THE SOCIAL PROCESSES OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN INDIA

by

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A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

in the Department of
Anthropology and Sociology

We accept this thesis as conforming to the
required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
AUGUST, 1963
ABSTRACT

After the Second World War, a type of social planning called Community Development was widely adopted by underdeveloped countries. This comprehensive approach has a basic postulate: if opportunity is given, people will respond. In this assumption, considerations of 'process' are neglected. The focus of this thesis is the analysis of the social process of Community Development Programmes with special reference to India.

When a stimulus is given to an organism, the response is determined in part by the structure of the organism. The process of social response is determined by two sets of independent variables, the social structure and the relevant values. These variables are examined at two levels, administrative organization and village society.

From the analysis, the writer discovered that there is a contradiction, perhaps an inherent one, in the two ultimate targets of social planning. Thus an increase of production and an extension of social justice may be incompatible, and there is a lag between material programmes and educational programmes that is inevitable but exceedingly hard to reckon with.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This is a thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in the Department of Anthropology and Sociology, the University of British Columbia, B.C., Canada.

When I arrived in Canada in September, 1962, my chief interest of study was educational administration in underdeveloped countries. My background of Japanese rural sociology, however, did not qualify me to enter the Department of Education in this university. It was Mr. Akihiro Chiba, of the staff of the Department of Middle Education, UNESCO, Paris, who suggested that I study Community Development. Without his advice, I would not have been drawn to this subject.

I have to thank Professor H.B. Hawthorn, the Chairman, Department of Anthropology and Sociology, the University of British Columbia, whose advice has been a constant and inspiring encouragement.

To Dr. Ram Das of the Planning Research and Action Institute, Uttar Pradesh, India, I am obliged for sending me copies of his Institute's excellent publications. I am also obliged to the Ministry of Community Development and Cooperation, and the Programme Evaluation Organization, Planning
Commission, the Government of India, for supplying me with much basic material in published form.

On this occasion, I should not miss the names of Indian and Pakistani students on the campus of the University of British Columbia. Their information on their countries enlightened me very much. Since the number is so big, they have to remain anonymous.

Mrs. Kusum Nair, the author of *The Blossoms in the Dust*, kindly permitted me to quote many examples from her book, which was written on the basis of her direct discussions with village people all over India. Naturally it gave me deeper understanding of Indian rural society.

Mr. Stuart Piddocke kindly read my manuscript with keen theoretical insight and constructively criticised it. He also corrected the grammatical mistakes of the thesis. If there is any language clarity in this thesis, I owe it to him.

My greatest thanks are dedicated to my thesis supervisor, Professor C.S. Belshaw. He lent me his abundant material and has constantly encouraged the progress of this thesis. His critical comments on my thesis illuminated amazingly my own unclear and unsystematic thinking, and repeatedly stimulated me to further thought.

If there is any value in this study, I owe it to those people who, to this foreigner, kindly extended their
friendship beyond national boundaries.

Mitsuru Shimpo,
Vancouver, B.C. Canada,
August, 1963.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In the late 1930's the Government of India launched the "Grow-More Food Campaign" to save her nation from starvation, but the campaign failed seriously. After India's independence, an Enquiry Committee was organized to survey the situation. The Report of the Grow More Food Enquiry Committee, Ministry of Food and Agriculture, Government of India, includes the following passage:

...the economic aspects of village life cannot be detached from the broader social aspects; and agricultural improvement is inextricably bound up with a whole set of social problems. The lesson to be derived from the working of the Grow-More Food Programmes thus confirms the experience of State and private agencies engaged in village development. It is that all aspects of rural life are inter-related and that no lasting results can be achieved if individual aspects of it are dealt with in isolation. This does not mean that particular problems should not be given prominence but the plans for them should form parts of, and be integrated with, those for achieving the wider aims. It is only by placing this ideal ... of bringing about an appreciable improvement in the standard of rural life and making it fuller and richer before the country and ensuring that the States and the best unofficial leadership are directed to plans for its realization that we can awaken mass enthusiasm and enlist the active interest and support of the millions of families living in the countryside in the immense task of bettering their own conditions ....

1Quoted from Cousins, William J., "Community Development in West Bengal", in U.S. Community Development Review, Washington, September, 1959, p. 45.
This statement suggests that any 'single-purpose project', such as an agricultural extension programme, tends to fail in a so-called 'underdeveloped country'. In such countries, each and every aspect of social life is bound up with all other aspects, and cannot be dealt with adequately in isolation. The attempt to remedy a given social problem will therefore involve having to attempt changes in the rest of the society. A programme of change must therefore be a 'multi-purpose programme' or 'comprehensive approach'. One such multi-purpose approach is that known as the 'Community Development Programmes.'

I. Concept of Community Development

Towards the end of the Second World War, the approach of Community Development was inaugurated in Nigeria and the Gold Coast by the British Government. At first the method of Community Development was 'mass education', especially featuring programmes of hygiene and manual crafts. The aim of the Community Development Programmes was to help the local people to adjust to the wider world. As the people were 'awakened' other social processes such as elementary education were to be introduced. The under-lying

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2 This description of the historical development of the concept of Community Development is based on a lecture by Professor C.S. Belshaw in his seminar in Applied Anthropology (1962-63) at the University of British Columbia.
assumption of this approach was that as the abilities of the local people were released the people would come to continue the process of development themselves. The Agricultural Extension Projects of the U.S. co-operated with this programme. In the British Commonwealth, Community Development Programmes were viewed as a form of adult education.

After the Second World War, the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization applied this approach in Latin American countries in developing the compulsory education system. Evidently, Community Development was still considered in the context of education though with more emphasis upon formal education.

The Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the United Nations adopted this approach in a different context. One of the most widely quoted definitions of Community Development was the one given by the 1948 Cambridge Conference on "The Encouragement of Initiative in African Society", namely:

A movement designed to promote better living for the whole community, with the active participation and if possible on the initiative of the community, but if this initiative is not forthcoming spontaneously, by the use of techniques for arousing and stimulating it in order to secure its active and enthusiastic response to the movement.  

3 ICA, Community Development Programs in India, Pakistan and the Philippines, Team I, New York, 1955, p.8.
This definition reflects the British concept of Community Development. This definition does, however, suggest that Community Development is suited to small-scale societies or local communities, rather than to large-scale modern societies. The United Nations is more interested in socio-economic development at the national level, and the UN experts therefore re-defined 'Community Development' for their working purposes as follows:

The processes by which the efforts of the people themselves are united with those of governmental authorities to improve the economic, social and cultural conditions of communities, to integrate these communities into the life of the nation, and to enable them to contribute fully to national progress.  

In this definition, Community Development is considered most effective when carried out as an integral part of national policy on the national scale. Community Development would be, according to the UN experts, one of the most effective comprehensive approaches.

II. Community Development as Social Planning

Community Development as defined by the United Nations is a type of social planning. This social planning
has the following three characteristics:

1. Social planning is a conscious effort or integrated collective behavior to orient the social change of the society into that specific direction which is regarded as most desirable by the planners. It is "United with those of governmental authorities", or, in other words, planning by those above for the people below. In this respect, Community Development as defined by the UN experts stands at the other end from social movements, which are often from below.

2. Social planning has the objective of "extension", i.e., it presupposes an 'ideal' society toward which the planning should be oriented. According to the Government of India, for example,

   The fundamental objective of extension, is the development of the individual in the community. The ultimate aim of extension is to improve the well-being of all the rural people within the frame of national economic and social policies.

