CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION
Power Structure of a society is a mirror reflecting truly the ways in which resources, goods and services are allocated among the social actors. Present study was conducted in empirical situation of the three villages in Eastern Uttar Pradesh. Researcher's approach was explorative, and both structural and ideological factors were taken into account in analysing the dynamics of the power structure of the villages. Thus the study is an attempt to understand a rural community in the Indian setting with focusing on the rural power structure - its nature, forms, dynamics and emerging patterns. In the power pool of the villages both formal and informal power holders have been included. Besides power holders, other power institutions were also studied. Exploratory research design has been deployed in this study and sample of 245 households from the three villages had been drawn for the investigation.

Here are the main findings of the present study in the light of the problems raised in the first chapter.

The first formulation was: "whether the process of development creates new opportunities for social and economic development which eventually becomes a resource." Here we find that in the present power structure, which is in transitional phase, the state developmental processes have created many new opportunities for socio-economic development in the
rural social set-up. Among the respondents 61.22% opined that opportunities for socio-economic development have been increased. State development activities are functional for development. Traditional power structure was feudalistic and it had no concern for villagers' welfare, they basically aimed at only collection of revenue. However respondents perceived differentially whether these opportunities of social and economic development were becoming a resource.

These opportunities have differential values for different households and castes. Many variables come into operation in this conversion process. In these villages they are education, income and landholding, caste and link with political parties and government officials. Those village households having these prerequisites were in a strategic position and hence the best beneficiary of these facilities S. C. Dube has also observed that the rural elites are best beneficiary of village development schemes, not the common people. He observed: 'nearly 70% of its benefits went to elite group and to the more affluent and influential agriculturists.' However in these villages now this opportunity cannot be categorised for 'to haves' and 'to have not.' Now it has become a matter of degree, all villagers have been benefitted by the state developmental opportunities some one more and some one less. Scheduled castes also use the link roads etc. as rickshaw puller and Ikkawala (i.e. horse chariot).

From the village study we can conclude that caste and

ritualistic variables are becoming more forceful and effective. The researcher mean to say caste feeling have been increased and those having enough numerical strength is going to be future rural power elite. Here caste is operating as an 'achievement element' while in traditional power structure it was operating as an 'ascriptive element.' In democracy "Caste has become an achievement element just like education and training." Landholding is proving a relative variable in rural society, because a backward class or scheduled caste members having a small land tract works himself on the field, gives more attention, on the other hand caste member having big land tract has little turnover, as compared to the turn over of the small tract. Thus too large land-holding is proving liability while small land tracts of backward and scheduled are proving asset. Big landlords purchase tractor etc. which are not proving asset; though they are financed by banks, with large interest loan, it is not fruitful. Besides these variables, political affiliation and link with government officials have benefitted both high and low castes, though former is more benefitted but not at a level to create substantial difference. Above all these variables, backward and scheduled caste members are developing a class consciousness, with the process of crystallisation, they have been successful in achieving power and now they are realising its importance. This crystallisation and aggregation is for secular special political purposes. It has not broken exogamy and
endogamy rules. To analyse this formulation all these variables, their relative importance are to be taken into account. To conclude this proposition holds good in rural society but not absolutely.

The second formulation raised by the researcher was: "how the social organisation streamlines its leadership and power dynamics to acquire and distribute the developmental resources?" In the villages under present study main social organisations were village panchayats, caste councils, cooperative society, Kanhain samiti, navayuvak mangal dal, Ramleela committee. Village panchayat and cooperative society are formal organisations while caste councils, Kanhain Samiti, Ramleela committee are informal organisations. Navayuvak mangal dal is semi-formal organisation.

