, the success in election in most cases is attributed to the support of caste and political party. This is because party support, particularly by the party in power, which is in a position to distribute patronage also helps the leaders to influence and mobilise the voters.

As regards the individual factors individual’s power of expression has an important role in shaping the leadership. Likewise, the young age, literacy and good performance in village activities are not only essential prerequisites to become a leader, but also contribute to win the elections.
Also richness is a contributing factor for making of leadership and for winning elections.

**Factors Determining Leadership:**

Scholars on leadership have identified a number of factors for the formation of leadership. For instance, Ordway Tead lists the following qualities, which a leader must possess: 48

i. Physical and nervous energy;

ii. A sense of purpose and direction;

iii. Enthusiasm;

iv. Friendliness and affection;

v. Integrity;

vi. Technical mastery;

vii. Decisiveness;

viii. Intelligence;

ix. Teaching skill; and

x. Faith.

Another scholar, R. B. Lal lists the following qualities of successful leadership: 49

i. Intelligence;

ii. Professional ability and efficiency;
iii. Strength and moral courage;
iv. Decisiveness;
v. Enthusiasm and drive;
vi. Moral qualities like character and integrity;

vii. Fair mindedness;

viii. Managerial skill, tact, sympathy and a sense of humor;

ix. Judgement of men and matters; and

x. Ability to mix in company, speak in public and write well.

These scholars have examined leadership from a psychological perspective and have identified the individual traits of leadership. Since leaders have to operate in a social milieu, certain socio-economic and political factors also contribute to the development of leadership. Obviously in a tradition bound society like India, the socio-economic factors have a larger say in determining leadership. In this connection, A. T. Kittur with regard to a survey conducted, lists out the following factors that determine leadership:\(^5^0\)

i. Formal education;

ii. Economic well-being;

iii. Personal qualities like intelligence, honesty, integrity, dynamism, friendliness, affection, enthusiasm, decisiveness;
iv. Political contacts; and
v. Outside contacts.

These studies provide that an individual, to become a leader, must possess some of the above mentioned personal qualities. Traditionally leadership is an ascribed quality. The dawn of the modernisation process created the notion of achieved leaders and this is accepted as a matter of course. Thus achieved leadership has supplanted ascribed leadership.

Attitudes And Beliefs Of Panchayat Leaders Regarding State And National Politics:

The leaders have certain ideas, faiths and beliefs towards their working systems, programmes of organisations and administration in relation to both State and National Politics. A positive orientation and attitudes and proper justification towards these is necessary for the efficient and smooth functioning of a given system. The leaders perform certain functions:  

i. Definition of group goals;
ii. Initiation of action for the realisation of these goals;
iii. Development of a strategy for the achievement of defined goals;
iv. Sustenance of interest of the members of the group in these goals;
and
v. Exercise of a measure of control over recalcitrant members who block the achievement of these goals.

The functional ability and effectiveness of the panchayats depends on the attitudes and beliefs of members. In order to discern the attitudes and beliefs of panchayat members regarding State and National politics some questions were formulated as part of the questionnaire. The responses are presented in Table number 3.13.

India is universally known for its multiplicity. It is proudly acknowledged that there is ‘Unity in Diversity’ in India. In order to elicit the depth of reality in this statement, one of the most serious problems concerned to every Indian was asked to the members. This was regarding the relationship between different castes. Surprisingly about 62 percent believe that there is harmony between castes. Such a response may be due to the fact that Goa is one of the most peaceful regions in India inspite of heavy migration. However the same is not the case in other parts of the country. In some of the States like Orissa, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Jammu and Kashmir the situation is very grave and tense due to caste and communal riots. Due to this reason, 22.8 percent members express that
there is no harmony between different castes.

Government policies are expected to aim at providing assistance and uplift the poor people and protect the interests of the common people who constitute a large section of the population. There can be welfare of the people in general and progress of the nation in particular only when the policy makers realise the same. In this connection, the members (68%) opined that, the Government is not upto its mark in fulfilling these goals.