   The major objectives of extension are:-

   (a) Material...to increase production.

   (b) Educational...to increase knowledge, to improve techniques or skills and to help people to change their attitudes from traditional and static to scientific and dynamic.
(c) Social and cultural...to develop the community through consolidating and strengthening the local groups such as co-operatives, Panchayats, youth clubs etc.

This statement may be rephrased as follows:

(a) Co-ordination of the relationship between national policy and national economy.

(b) Achievement (as conceived by the planners) of the most efficient balance of human activities, settlement patterns, and local resources.

(c) Reformation of people's values by means of the reformation of social organizations and educational institutions to achieve the ideal social order projected by the planners.

This projected society is, however, usually only a vague ideal, and the planners often themselves cannot define it. This means that there is in fact no clear ideology of the goals of Community Development, and that the remainder of its conceptions, i.e., those of developmental methods and approaches, are consequently somewhat confused.

3. From the UN definition, it is clear that

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5 National Institute of Community Development, Government of India, The Scope of Extension, New Delhi, 1962, pp. 4-5.
community development should be affected not by violence but through consent, i.e., planning policy should be done by representative bodies such as parliaments, and the execution of these plans ideally carried out through persuasion with a minimum of coercion.

Community Development as social planning has a two-fold target, viz., to meet the national interest and to meet the local interest. This target has two directions at each level, i.e., the increase of production will directly meet the national interest as well as local interest, and the execution of 'social justice' will favour indirectly the national interest as well as directly the local interest. Thus, by increasing the production, the standard of living of the local people will be raised while the increase of total national production is one of the ultimate goals of the planner. 'Social justice' in this context means the elimination of social and economic inequalities, including the inequalities of ascribed statuses. (In India, for example, 'social justice' implies the abolition of the caste system.) The achievement of 'social justice', by removing the exploitation of the underprivileged sections of the community by the more privileged sections, will give the former more control over their own destiny and motivate them to increase their production, so increase the national production generally. 6

6 For example, see Goswami, U.L.; and Roy, S.C., "India--regional considerations" in Ruopp, Phillips, ed. Approaches to Community Development--a symposium introductory to problems and methods of village welfare in underdeveloped areas, The Hague, Bandung, 1953, pp. 303-4.
So both local and national interests will be met.

III. Purpose of this Enquiry

In Community Development Programmes as social planning, at least three important basic assumptions are involved. They are:

1. The improvement of living conditions or physical environment of a community, and the reformation of values of the people of that community can be carried out by means of this 'comprehensive approach' without conflict. This assumption further supposes that the changes introduced by Community Development will take effect in each and every sphere of society more or less to the same extent, at about the same time, and with the same intensity; that, in other words, the 'comprehensive approach' can avoid disfunctions.

2. The plan will be executed by the administrative organization of Government; and these executors will support the ideology of the planners, as expressed in the plan, and any difficulties that might arise at the administrative level can be anticipated and prevented simply by a reformation of the structure of the administrative organization.

3. Finally, at the community level, the local
people will respond to the plan and its ideology as soon as the opportunity is given them.

However, unless the planners have paid proper attention to the structure of man's social action, these assumptions will not hold. When the original plan \((P)\) is passed on to the administrative organization to be implemented, the social structure (including the informal structure) of the bureaucracy and the values existing in it, will cause the executors to respond differently from the expectation of the planners. The original plan will therefore be distorted \((P')\). This distorted plan \((P')\) will then be executed at the community level. At this level, the community people will respond in a further different manner from the planners' expectations, and the plan will be distorted further \((P''\)\). This will be because the ideology of the plan presupposes certain patterns of behavior, which are in fact different from the variables, such as values and role expectations, which determine the social action of the people of the community.

The process of evaluation, which in theory should reveal such distortions, will itself be distorted insofar as the evaluation is in the hands of, or based upon the reports of, the administrative personnel responsible for executing or implementing the plan; and the plan as evaluated will be yet a third distortion \((P'''\)\) of the original.
Because of this distortion, the first assumption will be false. Physical programmes, i.e., those aimed at changing the living conditions of the community, will be implemented and responded to differently from those programmes aimed at changing values; which may therefore lead to conflicts between the two aims of raising living standards and ensuring 'social justice'.

The purpose of this thesis is to trace the process of distortion of the original plan at each level from the viewpoint of the theory of social action. Fortunately it will not be necessary for us to go deeply into the details of the theory of social action, and it will be sufficient to outline briefly the elementary concepts on which our perspective is based. An individual's social action, i.e., his behavior in society, is determined by two sets of independent variables: (a) social situation, and (b) the individual's attitude and values. Social situation involves such variables as social structure, social norm, status, role, and reference group. By 'social structure', we mean the ordering, or enduring pattern, of social relationships. In this ordering, there are 'norms' or social expectations regulating the individual's behavior and demanding conformity to the social order. There are also sets of vertical and horizontal relationships in which the individual occupies a given position; this position is his 'status'. The pattern of behavior associated with
the status in conformity with social expectations, or norms, is called the 'role'. The individual's behavior in the status will also be determined by the reference group in the social situation, for the reference group will provide the type of norms that the individual will follow. All these variables determine the social action of the individual from outside.

The individual's values and attitude determine his behavior from inside, and are shown by his choice of reference group and of the norms which he will conform to or rebel against. This attitude may be thought of as the general orientation, including emotional factors, of his behavior; while his values may be thought of as his ideas of what is good (or bad) and therefore to be striven for (or against).

When an 'input', or set of stimuli, is presented to the individual, he will respond with a combination of these variables of social action, and so determine his 'output' or behavior. Therefore, to understand the responses of people to community development, we have, first, to examine the nature of the input (i.e., the plan), second, to investigate the social situations and values involved (i.e., those of the administrative bureaucracy and the local communities), and, finally, to analyze the output (i.e. the various responses to the plan). As the social plan is carried out by executors upon executees, we have to analyze both these levels of social situations and values, and their responses.
IV. **Scope of this Study**

We shall demonstrate the above theoretical propositions by analyzing the Community Development Programmes of India. The reasons why we choose India are simple. Among the so-called 'underdeveloped countries', India has the largest population and the scale of the Community Development Programmes is the greatest in the world. The relatively long history of the Programmes makes the analysis easier, and the abundance of material is also encouraging. India is the only country which has an official evaluation organization of the Community Development Programmes, and this organization issues annual reports based upon empirical studies. The Ministry of Community Development and Co-Operation has published many documents which give insight into Government views of the Programmes. The United Nations has sent experts for evaluation purposes and has published several reports, which give relatively objective views of the Programmes. Some Indian anthropologists have undertaken intensive community studies under the Programmes. Journalists have published their impressions. These sources give the inner information on Indian society which foreigners sometimes fail to secure. Finally, non-Indian scholars have carried out many intensive community studies that are also available in published form. These researchers have the advantages of seeing with outsiders' eyes. Official documents can supply the information which
non-official agents cannot otherwise secure. The Government of India publications will supply the inner information whereas the UN reports show the outer aspect of the official picture. The non-official agents are less committed to the official view of the Programmes and are in this sense more objective. Indian scholars' studies will give the inner information, while non-Indian researchers will reveal the scene with outsiders' objectivity. Thus the shortcomings of each source are counter-balanced by other sources, so making it possible to have a sound understanding of the Community Development Programmes in India.