It shows to some extent the pluralistic nature of the village society. These organisations have power in their respective field, most of them are countervailing power groups (Galbraith, 1952). These different power groups make a natural control over one another and over the village panchayat. Thus these groups ensure the proper distribution of the village resources and facilities. The respective leadership of these groups have relatively closer identification with them, they operate as 'pressure groups', thus they are in a better position to channelize the resources in their favour. Such pressure groups along with democratisation of village panchayat have produced conciliatory leadership. Occasionally there are

arise competition among these organisations, in these times leaders of the respective organisations become more active and try to bring the developmental resources in their area of interest. Among respondents 42.86% perceived caste council having more influence upon members than that of village panchayat. These leaders also protect and patronise their followers on different occasion. In villages at the occasion of marriage and birth and death ceremonies these leaders are sought for help very much by villagers.

In the traditional power structure, landlords did not distribute the resources among villagers or different sections of the villagers. The resources were centralised with zamindars. They had control over pasture lands, village ponds, forests. At that time they had no counter-vailing power groups. Zamindars had supreme power in the village affairs. But with the emergence of these new organisations and interest groups, they all have become power groups and have relative control over one another. Though village panchayat is the most powerful at least in theory, but due to electoral pressure and ineffective power holders, it cannot perform the role as effectively as by zamindars. Consequently new leadership is pragmatic, responsive, conciliatory participatory in nature. These changes are natural result of multiplicity of power bases.

However these organisations are not pure indicator

of pluralistic society, because head of many of these organisa-
tions belong to the same households. In Khushamadpur
head of Ramleela committee, Pradhan of village panchayat, head of
navyuvak mangal dal and head of Kanhain Samiti (an intervillage caste organisation) come from the same Brahmin
household. In Rupaipur two village panchayat members are semi - government employee.

How do these organisations sharpen the leadership?
Besides above mentioned competition feeling, these "new bas-
es" of power gave chance to new variables such as younger age,
education, political awareness, expression power, link with
government officials, mobility to district and tehsil head-
quarters - to come into power area i.e. in village level pol-
itics. Above mentioned variables transformed the form and
nature of village leadership. It is clear greater the number
of power bases, organisations and interest groups greater the
competition for power and at the same time greater natural
counter - control over these organisations. The most important
factor observed in the villages was electoral compulsion, a
democratic reality. However in analysing this leadership these
variables should be specified as in case of education, in vi-
illage politics there is neither relevancy nor effectiveness
of higher and technical education. Middle and high school lev-
el education is appropriate for village level politics. Edu-
cated villagers migration for government jobs.

Third formulation raised in the present study was:
"How the social organisation splits itself into factions and
adds new dimensions to the emerging patterns of power structure?" A social organisation is a social structure in action. It consists of number of followers and households, it is a group of multi interests. It is but natural some time there arises clash of interests both within the organisation and between the organisations. With the introduction of new power structure, consequential creation of new power groups and interest groups, many factions have emerged in village power structure. Factions are power groups. Factions are mostly based on disputes related to irrigation rights, distribution of abadiland (housesite) and sexual immorality especially among Chamars and Dhars. Factions are caused by both structural factors such as caste, clan, lineage and ideological factors such as specific political and caste ideology. Caste gives ready made stage for faction formation. However main factions are based on economic issues. These are somewhat permanent groups but they are not as active throughout the year as during the village panchayat election. The villages - less urbanised and educated are less faction ridden, while relatively better urbanised and educated villages are more.

faction ridden. Educated people do not surrender against other factional leaders and form a new faction. These factions are both functional and dysfunctional for village development. Among the respondents 49.79% hold the view that in emerging power structure factions will be increased. They are good for redistribution of village resources; they act as power groups. On account of factionalism, village politics has become unstable and full of tension. Violence has emerged in village politics due to increased factions. Before introduction of panchayatiraj system and abolition of samindari system, there was almost absence of factionalism in village, factions were liquidated at the early stage by the samindars and chaudharies. Now village panchayat is unable to nip them in the bud. Moreover due impact of democratization and universal adult franchise, no body considers himself less privileged than that of office bearers. In such circumstances there is frequently personality clash causing factions.