--- Contd. on next page ---
Table – 3.13: Views Of The Members Of Selected Village Panchayats Regarding State and National Politics:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statements</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>No-opinion</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A) Relationship between different castes has become more harmonious ...</td>
<td>22 (62.86)</td>
<td>8 (22.86)</td>
<td>5 (14.28)</td>
<td>35 (100.00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B) Govt. Policies are not responsible for the poverty of the people ...</td>
<td>7 (20.00)</td>
<td>24 (68.57)</td>
<td>4 (11.43)</td>
<td>35 (100.00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C) Govt. generally takes care of the interest of the common people ...</td>
<td>11 (31.43)</td>
<td>24 (68.57)</td>
<td>0 (0.00)</td>
<td>35 (100.00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D) Those above 65 years of age should not be allowed to contest elections ...</td>
<td>17 (48.57)</td>
<td>15 (42.86)</td>
<td>3 (8.57)</td>
<td>35 (100.00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E) Poor are themselves responsible for their poverty ...</td>
<td>11 (31.43)</td>
<td>22 (62.85)</td>
<td>2 (5.72)</td>
<td>35 (100.00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F) What people get in this life is the result of their own efforts ...</td>
<td>28 (80.00)</td>
<td>3 (8.57)</td>
<td>4 (11.43)</td>
<td>35 (100.00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G) We should be loyal to our own region first and then to India ...</td>
<td>22 (62.85)</td>
<td>13 (37.15)</td>
<td>0 (0.00)</td>
<td>35 (100.00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H) Compared to national parties, regional/local parties can provide better Govt. in the state ...</td>
<td>13 (37.15)</td>
<td>19 (54.28)</td>
<td>3 (8.57)</td>
<td>35 (100.00)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Unlike the traditional societies, modern societies aspire for dynamic young leaders to acquire power and authority at all levels of politics. Scholars and political scientists are debating over 'the age of retirement from politics' to be fixed at 65 years of age. Significance of Plato's concept of "Philosopher Rulers" is widely felt today. The table reveals that about 48 percent of the members strongly express that those above 65 years of age should not be allowed to contest elections. Surprisingly about 42 percent members support the age factor probably due to its ascribed qualities.

Generally it is said that, poverty is a curse. Further, individuals are born poor because of the sin committed in their past life. In reality, people are poor due to various factors such as suppression by the society, economic position, personal weaknesses, illiteracy, political carelessness and so on. The table provides that about 31 percent of the members said that, poor people themselves are responsible for their poverty. While 62.8 percent of the members opined that other factors are responsible for poverty.

People, generally, believe that, what they get in this life is the result of their own efforts. When the same statement was posed to the members, 80 percent of the members agreed to it. While, 8.57 percent of the members disagreed with the statement.
Today, national sentiments have shifted to regional sentiments. People are more interested in the regional affairs, regional welfare and regional development. The concept 'child of the soil', is becoming stronger day by day. The table reveals that about 63 percent of the members believe in loyalty to their own region first and then to the nation. While, around 37 percent of the members believe in loyalty to the nation first and then to their own region.

Regional parties, unlike the national parties, are closely associated with the regional populace, their issues and problems. People believe that, compare to national parties, regional / local parties can provide better government in the state. Infact, regional parties are mainly responsible for regional instability. The table provides that, about 37 percent of the members believe that regional parties can provide better government in the state. While, 54.28 percent of the members strongly express that national parties can provide better government in the state.