As Evelyn W. Hersey stated, "No one who knows India should have the temerity to generalize on any subject", 7 Since situations differ from place to place, we have to narrow the scope of the study. The concept of 'community' in the Community Development Programmes is not clear. The community is vaguely considered as a unit of settlement and it is almost implicitly identified with villages. 8 But the concept of village also varies. For example, 'village' is defined by the Government of India in the following way:


It should be borne in mind that the concept of a village is not demographic but administrative. As a general rule, it represents a parcel of land, the boundaries of which are defined and settled by a Revenue Survey or by a Cadastral Survey. It may be but need not always necessarily be a single house cluster with a local name, marking its distinctiveness as a residential locality.\(^9\)

According to this definition, a 'village' is not necessarily a social unit. For a more valid understanding, we have to select the State which fulfils the following three conditions:

1. Identity between the revenue unit and the settlement unit.

2. The predominance of rice-cultivation and the existence of a relatively high density of population.

3. Community Development Programmes that have been in operation for a reasonably long time.\(^{10}\)

According to V. Nath, the closest area to the first criterion is in the 'dry' area of the country. In these areas, the village is a tightly-knit unit of settlement, distinctly marked out from other similar units. Over large parts of eastern India, the revenue village consists of the main village and a number of small clusters of households (thollas)

\(^9\) Ibid.

\(^{10}\) UN, Economic Development and Community Development, Part II-A, Bangkok, 1960, p. 5. The UN experts applied 2 & 3 in their studies.
each situated within its own grove of trees, having its own source of water supply, and separated from the others by some distance. In these areas, village boundaries are not clearly discernible. In Madras and part of Andhra Pradesh, the settlement unit is a cluster of houses, with some distance between them, surrounded by cultivated fields; but these 'clusters' are not called villages but 'hamlets'. 'Village' refers to an administrative unit containing 10,000 to 15,000 persons. In Kerala, the unit of settlement is the individual homestead situated within its own compound and agricultural lands. The 'village' here is purely artificial. In Himachal Pradesh, the population is very scarce and the typical unit of settlement is the 'hamlet', consisting of a very few houses, sometimes not more than two or three.\textsuperscript{11}

Thus by the first criterion, our scope of study should be in North-Western India, and in the 'dry' areas of the country. The second condition rejects the 'dry' areas where very little rice grows. Among the Northwestern states, the most active Community Development Programmes have been carried out in Uttar Pradesh. Material is relatively abundant regarding this State. The Planning Research and Action Institute, U.P., in Lucknow, issues many studies based upon their action researches. Albert Mayer and other scholars

\textsuperscript{11} Nath, V., \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 142-3.
have published the report of the Etawah Project. UN experts made a case study of the Ghosi Community Development Block, U.P., in 1958, and the UN report of this study is now available. Finally, Walter Neale has published, in 1962, a report on economic changes in U.P. villages. Because of this intensity of the Programmes and abundance of available material, our study is chiefly focussed on the State of Uttar Pradesh.

V. Organization of the Thesis

In the second chapter, we will describe the outline of the Community Development Programmes of India. Then, in Chapter III, we will analyze the Government Bureaucracy responsible for implementing these Programmes. Chapter IV will examine the interaction between the Programmes and the Bureaucracy. Village society will be sketched in Chapter V, followed in Chapter VI by a discussion of the interaction between the Programmes and the village people. The last chapter will summarize the conclusions of our study.
CHAPTER II

THE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES IN INDIA

I. Background

Community Development in India began in 1952. According to the census of the previous year (which was also the year in which the first Five Year Plan was launched), 80 per cent of the working population was engaged in agriculture, and 300 million people were living in the rural areas of India. The number of villages was 558,089, of which 70 per cent of them had population of less than 500 persons. The villages were isolated from each other, roads between villages being poor. Sources of information, such as radio sets and newspapers, bringing news about the outside world, were few and far between. Formal education was restricted to primary schools, and there were not many even of these. Farming methods were still primitive. The caste system was still strong, caste position and socio-economic status in each

1Planning Commission, New India...progress through democracy, Macmillan, New York, 1958, p. 160.

2Fukutake, Tadashi, Sekai Nohson no Tabi (Journey of the Rural Villages in the World), Tokyo University Press, 1962, p. 134, has observed, "I am inclined to think that the Indian rice cultivation method is in the stage of 17th century Japan." (my translation...M.S.).
community being closely correlated.

The possession of land is subject to great inequalities. In 1951, for example, twenty-five per cent of the villagers held eighty-four per cent of the land, and fifteen per cent of the villagers had no land at all. Of the village population, thirty per cent were agricultural labourers; this class, which includes the villagers without land, is the lowest stratum of village society.

India has great agricultural potentialities, but the social and economic set-up of rural society places great obstacles to the realization of these potentials. The warm climate permits the growing of two to three crops each year. Though India already has the highest area of irrigated land in the world, it is still possible to extend this area further. The abundance of cheap labour in rural areas will permit methods of intensive farming; this possibility is fortunate because the poverty of the people, involving as it does a great shortage of capital and an enormous latent unemployment, renders the extensive mechanization of agriculture impractical. But the obstacles to realization of these potentialities are very great. As the population grows, the fragmentation of land in inheritance increases, until the amount of land owned by even a small family is too small to support them even by in-

tensive farming methods. Thus in 1951, 53 per cent of the farmers each owned less than 5 acres. The extremely low income of most of the farmers further has the result, in some areas, that 80 per cent of them have to obtain loans in order to get seeds and other essential supplies. The population is really larger than can be adequately supported even by a system of intensive farming requiring a large labour supply. Ninety million people, for example, are estimated as latent unemployed. To raise the standard of living of these poor people as well as to increase the non-agricultural employment are the urgent tasks of the young Indian Government. The social and economic development of rural areas must be the key for modernization of Independent India.

Before the Community Development Programmes, there were many indigenous pioneer projects for rural reconstruction. Rabindranath Tagore started Rural Reconstruction work at Sriniketan in 1921. Tagore's project's basic tone was 'social justice'. Vinoba Bhave's Movement for Gramdan and Gram Swaraj has carried out Mahatma Gandhi's ideology of rural reconstruction: the new society integrated and classless, the fully autonomous and self-reliant village community. In 1927,

G.L. Brayne of the Punjab State started a new village development project called "the Gurgaon Scheme". The basic characteristics of this approach were the comprehensiveness and coordination of programmes. The Rural Reconstruction Movement in Baroda State in the 1930's aimed at "a rapid increase in standards of living". There, the emphasis was upon economic development. The ultimate target was industrialization. Another characteristic of this programme was the attempt to change the social structure and value system by social and economic legislation. Firka Development Scheme in Madras State in the 1940's was one of the proto-types of present Community Development Programmes. From this scheme, the concept of Gram Sevak was developed. Finally, the most important pilot project in this sphere was the Etawah Project. Albert Mayer started the project in 97 villages of the Etawah District in the State of Uttar Pradesh in 1948. In his project, the field workers were called "Village Level Workers", a term equivalently used in Gram Sevak in the Firka Scheme. The success of the project paved the way for the Indo-U.S. Co-operation Agreement of 1952 for the expansion of the

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7 Krishnamachari, V.T., "Community Development in Baroda State", in Min. of C.D. & Coop., op. cit., p. 37.

Community Development Programmes on a large scale.