Thus emergence of faction is consequence of various organizations. However they are not only one source of faction formation. Besides these organization (structural factors) there are many other variables reinforcing factionalism. Besides above mentioned factors, new education, new sources of income and new occupations have created sense of power among the castes and households so far powerless. Respondents in majority (i.e. 31.84%) hold that agricultural disputes are the main cause of faction formation. However next 31.43% respondents hold that caste and related issues are factors of faction formation.
on. Now they have become aware about their rights so for having been deprived by traditional elites. On the other hand traditional elites who were generally high caste members became frustrated over the emerging elites.

Thus caste based factions emerged between the clash of high and low castes, and these high caste members also splitted the solidarity of low caste members. They produced "forced factions" among them. Mostly factions in the villages are conspired by high caste members or newly emerged elite in the village. To conclude besides clash of interests, factions in the villages are artificially caused by the high castes or leaders just to maintain their leadership and meet the vested interests. It is clear new factions changed the power equation among the different castes and households.

Fourth formulation proposed in the present study was: "how village factions retard or accelerate the development process of harnessing the power structure?" As mentioned earlier all Indian villages are now more or less faction ridden. There may be a difference of degree but there is not absence of factions. These factions have been working within the larger context of power structure. These factions alongwith other social organisations maintain equilibrium in the power arena of the villages. They perform the function of pressure groups. Leaders of village panchayat cannot be despotic as zamindars. However more factions itself are not instrument of development. Factional leaders persuade the
resource of power structure in the favour of the respective factions. Factions ideally speaking are groups in which there is no intrafaction exploitation and benefits of the faction are allotted equally in the favour of all members. However in the villages under the present study, there was lack of such ideal factions. In these village factions are maintained by the deliberate manipulation of village elites.

These factions accelerate the state development processes in the sense that they pressurise the village panchayat leaders and village level officials to execute the schemes and also control the possible negligence and corruption. Factions have both positive and negative role in village development. The new dimensions added by factionalism in the villages forced the rural power structure to be more responsive and accountable to the village e.g. factional leaders. Moreover with the increased interaction and link between micro and macro politics these factions often have link with district and state level politicians which in turn accelerates the development officials to initiate and execute the village development plannings.

Besides at the time of factional conflicts the internal unity and solidarity of one faction is increased. It becomes an asset for the faction concerned. Factions also

accelerate development through 'demonstration effect' among the villagers. Factions, being not too large and voluntary, members are well coordinated, devoted and committed to the factional goals, hence factions have greater probability of energy mobilisation. As observed in the villagers factional leaders have better control over their members as compared to that of village panchayat leaders over the villagers. The 42.86% respondents supported this view.

Besides economic development factions have also positive role in social, political and cultural development in the villages. Factions usually disapprove social evils, make programmes for education and recreation. They motivate their respective followings for greater participation in village politics especially during election time. Many cultural improvement programmes are also launched by the factions which are not possible by the individual household.

However this factionalism creates hindrances to rural development. we find it true in the villages as perceived it so by 50.61% respondents. Village level workers and planners are often confused and puzzled and are unable to understand the group dynamics. For chalk ing out village planning and their implementation who

should be consulted, whose proposal should be given weightage, who should be considered as agent of change etc., is confused by factionalism. It is the greatest drawback of factionalism in village development. Besides it factions cause tension and violence among villagers.

There is differential role of different factions in harnessed the power structure. If faction leader is of high caste, educated, economically prosperous, have enough followers and followers are also enjoying these characteristic to some extent, the faction is the most effective in exploiting the current power structure. Thus the functions and the dysfunctions cannot be analysed without considering its leadership and qualities and size of the followers. In the villages under study factions led by economically prosperous, educated and high caste members have greater control over the faction and over the village panchayat and panchayat samiti, than that of one led by economically backward and low caste member. Thus in studying the retarding and accelerating role of factions in village development factional leaders, followers, their structure and organization together is to be considered.

Besides these 4 hypothetical questions, researcher also raised five issues (i.e. objectives of the study) in the emergent dimensions of the power structure.