Panchayat Leaders And Political Parties:

Politics is an inevitable part of democratic process and political parties are part and parcel of the political system. The crucial role played by these bodies during Parliamentary and Assembly election has been realised by the State and the higher level leadership of all the political parties. The most controversial issue is regarding involvement of political
parties in panchayati raj. In this debate, two schools of thought are involved. The one is, the Sarvodaya school of thought dominated by Gandhian dealists who prefer non-interference of political parties in Panchayati Raj Institutions. Mahatma Gandhi, Vinoba Bhave and Jayaprakash Narayan are the staunch advocates of this school. Jayaprakash Narayan advocated partyless democracy and reposed faith in communitarian and participatory democracy. The followers of this school presume that party-based elections give rise to political conflicts at the local level and that the political parties deal more with general aspects like manifestoes and campaigns and there is a risk of their sponsoring a less suitable candidate. The other school called as the supporters of parliamentary democracy plead for party based panchayati raj institutions. Their argument is that, "Wherever there is power, there must be politics". The Asoka Mehta committee observed that the open participation of political parties might ultimately convert their mutual competition into constructive co-operation. A. D. Gorwala and Morris Jones have criticised Jayprakash Narayan’s notion of partyless democracy and are in favour of party based Panchayati Raj Institutions. Myron Weiner accepts the inevitability of party involvement in village politics and suggests in the long run this will prove a healthy trend.

Various high level committees have emphasised the need to keep political parties away from the village panchayat elections. They are
Sadiq Ali, Parikh, Hardyal Singh, Diwakar and Santhanam Committees.\textsuperscript{56}

Interestingly none of these committees recommend a legal ban on interference of political parties in panchayat bodies. Even the Central Act is silent over this issue. The followers of this school feel that only political parties should voluntarily enter into an honest agreement to keep panchayati raj institutions free from party politics. This is a romantic dream although. Intrusion of political parties into panchayat elections not only foster an unhealthy proposition in our already fragmented society, but also, has an adverse effect on the spirit of unity, peace and harmony of the locality.\textsuperscript{57} It is observed that the elected representatives allegiance to political party reflects on their activities and developmental programmes in their areas. A great deal of hue and cry was raised by the critics who have pinpointed the dysfunctionality and difficulties because of new experiment. Political party is supposed to:

i. create groupisms and factions in village society;

ii. hamper smooth implementation of developmental projects;

iii. consider the issues on party basis, rather than on the merit;

iv. dominate the panchayat meetings by the party wrangling rather than usual work;

v. deal with more general things like manifestoes and campaigns rather than local problems;

vi. sponsor a less suitable candidate;
vii. intensify the corrupt practices;

viii. distribute developmental benefits more on party consideration, than for the genuine and needy; and

ix. increase the chances for independents, to win elections.  

In the light of these broad issues, the researcher probed into the minds of members regarding the role of political parties in the Panchayati Raj Institutions in South Goa District. Their opinions are presented in Table number 3.14.

The table shows that 77 percent of the members are of the opinion that political parties have no role at local level and their involvement shall not be entertained in Panchayat elections, whereas 17 percent express the need and relevance of political parties in panchayat bodies. In a study conducted in Rajasthan, the overwhelming majority of respondents (80.39%) opined that, political parties should not interfere at the lower level panchayat units. A sizable majority (42.86%) expressed the opinion that, political parties should not interfere in the Zilla Parishad elections.  