In March 1950, the Government of India set up the Planning Commission. The Commission published the draft outline of a national plan of development to cover a period of five years from April 1951 to March 1956. In spite of desperate need for industrialization, the much more urgent task of saving the people from starvation has to assign 45 per cent of the total budget to the agricultural sphere. To grow more food grain was the short term target; and the development of rural community, the long term target.

Behind this Five Year Plan, there were also a number of urgent problems to be solved politically in parallel with the social problems mentioned in the beginning of this chapter. They were: (a) the shortage of food since the Second World War; (b) the loss of commercial crop area and reduction of irrigated area caused by Pakistan's gaining independence; (c) the rise in unemployment in rural villages due to the in-rush of refugees from Pakistan; and finally (d) the great burden placed on India's foreign monetary policy by the importation of agricultural crops.9 The Commission suggested three programmes to cope with these problems: (a) a Land Reform programme abolishing the zamindari, fixing a ceiling on the amount of land held by any single person, and re-

9Fukazawa, Hachiro "Indo no Nogyoh Mondai no Temboh" (Agricultural Problems in India), Toyoh Bunka (Oriental Culture) No. 28, Toyoh Bunka Kenkyusho, Tokyo University, Dec., 1959, p. 25.
organizing agriculture by consolidating small holdings and preventing further fragmentation; (b) the development of community credit-co-operatives to supply the badly-needed capital for investment on the re-distributed land; and (c) Community Development to co-ordinate these programmes for the more effective development of community as such.

II. Outline of the Community Development Programmes

The Community Development Programmes started on the Second of October, 1952, the birthday of Mahatma Gandhi. The objective of the Programmes was defined as follows:

The objective of the Community Development Programme is to assist each village first in having effective panchayats, co-operatives, and schools; and through these village institutions plan and carry out integrated, multiphased family, village, Block and District plans for increasing agricultural production; improving existing village crafts and industries and organizing new ones; providing minimum essential health services and improving health practices; providing required educational facilities for children and an adult education programme; providing recreational facilities and programmes, improving housing and family living conditions; and providing programmes for village women and youth.10

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In this definition, the characteristics of social planning of this type which we have reviewed in Chapter I are clearly revealed.

The approach is "progress through democracy". The outline of the plan is formulated under the guidance of Parliament, and the plan is then implemented (ideally) with the unforced co-operation of the villagers. The villagers voluntarily participate in the Programmes and then when governmental assistance ends, continue the process of development themselves. This is named by the Government of India "People's Participation". In this approach, there is an underlying postulate which is formulated in the following terms:

If people were given the opportunity for self-help, they would respond with their skills, enthusiasm, and energies to achieve their own advancement.

The image of the ideal society described by the Planning Commission is the integrated whole of the achievements by the specific programmes cited above in the definition of the objectives of Community Development.

The administrative organization will be explained in

11 Planning Commission, op. cit., cf. the subtitle.

the next chapter. In brief, the plans are formulated by the Central Government, and are sent to each State Government to be carried out. Under each State Government, there are District level organizations under which in turn Blocks are set up. In the Block, the Block Development Officer is the head of a team of Extension Officers who are experts of various fields. At the village level, Gram Sevak or Village Level Workers function as multi-purpose extension agents. The programmes to be executed at the village level are determined by agreement between Gram Sevaks and Village Panchayats (village councils). In this way it is expected that village interests will be reflected in the programmes.

The Community Development Programmes in the initial stage of the First Five Year Plan were to last three years. Each Project within a Programme was to involve three Blocks. Each Block was to cover 100 villages with 66,000 people, and Rs. 6,500,000 were to be allotted to each project. In 1953, the National Extension Service was introduced to areas not yet under the Community Development Programmes. Blocks in the National Extension Service were of the same size as Community Development Blocks, but were allotted only Rs. 450,000, and Development plans were less extensive. After three years of operation as National Extension Service Blocks, these units

13 About the village panchayats we will explain in a later chapter.
were to be converted into Community Development Blocks. At the same time as the introduction of the National Extension Service, the duration of already existing Community Development Blocks was extended from three to six years.

In 1957, a Study Team was appointed by the Committee on Plan Projects; and as a result of the Team's report, the pattern of Community Development Programmes was again revised in April 1958. According to this new plan, the Community Development Programmes were to last for ten years: five years for Stage I and another five years for Stage II. The budget for Stage I was to be Rs. 1,200,000 per Block, and for Stage II, Rs. 500,000 per Block. Development in the first stage was to be intensive, resembling the Community Development Blocks of the first Five Year Plan; in the second stage, development was to resemble the less intensive pattern of the National Extension Service Blocks. Since the total amount budgeted for each Block under the new plan was not much different from the total provided under the previous but shorter plans, the funds available annually to a Block for development were less than in the older programmes. This pattern is the one still in force.

In a Block at Stage I, a total staff of 44 persons is employed, made up of one Block Development Officer, eight Extension Officers, twelve Gram Sevaks (including two women), and medical, educational, and other personnel. In a Block at
Stage II, the number of Extension Officers and Gram Sevaks do not vary, but the educational and medical staffs are transferred to other Blocks.

As the Community Development Programme is a comprehensive approach by its very nature, the content of programmes covers almost all the spheres of village life such as polity (village panchayat), economy (improvement of means of production and technology), education, health, housing and recreation. S.C. Dube has described (see Table 1 of Appendix) the Community Development Programmes as involving eight spheres of activity: agriculture and related concerns, communications, education, health, training, social welfare, supplementary employment, and housing. Among the eight spheres, the sphere of agriculture and related concerns has the longest list of proposed projects, including use of improved seeds and chemical fertilizer, and the extension of irrigation. In the second sphere, road building is the main programme. Education involves elementary formal education for school-age children, and literacy classes and related programmes for adults. In the sphere of health, one of the most popular projects is the construction of Drinking-Water Wells. Other spheres' programmes also involve a variety of projects, but not so many as in the first four spheres. Each programme has its physical target set by the Central Government or the State Governments, and statistical reports of the physical achievement are prepared in order that
the Governments can always make a sound evaluation of the Programmes.

The methods of carrying out these programmes depend upon 'People's Participation'. We have already briefly discussed the ideological background of this notion, but there is also a more narrowly economic reason for it. As we have noted, the total budget available is very small to create remarkable changes in village society. To cover the shortage, great importance has been attached to the villager's contribution. The amenities require expenditures which are many times more than the finances provided for the Community Development Programmes. According to Government estimates, there are about 50,000 adult male workers in a project area, who, on the average, are idle half of the year. If one quarter of this idle time could be used for the Programmes which are for the villagers' benefit, it would amount to a contribution of more than Rs. 7,000,000 during the three-year period. Thus (a) ten per cent of the cost of irrigation; (b) 25 per cent of the cost of drainage and drinking-water supply, and buildings for schools and dispensaries, (c) 50 per cent of the capital cost of community centres, or (d) the entire cost of ordinary roads are estimated in the Programmes' budget to come from this source.14

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According to the original plan, by the end of the Second Five Year Plan (March 1961), the whole of India would be covered by 3,808 Community Development Blocks. However, it was later realized by Government officials that the estimate was too optimistic, and the plan was therefore revised during the Second Five Year Plan so that by October, 1963, the country would be covered by 5,222½ Blocks.¹⁵

To administer this many projects, the Government needs an enormous number of administrative personnel and technicians and other specialists. Until the end of March 1963, 43 centres trained 15,865 Gram Sevaks in a year. In 1955, 25 centres for female officials were set up. Under the Second Five Year Plan, 200,000 new workers (Gram Sevaks, administrative staff, Extension Officers, and Social Education Organizers) were needed. To meet the need, 61 training centres and 91 basic agricultural schools were planned. The achievements of these institutions are shown in the Appendix, Table 2.