First was one identification of the patterns of power structure in Indian rural society. We concluded after
studying these three villages that the existing power structure is democratic in its form but in content the village power structure lack democratic values and norms. Traditional power structure was feudalistic and based on zamindari system, caste councils and village panchayat. The current power structure is based on democratic decentralisation of power, egalitarian values and universal adult suffrage, panchayatiraj institutions, cooperative society and community development programmes. The present rural power structure is devoid of scientific, secular, rational and egalitarian values. However this power structure cannot be said to be feudalistic. The repercussion of traditional power structure has no effective impact among villagers' mentality. It is only their poverty which is creating hurdle in their liberty. Even the poorest villagers talk about court and police if some one threatens him/her.

In the present patterns and also in the emerging patterns of the power structure the economic factor is the most dominant factor. However due to adult suffrage, numerical strength of the castes have become a sources of power in the villages. In the villages we find coalition among allied castes for gaining power.

Factions as power groups have affected the current power structure. The emerging trends indicate the perpetuation of the factions in the villages. Similarly in the new power structure village leadership has become local in
nature which is relatively more democratic, responsive, participatory, rational\(^1\), and the ambidextrous\(^2\) (i.e. one dealing with both the villagers informally and development officials formally).

In the power pool of the villages almost all castes and sections have got representation. All Scheduled castes have got in power positions because of constitutional representation. In the villages 'the power reservoirs' and 'the power exercisers' are not always the same person. High caste members usually act as 'power reservoirs'. This difference due to democratic election of the village panchayats. The desirable activities of ideal power holders as identified by the respondents one: Economic power (50.24%), Objectivity (07.96%) and Education (06.24%) while the desirable activities of existing power holders are: Economic Power (52.86%), Objectivity(08.29%) and Coercive Power (06.33%). Thus the emerging power holders are different from the existing power holders in degree. Attributes are the same. Political affiliation has also changed the power structure.


Next issue raised by the researcher was to test Lenski's thesis that once the use of power has resulted in the acquisition of some forms of privilege and prestige these benefits can in turn be utilised as resources for gaining additional power, privilege and prestige. Hence the phenomena of power privilege prestige are all highly interrelated in social life so that anyone of these factors can eventually produce either of the other two in a circular process.

In the villages under study circular process was observed. Thus thesis explains the power phenomena in Indian setting truly. In the villages 81.22% respondents answered that power, privilege and prestige are interrelated. Power, privilege and prestige are highly interrelated, this is true in both cases; in acquisition of power and in loss of power. If any of the three elements is acquired, there is always probability of acquiring the other two and if there is loss of any element there is always probability of loosing the other two. Thus in dominance mobility there is always mobility in power, privilege and prestige. It was observed in the villages a member of low caste holding post of member of the village panchayat enjoys more prestige and privilege than the other members of his caste. Power begets power is true in Indian rural set up. Indian caste based hierarchy illustrates well the complex phenomenon of power. Bania, instance, had privilege and prestige because of their economic power.
Third issue proposed was identification of the emerging patterns of the power structure and changes in social stratification. The emerging patterns of power structure is aligning in the favour of backward and scheduled castes. These castes have good numerical strength and they are enjoying formal power positions by virtue of this numerical strength. However they are not very effective at the present level, but in near future they will get almost all required traits of a dominant caste.

Social stratification is allocation of power in the society. It reflects the patterns of the power structure. With the change in power bases it is but natural social stratification is also reshaped. In Indian rural set-up social stratification is basically expressed in caste system. Under the new power structure caste's traditional functions and occupations have been changed and casteism has been increased in new politics (i.e. democracy). Change in caste is not holistic. Secular functions of caste have been changed but its role in marriages etc. is almost

intact. Caste is still source of prestige among the villagers. It is because there is very slow change in traditional occupations. This system is "a closed system in which different elements such as caste, class and power are aggregated broadly in the same way\(^1\). In the villages, it is closed in the sense that there is no structural change (vertical mobility\(^2\)), there is simply horizontal mobility.

In this social mobility main factors observed in the villages were education, state development activities, mass media, means of transport and communication, sanakritisation, secularisation, urbanisation, landownership and new opportunities of jobs, occupation and business.