Though a overwhelming majority declines the involvement of political parties at panchayat levels in one or the other way, they are affiliated to a political party. Similarly the parties may not involve directly in local matters, but there may be indirect involvement. This is evident from the Table number 3.15. It provides that majority of the members (48.5%) have inclination towards the Congress Party. Whereas
### Table 3.14: Opinion Of Members Of Selected Village Panchayat Regarding The Necessity Of Involvement Of Political Parties In Panchayat Elections:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Opinion</th>
<th>Salcete Taluka</th>
<th>Mormugao Taluka</th>
<th>Grand Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nuvem</td>
<td>Paroda</td>
<td>Sancoale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Needed</td>
<td>1(11.11)</td>
<td>1(14.29)</td>
<td>3(27.27)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not needed</td>
<td>7(77.78)</td>
<td>6(85.71)</td>
<td>8(72.73)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know</td>
<td>1(11.11)</td>
<td>0(0.00)</td>
<td>0(0.00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>9(100.00)</td>
<td>7(100.00)</td>
<td>11(100.00)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table – 3.15: Distribution Of The Members Of Selected Village Panchayat w.r.t. Their Party Membership:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Political party</th>
<th>Salcete Taluka</th>
<th>Mormugao Taluka</th>
<th>Grand Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nuvem</td>
<td>Paroda</td>
<td>Sancoale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-party</td>
<td>3(33.33)</td>
<td>4(57.14)</td>
<td>5(45.45)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congress</td>
<td>4(44.44)</td>
<td>3(42.86)</td>
<td>6(54.55)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.G.P.</td>
<td>0(0.00)</td>
<td>0(0.00)</td>
<td>0(0.00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B.J.P.</td>
<td>0(0.00)</td>
<td>0(0.00)</td>
<td>0(0.00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.G.D.P.</td>
<td>2(22.22)</td>
<td>0(0.00)</td>
<td>0(0.00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shivsena</td>
<td>0(0.00)</td>
<td>0(0.00)</td>
<td>0(0.00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>0(0.00)</td>
<td>0(0.00)</td>
<td>0(0.00)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>9(100.00)</td>
<td>7(100.00)</td>
<td>11(100.00)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
almost a similar number (42.8%) are neutral towards the involvement of political parties. While 8.5 percent of the members are affiliated to United Goan Democratic Party (UGDP), which is a regional party in Goa. According to them, political parties have functional utility at the grassroots level. In a way political parties perform a number of useful functions, such as:

i. formulation of a programme on public policies, on the basis of which they contest for the election;

ii. political parties aim at capturing power;

iii. they conduct election campaigns and provide necessary finance to candidates;

iv. the political party securing majority at polls forms the Government;

v. the minority party plays a vital role as opposition;

vi. political parties impart political education to the people; and

vii. political parties serve as a useful link between the Government and the people.

Political parties are the bedrock of Indian democracy and they perform useful roles at the National and State level. A similar role can be played by them in panchayat bodies. In fact political parties can serve the purpose of political socialisation of the rural masses and this in turn can contribute to national integration, clear ideologies, sharper perception of national goals, provide a training ground for local leaders and link local
issues with national issues and in the long run, help in formulating meaningful policies.

Contrary to this, is another view, which emphasises the non-utility of political parties in the panchayati raj institutions. C. P. Bhambri examines the validity of the propositions like the following:62

i. That, village problems do not involve party solutions but transcend party divisions;

ii. That, parties are irrelevant to panchayati raj and hence they have no role to play in regard to these institutions;

iii. That, parties create frictions and conflicts while the need of the time is unity and co-operation; and

iv. That, it is imperative to avoid political parties and to hold elections to these representative bodies without contest on the basis of unanimity or consensus with a view to avoiding conflicts and achieving unity should be the basis of the working of Panchayati Raj.

Any legislation to this effect will not resolve this problem. What is required is the establishment of healthy conventions and mobilisation of public opinion to keep away parties from Panchayati Raj Institutions.

The question being hotly debated is whether political parties are genuinely needed at the village panchayat level. This is because a number
of problems have been created at this level. It has been stated that political parties are responsible for factions, groups and rivalries for the control of Panchayati Raj Institutions. Hence it is desirable that, at the local level, political parties should be kept away. The functioning of political parties at lower levels results in dysfunctionalities. A study highlights problems arising out of such a situation:

i. Panchayat deals with village problems directly and as such, the nature of the problems does not warrant the interference of political parties;

ii. For achieving unanimity in panchayat elections, it is necessary that political parties not participate in panchayat election;

iii. It is a matter of common knowledge that, when political parties interfere, capable people generally do not come forward to assume leadership in panchayats;

iv. Experience suggests that political party’s interference in panchayat affairs quite often create obstacles in the way of development;

v. Political parties are found exercising undue influence and pressure including undesirable tactics, which make impossible for the poor people to exercise their right to vote properly;