Candidates for Gram Sevak posts should have minimal formal education of eleven years or more, except for 'tribals' of whom only nine years of formal education are required. The trainees receive one year of training followed by six months extension work.

At the administrative officer training schools, two

¹⁵Min. of C.D. & Coop., *Community Development Programme...third five year plan*, 1961, p. 4.
types of personnel are trained. The candidates for Block Development Officer should be university graduates. Until 1955, these candidates received six weeks' training, but since then, have been given eight weeks. Another type of trainee, consisting of persons sent from other government departments, is given re-orientation classes lasting six weeks.

There are five institutes for the training of Social Education Organizers. But the definition of 'Social education' is not clear, and these institutes are not active.\(^{16}\)

In the evaluative aspects of Community Development, India is the pioneer. In the Planning Commission, there is an official organization whose special function is the evaluation of the Community Development Programmes. It is called the Programme Evaluation Organization. The country is divided administratively into three areas, each with an Evaluation Officer in charge. Within each of these districts, there are twenty-three project teams each composed of an Evaluation Project Officer and several assistants. These officers are from the fields of economics, sociology, and agriculture, and carry out various statistical and qualitative studies.

Reports are compiled by the Organization in the

\(^{16}\)ICA, Community Development Programs in India, Pakistan and the Philippines, pp. 45-46.
form of annual reports, and consulted and discussed in the All-India Conference of Community Development, and other seminars about the Community Development Programmes.

The coverage by Blocks in terms of population and number of villages included, is shown in Table 3 of the Appendix. According to this table, as of October 1st, 1962, almost ten years after the beginning of the Programmes, the coverage was as high as 68 per cent. About 74 per cent of the villages in India are under the Community Development Programmes in either Stage I or Stage II. Among the States, Jammu-and-Kashmir was completely covered as early as 1960. Second is Kerala (74 per cent), followed by Andhra Pradesh (73 per cent), Punjab (73 per cent), and Bihar (73 per cent). The State of Uttar Pradesh has a coverage of 67 per cent, which represents the arithmetic mean. The lowest coverages are in Assam (52 per cent) and West Bengal (56 per cent). Considering the density of population, however, Uttar Pradesh is by no means average, but one of the leading states in Community Development.

During the first Five Year Plan, according to the Planning Commission, the Programmes achieved the following:

1. 1,500 new schools started.
2. In certain districts, the number of school attendants increased two to four times.
3. One million people attending literacy schools.
4. 1,000 health and maternity centres set up.
5. 101,000 wells newly built or renovated.
6. 92,000 houses built.
7. 33,000 houses improved.
8. 56,000 miles of village roads built or repaired.
9. 321,429 metric tons of fertilizer distributed.
10. 160,714 metric tons of improved seeds distributed.
11. 2 million acres of land irrigated.
12. 9,500 community centres constructed.
13. 69,000 village clubs, organizations of women and men, young and old, organized.
14. 34,000 panchayats created as actual or potential village governments.  

Some more recent achievements are shown in Table 4 of the Appendix. At the end of the Second Five Year Plan, the achievements are several times more than that of the First Five Year Plan because of the expansion of the Programmes.

But, the average achievements-per-Block figure is not very impressive. For example, 135 improved implements are

\footnote{Planning Commission, op. cit., pp. 175-6.}
distributed per Block of about 100 villages; this means 1.35 implements per village at an average population in each village of 500. One rural latrine was constructed for each two villages. One drinking-water well was constructed among six or seven villages. Three adults per village became literate as the result of Social Education, and 0.06 miles of road was constructed in each village. Considering the pre-Independence period, however, these achievements should not be under-valued.

This rate of achievement will decline in future for two reasons: (a) shortage of improved seed and fertilizer, a shortage beyond the Programmes' control, and (b) the gradual spread of the programmes from more progressive to less progressive areas. The rate of growth in Indian Community Development is nearly at the end of the initial period of rapid increase, and is approaching a period of stationary rate of growth.

III. The Execution of the Community Development Programmes

Four steps in community development may be distinguished:

1. Communication of the desired principles by the planners to members of the community.

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2. Implementation of projects in the community.
3. Persuasion of the people.
4. Change of the values and attitudes, of the members of the community.

In practice, the introduction of new ideology, knowledge and technology into the community will correspond to the first stage, which is followed by the demonstrations and the people's adoption of the new knowledge, ideology and technology. The final stage is hard for the executors to observe, and very little information is available. Therefore, in this section, only the first three stages will be discussed.

A. Communication Process

Fundamentally two levels of information must be communicated: macroscopic plans and targets, and microscopic plans and targets. The former are concerned about the national interests which the Government of India is struggling to meet, and for which the programmes are prepared as the remedy. They are the major programmes presented in the Five Year Plans such as Land Reform, Credit-Co-operative, and Village Panchayat and so on. The "microscopic" plans and targets are of two kinds: (a) major or long-term programmes involving of State or a union of several Blocks, for example, construction of a dam or major irrigation system; and (b) programmes on the level of a single Block, a village, or an individual
household, aiming at such things as the construction of a minor irrigation system, a drinking water well, or a school building, and the use of improved seed, or new farming techniques.

Three types of media are used to communicate such information: (a) mass communication media such as press, radio, booklets, and movies; (b) audio-visual media such as photographs, slides, posters, models, and drama; and (c) oral communication such as public speech meetings, discussion meetings, and classes for adult people. These media are applied on the national level (mass communication media), State level (mass communication media), Block level (audio-visual media), and village level (audio-visual media and oral communication).

According to Dube's observations "speeches were regarded, in practice if not in theory, as the most effective media of communicating a new programme to the people."\(^{19}\) Nevertheless, in a U.P. village he studied, fifty per cent of the villagers interviewed had not heard of the Community Development Programmes at all.\(^{20}\)

Mass communication media are not effective. Since very few people possess radio sets, this medium of mass com-

\(^{19}\)Dube, op. cit., p. 109.

\(^{20}\)Dube, op. cit., p. 114.
communication is of restricted value. Newspapers have also limited effect as in rural areas literacy is far lower than in urban areas. Though adult literacy is one of the targets of the Programmes, persons who read the papers are urban-oriented and read them as "the mark of urbanization". Consequently they pay little attention to rural development programmes. The majority is shut out from these media, and more direct audio-visual approaches have become emphasized.

Posters, booklets and photos are not very effective. They are distributed only to Block headquarters, and very few people have a chance to see them. Movies are generally not interesting. They are banal and cheerless. The apparatus often breaks down, and no technicians to repair it are readily available.

Crop and animal husbandry contests are also not successful. Villagers expect that if their cow co-operated in the contest, the effort should be rewarded in some way or another. Otherwise, they are not keen. The prizes for the contests are made up from entrance fees. If people are not

\[21\] Dube, op. cit., p. 115.


keen, the collected fees are therefore small. Sometimes, the first prize is as low as 50. Such a prize can hardly be an inducement to enter the competition.  

The public addresses are often about unfamiliar themes in unfamiliar language, and are not always understood by the people. But as far as the available data show, public addresses are nevertheless regarded as the most effective medium of communication.