Next issue raised was: to study the role of state development activities and change in power structure. After independence government launched many programmes to renovate the rural society. Main programmes for this study, observed operating in the villages were abolition of zamindari, other land reforms, introduction of panchayati raj institutions, cooperative movements, community development programmes including health and educational facilitées, and Jawahar Rojgar Yojna. As per perceived by the

\begin{enumerate}
\item F. A. Sorekin, Social and Cultural Mobility (London: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964),
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respondents these activities have both positive and negative role in village development.

The power structure brought into existence by the above mentioned provisions up lifted village economy introduced democracy on the one hand and on the other hand they have caused village tension, factionalism, violence and litigation.

These state development activities and the power structure has changed not only economic and political life but also social and cultural life of the villagers. Thus the whole personality of the villages have changed tremendously. However all castes and households have not been influenced by these activities and patterns of power structure. Moreover, same caste or family has not been changed equally in every aspect of social life, viz. social, political, economic and cultural. Villagers do not accept every programmes whole heartedly. Schemes likely to benefit the villagers economically were accepted fully while schemes which had no immediate result were not accepted by the villagers. Same behaviour have been observed by Dube also.

Last issue was to study the accelerating and retarding role of power structure in development of Indian rural society.

As mentioned earlier the existing power structure has both accelerating and retarding role in village development. New power structure was imposed from the top, it could not be internalised by the villagers, thus it to some extent caused inconvenience to the villagers. Factor of acceleration are the same as mentioned responsible for 'role of state development activities'.

Before independence there was systematic planning for the village development, but now well formulated plans are launched for development of rural society manifested in the form of various state development activities. They aim at systematic change in the villages. Main areas of development are community development, improvement in standard of living and health, technological innovations consisting of improved seeds, fertilisers, improved breeds of animals etc. In Khushi Madpur two buffalos were credited by the Block. Many villagers purchase seeds and fertilisers from the cooperative society.

However the power structure sometimes creates hindrances in the development of rural society. Besides factionalism, tension, violence and litigation, the power structure has caused other social conditions which retard the development. Due to involvement of corruption village development is often held up. Development officials misappropriate the funds granted for the villages. It is easy due to structural drawback of the existing power structure.
Moreover bureaucratic formality and rationality does not suit villagers' nature. Consequently they avoid to avail the opportunities of the development.

Present process of modernisation has also caused cultural lag in the villagers. It creates problem of value conflict and adjustment. Such problem was observed by the researcher among the villagers. The power structure has increased inequality within the villages as by nature it helps those who have some creditable position. It has also revived casteism - an enemy of democracy. These discussions about various issues indicate the validation of the hypotheses formulated in the starting of this research work.

To be precise, the emerging patterns of power structure in Indian rural society is not going to be fully democratic, but it has set on its delinking from the feudalistic power structure. It is hoped from the emerging trends that with the passage of time the power structure will be democratic in nature, form and contents, but power will never be equally distributed among the social actors. Some form of power hierarchy, whether voluntary or forced, is indispensable.

THE VILLAGES

KHUSHAMADPUR, KHANPUR PILAI & RUPAIPUR.

REFERENCES

- District Boundary
- Village Boundary
- Metalled Road
- Canal
- Chak Road & Cart Track
- Settlement
- Pond
- Orchard
- Grooves
- Arable Land

SULTANPUR DISTRICT

THE VILLAGES UNDER STUDY

KADIPUR

BILWAI

KHUSHAMADPUR

HARIPUR

Khanpur Kalan

PAR KHAS

SAHAT PUR

BANDAWA DEEH

KANHAIN TAL

SARDA CANAL DISTRIBUTARY

MIRPUR

PRATAPPUR

BHARTHIPUR

KALAN

MINOR

JOUNPUR

HARIJAN BASTI

MINOR

KUNMAR NADI

KHUSHAMADPUR

AMETHI

MUSAFIR KHANIA

SULTANPUR

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