vi. When political parties interfere, it becomes difficult to achieve objectives of the Panchayat;
vii. Support to political parties creates groups inside the village community. Political parties create groups and on occasions they indulge in fighting;

viii. Political party’s interference creates heart burning, ill-will, ill-feeling and animosity among villagers. Ill-feeling generated during elections continues even after the elections;

ix. With the interference of political parties in panchayat elections, the peace of rural life is disturbed;

x. When political parties interfere in Panchayat election only rich people have chances to get elected, elections, then become extremely expensive affair;

xi. If political parties are kept aloof from panchayat elections there is likelihood of rise in the ethical and moral standards of the people in general and panchayat leaders in particular; and

xii. Party politics in panchayat mars efficiency of administration.

Where as at the District level, the political parties may have a useful role to play. Balwantray Mehta had accepted M.L.As. and M.Ps. being associate members at district level, but disapproved of their dominance in Panchayati Raj Institutions. These associated members shall work as a link between the grassroots and higher political bodies for implementation of developmental programme. Political parties have a great responsibility in establishing sound parliamentary traditions first at
the district level. After familiarity and sufficient experience, political parties may be allowed to play a role at the Village Panchayat level. This is because, in the present situation at the National and State levels, parliamentary traditions or conventions are still in the process of evolution as part of the political system. If this is the situation at the higher level, it would be very invidious and indeed risky to bring the political parties at the base level of the Panchayat system, where the average villager may be credulous and simplistic with the possibility of the political parties vitiating the village atmosphere being very high.

This chapter has discussed at length, the role of leadership in South Goa District in terms of the Navelim, Paroda, Sancoale and Verna Village Panchayats. The relevant conclusions based on empirical data have been drawn at the appropriate places in the chapter. One broad conclusion is that the role of leadership determines the success or failure of the Panchayati Raj Institutions in general and this is particularly true of the selected Village Panchayats. Some of the hypotheses set out at the beginning of the chapter have been confirmed or rejected and have been discussed at the appropriate place.
NOTES AND REFERENCES:


10. S. C. Dube, *North Indian Villages*, (New Delhi, Impex India, 1974).


31. Ibid; p. 149.


33. For details see, S. M. Ijlal Anis Zaidi, Politics, Power And Leadership In Rural India, (New Delhi, Commonwealth Publishers, 1988).


36. Information has been elicited from all members of selected village
Panchayats except one member from Verna Village Panchayat who
had resigned at the time of survey. Byelection for the same seat
was conducted in November, 1999.

37. Section 7 (6), The Goa Panchayati Raj Act, 1994, op.cit.


39. The trend of electing representatives with younger age is a
common phenomenon elsewhere in the country. See
B. S. Bharagava, Panchayati Raj System And Political Parties.
(New Delhi, Ashish Publishing House, 1979), p. 157; For details
about the age of Panchas and Sarpanchas see Working Of
Organization, Government of Rajasthan, Jaipur, June 1962,
Appendix 11, pages vi to xi; Also see The Pattern Of Rural
Development In Rajasthan ( A report based on a study of the
working of Panchayati Raj Institutions and Rural Development
Programmes, particularly during the year 1962-63), (Jaipur,
Evaluation Organization, Government of Rajasthan); See George
Jacob, (ed.), Readings On Panchayati Raj, (Hyderabad, National
Institute Of Community Development, 1967), p. 89. Also see A. Y


43. In a Study conducted in Andhra Pradesh it is revealed that younger and middle aged leadership has outnumbered the old leaders in village panhayats. See G. Ram Reddy and K. Sheshadri, *Voter and Panchayati Raj*, (Hyderabad, National Institute of Rural Development, 1972), p. 112.


58. These dysfunctionalities have been cited by common villagers, members of Village Panchayats and Officials in an informal interview and as well as in news reports in the local dailies.

59. B. S. Bharagava, Panchayati Raj System And Political Parties, op.cit., pp. 199 and 204.


64. B. S. Bharagava, Panchayati Raj System And Political Parties, op.cit., pp. 199 - 200.