In summary, those who have most chances to get information are those who need the Programmes least. The flow of communication is blocked by the social structure of the community. Further, problems of the allocation of materials, apparatuses, or technicians are related to the social structures of the Government Bureaucracy. For the analysis of the social implication of the Community Development Programmes, these two aspects must be analyzed in parallel.

B. Implementation Process

Implementation begins with instructions from the Block Development Officer who himself has received instructions from outside the Block. The Block Development Officer then

24 Dube, op. cit., p. 118.
passes these instructions, or such of them as may be relevant, to the Extension Officers and the Gram Sevaks. The function of the Extension Officers is then to provide technical advice to both the Gram Sevaks and the villagers. The Gram Sevaks discuss the proposed programmes with the village panchayats, and the panchayats allocate people and money to carry out the projects. These projects involve improvement of knowledge, improvement of technology, and improvement of physical and social environment.

"Improvement of knowledge" has two phases: (a) introduction of advanced technological information to carry out the changes in the physical environment, and (b) introduction of new ideology to change the orientation of people's social action. Therefore, the concept of 'improvement' in the Community Development Programmes involves value judgements on the part of the social planners.

Programmes in this sphere have three approaches: (a) development of formal education, (b) development of adult education, and (c) technical assistance. Through formal and adult education, the new ideology is to be introduced, and through technical assistance advanced technological information is to be communicated. The elementary school is not merely the instrument of formal education for the younger generation, but is also considered more generally as the instrument of cultural activities in the community. To run the adult
literacy classes, to make provision for the supply of litera-
ture, charts, posters, and the like for neo-literates, to
organize and participate in cultural programmes, to develop
local leadership among the villagers, to organize special
functions on national festivals, and finally to mould the
people's outlook and attitudes in favour of various development
programmes, are the expected tasks of Gram Sevaks. These
activities provided by the Programmes are supposed to provide
the new pattern of behavior for the Community. To meet
the requirements of the Programmes, new value orientations
must be introduced in the people's social action. Unless such
new values are indoctrinated, the adult education programmes
would be unable to create in the community popular voluntar-
istic social action oriented towards the goal set up by the
planners.

One of the most widely adopted methods in the tech-
nical assistance programmes is the demonstration of improved
seeds or chemical fertilizers. The Community Development
Block sometimes arranges a sight-seeing trip to see the activi-
ties of other Blocks. Gram Sevaks estimate the yields of crops
by crop-cutting, or acquaint the villagers with the schemes

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25 Planning Research and Action Institute, U.P.,
The Gram Sevak in Uttar Pradesh...a study of his role, workload
and relationships, Lucknow, U.P., 1959, pp. 67-81
and facilities provided by the Community Development Department of the State Government, and help them to derive benefits therefrom.26

The term 'environment' has various meanings, and in no Government documents, is any clear definition found. For the purposes of this enquiry, we may distinguish medical, ecological, and social structural components of the environment. Regarding the medical components, projects such as distribution of medicines by the Gram Sevaks, construction and improvement of drinking-water wells, vaccination, disinfection of wells, construction of lanes, soakage pits, washing platforms and drains, construction of latrines; D.D.T. spraying, and home sanitation are carried out. Projects oriented to the ecological environment include road construction, construction of community buildings, and construction of bridges and culverts. In the social structural aspect, attention is given to the scheduled castes. Efforts are made through financial assistance earmarked to improve the living quarters of the Harijan group. This takes the form of rehousing, or construction of a safe drinking-water well for use by the Harijans. Assistance is given in the form of free slates and books to those Harijan children who attend school. "In the

primary school, these children appeared to take their place among the rest without being made conscious of their caste status. 27 By improving the social status of such scheduled caste people, the planners hope to elevate the morale and thereby also the productivity of these people.

C. People's Participation

According to the survey of the Indian Institute of Public Opinion Ltd., to the question "Which particular programme undertaken in your area received the greatest active co-operation of the people?", thirty-five per cent of the persons interviewed replied that in their village, the construction of approach-roads received the greatest active co-operation. Construction of primary school buildings received the second greatest support, and the digging of wells the third. 28 People's participation takes the form of contribution or donation. The things to be donated would be either money, land, goods, or human labour power. Some people donate the combination of these items.

Generally speaking, construction projects were relatively smoothly carried out, but the achievements were often


not enjoyed in the most effective way. Sometimes villagers did not know how to cultivate wet crops in spite of the construction of irrigation systems by means of their money and labour power. Many villages built a new primary school building, but the attendance was often only 50 per cent of school age children because of the caste problem. For the use of individual castes, many drinking-water wells were constructed in some villages, thus spending the limited money in an uneconomical manner. Once some programme is over that is the end of the affair, and people do not pay any more attention. When a public facility goes out of order, often no one takes the initiative in repairing it. Villagers tend to co-operate for a project in the village only to advantage themselves individually, and they are not bothered by other people's difficulties. Thus in the people's reaction to the implementation process are revealed the values of the people.


29 Nair, Kusum, Blossoms in the Dust...the human element in Indian development, Duckworth, London, 1962, p. 69.

30 UN, Evaluation Mission in India, p. 55.

31 Nair, op. cit., p. 80.

32 Nair, op. cit., p. 94.
We have, therefore, in the process of implementing the programmes in the villages, to take into account the social structures and value systems both of the Government bureaucrats and of the villagers.
CHAPTER III

THE GOVERNMENT BUREAUCRACY

I. The Formal Aspect

The formulation of the plan at the highest level is by the national Development Council and the Central (Community Development) Committee. The National Development Council, with the Prime Minister as chairman, and the chief ministers of the states as members, is the highest planning authority of the country. The Central Committee consists of members of the Planning Commission, and also includes the Minister for Food and Agriculture and the Minister for Community Development and Co-operation.

The Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation is responsible for the detailed preparation of data to be used for policy formulation and for guidance and assistance to the States in the implementation of the programmes. A number of permanent co-ordination committees have also been established for liaison with other ministries related to the Programmes.
The annual All-India Conference on Community Development is a very important landmark in policy making. The Central Parliament also plays an important part in policy determination, the annual budgetary debate in Parliament providing a focus for the discussion of the Programmes' achievements.

Actual implementation of the Programmes is the responsibility of State Governments. The State Development Committee, with the Chief Minister as Chairman, the Ministers of Development Departments as members, and the Development Commissioner as secretary, watches over the carrying out of the Programmes. The Collector as chairman of the District Planning Development Committee, is responsible for implementation of the schemes in the district.

At the Block Level, the Block Development Officer is the head of the team. Under him work the Extension Officers and the Social Education Organizer. At the village level, the Gram Sevak functions as the intermediary agent between the Government Bureaucracy and the village society. Gram Sevaks give demonstrations in the field, talk individually with villagers, lead discussion-groups, and introduce audio-visual techniques. In total, a Gram Sevak is assigned 64 different responsibilities.

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1 UN, Community Development and Economic Development, Part I, p. 92.
Directions from the State Government are communicated to the Block Development Officer through the District Development Officer. Usually, the Block Development Officer will hold a staff meeting every fortnight, and he will pass on the new directions from above. Occasionally, he travels around his Block and enquires from the villagers about the reactions of his staff. Based upon the combination of his own observations and villagers' reactions, he gives supplementary advice and suggestions to the staff in a given part of the Block.

Extension Officers and Gram Sevaks report their observations, experiences and achievements to the meeting. Gram Sevaks also have the duty of preparing daily reports of their activities and achievements. Through such channels, the communication will flow from above to the bottom and vice versa.

This administrative organization was devised to remedy grave defects in the pre-Independence civil service. These defects were lack of co-ordination, duplication of services, and inadequate personnel. Before Independence, each department had staff in the village and duplication of services was remarkable. The best-qualified staff was employed in administrative positions and inadequate officials were working on the village level. To remedy the inefficiency of the old system, the post of Gram Sevak is multi-purpose; and on the Project level, departmental functions are co-ordinated
under the Community Development Programmes.

We may take as a typical example of the implementation process, the organizing of voluntary labour power in village society for national and village defence. Though this particular example was not part of the Community Development Programmes, it utilized the administrative system and personnel of the Community Development Programmes, and provides an especially clear and enlightening example of the process. It went as follows:

1. Central Level:-
   (a) Central Committee meeting...Date 'X'  (7-12-1962)
   (b) Launching of programme by Parliament on 26-1-1963

2. State Level:-
   (a) Issue of instructions to Zila Parishads, Panchayat Samitis and Panchayats;
   (b) Convening of special meetings of Citizens' Committee;
   (c) Holding of Press Conference, preferably by Chief Ministers.

   'X' plus 15 days   (22-12-1962)

3. District Level:-
   Meeting of Zila Parishads.
   (a) For formulation of plan of action as outlined in the scheme;

(b) Setting up of special committee.

'X' plus 15 plus 10 days  (1-1-1963)

4. Block Level:-

Meetings of Panchayat Samiti.

(a) For formulation of plan of action;
(b) Setting up of special committee.

'X' plus 15 plus 10 plus 10 days  (11-1-1963)

5. Panchayat Level:-

Meeting of Panchayats to formulate action programme and in particular to:

(a) Prepare list of programmes to be completed within the next six months;
(b) Determine labour requirements for each programmes; and
(c) Frame proposals for formulation of Task Forces and Women's Wing.

'X' plus 15 plus 10 plus 10 plus 10 days  (21-1-1963)


(a) Meeting of Gram Sabbas through the country to ...
   (i) take public pledge
   (ii) Consider proposals of Panchayats under 5 above, and
   (iii) call for subscription to Defence Labour Bank.
(b) Meeting of Panchayats to...
   (i) finalize programme of work;
(ii) finalize formation of Task Forces;
(iii) complete register of labour subscriptions;
(iv) allot labour for specific tasks;
(v) appoint Daopatis
(c) Mass drill and P.T. ... The Village Volunteer Force starts work on the ground.

This example draws out attention to another chance of great potential significance to India. Before Independence, the villages had little direct contact with the Government bureaucracy, except for tax purposes, and enjoyed a high degree of village autonomy. But since Independence and the implementation of the Five Year Plans, the Indian administrative system has been re-organized so as to bring the villages in much more direct and much closer contact with the Government than previously. This new administrative organization can be used for, besides Community Development, the execution of other Government policies. This change in the relationship of the villages to the Central Government well deserves to be called a 'silent revolution'.

II. The Informal Aspect

The next question is the informal aspects of this

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3 This is the favourite term used by Indian bureaucrats in many documents.
organization. We will discuss here the Block Development Officer and the Gram Sevaks because these two officials are regarded by official and private researchers as most important, and materials on them are available. For our scheme, stratifying relations, interpersonal relations, reference groups, and roles must be examined.

A. **Block Development Officer**

At the inauguration of the Programmes in 1952, at least 2,805 new officials were needed.\(^4\) It was impossible for the government to train this many officials within a year or two. The Government therefore moved experts from various other departments as well as recruiting new trainees. Some departments were considerably weakened. High officials therefore regarded the Community Development Programmes as an additional responsibility or activity rather than as an agency through which they could more effectively and efficiently achieve their targets.\(^5\) Since then, the development of Community Development Blocks and National Extension Service Blocks has been so fast that in 1953, twenty-five per cent of the posts were vacant.

\(^4\)In 1952, the number of officials per Block was: one Block Development Officer, two Assistant Project Officers, twelve agriculturalists, three Extension Officers, three Medical Officers, and thirty Educationists, fifty-one in total cf. UN, Report of the Mission on Community Organization and Development in South and South East Asia, N.Y., 1953, p. 57. (55 projects x 51 = 2,805)

\(^5\)UN, op. cit., p. 56.
Many of the high officials were transferred from other technical and administrative departments, and did not necessarily possess deep understanding of the Community Development Programmes and its ideology. Thus the burdens were all imposed upon the shoulders of the Gram Sevaks. Particularly in the early stage of the Community Development Programmes in India, those high officials wanted to go back to their parent institutions are sought for the chance. They were therefore very reluctant to adapt to local conditions, the directions they received from above lest they be held responsible for things going wrong.

The function of Block Development Officers and that of specialists from their parent institutions often conflicted in duplicating service at the village level. Frictions between the new staff and the old staff further increased the lack of co-ordination. Block Development Officers were authoritarian and treated the Gram Sevak as servants, and would reprimand the latter before the villagers to show their authority. Gram Sevaks therefore have often lost the respect of the villagers, and the execution of programmes has often

6 UN, Mission in India, p. 49.
7 UN, Mission to South and South East Asia, p. 56.
The Gram Sevaks resent the dual standards of the Block Development Officers, and one Gram Sevak is reported as complaining about:

The Block staff who talk of a family team and service to the people while, all the time, act and behave in just the opposite way.

We could not find any documents recording a high opinion of Block Development Officers. This fact at least suggests that from the viewpoint of the Gram Sevaks co-operative higher officials are few indeed.

Block Development Officers evaluate the work of the Gram Sevaks on the basis of the opinions of upper class villagers, and are reluctant to contradict these opinions and support the Gram Sevaks because of the political connections of this section of village society.

The reference groups of Block Development Officers are: in the Governmental bureaucracy, higher officials, or, for some of them, their parent institutions; and in the Block, upper class villagers in village society.

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8Dube, op. cit., p. 195.

9Government of India, Village Level Workers... their work and result demonstrations, 1962, p. 121.

10Dube, op. cit., p. 178.
In theory, Block Development Officers have more authority and influence than officials in other institutions also interested in village affairs, but in practice they do not exert this authority. Their colleagues in the Community Development Programmes are numerous, and opportunities for promotion are scarce and uncertain. Some of them therefore desire to return to their parent institutions. Those who were directly recruited into the community Development Programmes are irrevocably committed to it, and reluctant to jeopardize their positions. The result of these social pressures is that the Block Development Officers are very subservient to their higher-ups and very reluctant to oppose the interests of their parent institutions.

Promotion of the Block Development Officers depends on the physical achievements of their Block Teams. Ideally, such achievements are to be gained through a high morale and familistic team spirit. But such positive encouragement does not always work. The Block Development Officers are therefore also given the power, through the reports they make, to advance or retard the promotion of the Gram Sevaks and other persons underneath them. This results in the Block Development Officer trying to build up morale by familistic exhortations, but counter-acting this attitude by threatening non-promotion if the team does not work properly.

To the villagers in their Block, the Block Develop-
ment Officers represent the practically highest Government authority. The Officers can therefore be legitimately authoritarian, and display their high status before the villagers. But the Block Development Officers are in closer relationship with the upper class villagers, for these are sometimes related to members of the State Parliament who can exert influence upon the BDOs through superior officials. The Block Development Officers therefore wish to have agreeable relations with these villagers, and this in turn leads to the Officers' attending to the interests of the upper class villagers and slighting the interest of the lower classes.

The basic value seems "self-protection". In accordance with this value, the Officers do not refuse directions from above even though these may be impractical. The Officers emphasize the physical achievements of their subordinate officials. They are agreeable to the upper class villagers and authoritarian to lower officials in front of the villagers in order to prove their own high dignity and invite the respect of the people. Such patterns of behavior will change the nature of Programmes.

B. Gram Sevaks

Gram Sevaks are the intermediary agents between the Governmental bureaucracy and village society, but if they make
a determined effort to remain uninfluenced by the upper class people, and to work with all sections of the village society as the ideology of the Community Development Programmes requires, they soon learn that this policy does not pay.\textsuperscript{11}

If the Gram Sevaks serve only the upper class people, the lower class will be alienated from the Programmes, and will not respond as the Planners have expected. Then the Programmes will not reach the very people who need it.

The upper class villagers do not respect the Gram Sevaks. Their reactions may be illustrated in the following quotations:

\begin{quote}
Whatever instruction the Village Level Worker gave me for the demonstration, I passed on to my servants. I was not there at the time of laying out the demonstration.

I allowed the Village Level Worker to do the demonstration because he requested me.\textsuperscript{12}
\end{quote}

If the Gram Sevaks work for the lower class people, the upper classes criticize the Gram Sevaks and report their behavior to the Block Development Officer, and so affect adversely their chances of promotion. Thus the Gram Sevaks are also estranged from the lower class people.

\textsuperscript{11}Dube, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 178.

\textsuperscript{12}Government of India, \textit{Village Level Workers}, p. 126.
In spite of the Gram Sevaks' great responsibility in a wide area of five to ten villages with 2,000 or more farm families, Gram Sevaks are often not well treated. There are no facilities for their families. Neutral or non-supportive attitudes of their wives often decrease their morale. A majority of the Gram Sevaks feel that they cannot fully carry out their instructions because they are given too many orders by their superiors. The Extension Officers often fail to give the Gram Sevaks technical assistance, and the Gram Sevaks have therefore to carry out the activities in various fields solely on the basis of their own experience. Naturally, their achievements are often called 'poor'.

The salary of Block Development Officer is Rs. 300, Extension Officer, Rs. 200, but Gram Sevak, Rs. 100 a month. The working hours of Gram Sevaks are very long. They get up around 5.30 a.m. and go to bed around 12.30 a.m. For such an over-load of work, the physical facilities are unrewarding. Promotion has a very low ceiling, and no future prospects exist under the present administrative organization. Some

14 Planning Research and Action Institute, The Gram Sevak in U.P., p. 60.
16 Min. of C.D. & Coop., Community Development Programmes...the third five year plan, p. 11.
Gram Sevaks have faith in the Programmes and feel satisfaction in their work, but they are always dissatisfied with their living facilities and prospects for the future.\textsuperscript{17}

In the initial period, the number of Gram Sevaks was too small; but by September 1959, 39,327 Gram Sevaks were trained. However, only 28,812 were posted in 2,998 reporting Blocks. It is because "the adequacy or quality of some of these village level workers has come under criticism".\textsuperscript{18}

In theory Gram Sevaks are supposed to report their observations and reactions at staff meetings, but in fact this is not allowed, and staff meetings are called only to give them instructions without chance to comment. The Gram Sevaks in the same Block would consult amongst themselves informally at the time of either staff meetings or social gatherings.\textsuperscript{19} They have a sense of solidarity among each other to protect themselves.

Thus their reference groups are neither those of higher officials nor upper class villagers, but rather the Gram Sevak groups themselves. The status of Gram Sevak is the

\textsuperscript{17} Government of India, \textit{Village Level Worker}, pp. 120-121.


\textsuperscript{19} Research and Action Institute, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 33.
lowest in the Government bureaucracy. Gram Sevaks are forced to achieve the high physical targets, by which their achievements as well as those of their Block Development Officers are measured. They are also forced to serve, to some extent, the upper class villagers, as we have already noted, and are therefore alienated from the lower class. Because of this low status of Gram Sevaks in the bureaucracy and their low treatment by the upper class villagers, the lower class does not understand whether the Gram Sevaks are Government officials or social workers. The Gram Sevaks are therefore isolated from the other groups.

Within the Gram Sevak group there are both sentiments of solidarity and a certain amount of competition. This results in a pattern of restriction of output; one should not work too hard nor be too idle.

The role of Gram Sevaks as an intermediary agent between the bureaucracy and village society is therefore complicated. In practice, their role as a Government Official is denied. Both their superiors and the upper class villagers may behave as their masters and interfere with their roles as intermediary agents if they should seek to work for the welfare of the lower class people. The role of intermediary agent is blocked by the social structure.

The values which contradict each other in this social
situation are 'self-protection' and the ideology of the Community Development Programmes. At the higher levels the ideology does not conflict with self-protection since all the officials have to do is to transmit the programmes unchanged to their subordinates. At the village level, field workers are expected to play the role of a model of the ideology (cf. 'persuasion by demonstration'); but as we have seen performance of this role is frustrated by the social position of the Gram Sevaks.
CHAPTER IV

THE GOVERNMENT BUREAUCRACY AND COMMUNITY
DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES

I. Programmes from Above

Programmes formulated broadly at the Central Government level and further detailed at the State Government level, are directed through the District Development Officer to be implemented at the Block level. Such programmes are in theory flexible and adaptable to local interests and resources.

In practice, this is not the case. The Block Development Officer reports the achievement in his Block to the higher officials. This report is based upon the Gram Sevaks' daily reports to the Block. It is composed from a list of 75 different records supposedly maintained by the Gram Sevaks and covering agriculture, animal husbandry, public health and miscellaneous items.¹ First of all, this is beyond the power

of the Gram Sevaks; and secondly, there is also a tendency among Gram Sevaks to attribute the achievements in other fields to the senior officers' 'pet theory'. The case of the 'U.P. Method' result demonstration is typical. Different goals were held by different persons. To the villagers it was merely 'some' demonstration. To the farmer it was a 'fertilizer demonstration'. The Block Development Officer reported it to his superiors as a 'U.P. Method' result demonstration. To the interviewer from the study sponsored by the National Institute of Community Development, one Gram Sevak described the affair as follows:

Nobody knows what they actually want us to do in the U.P. Method except just all that is involved in usual good agriculture. Because the target was high and pressure was great from higher authorities, I reported it under the heading 'U.P. Method'.

In this case, the 'U.P. Method' is the 'pet' theory. The theory is sometimes not very clear, but no critical comments are reported on it, and the most effective achievements are reported as due to it. Even when the theory is no good at all, the reports nevertheless give a strong impression that it has in fact succeeded, and so support superior officials in their

2Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation, Village Level Worker, p. 126.
convictions of the value of their theories; these reports are then used in the formulation of further programmes.

It is true that the programmes formulated are based upon the data but the data may not be the literal reflection of the actual situation. The programmes thus formulated may not therefore meet the actual situations of village society. But the mechanism which produced the "remarkable success of the U.P. Method" in the report does not allow the Block level and village level officials to modify it in accordance with the local situation.

Both this concealment of the local situation and the separation of programmes from the reality of village society are produced by the social structure and value-system we have analyzed in Chapter III. This social situation in which the Block officials' social action would be observed will have various effects upon the Community Development Programmes.

II. Effects upon the Programmes

According to the sixth evaluation report of the Programme Evaluation Organization, ninety out of one hundred and sixty-one villages received their plans from above. In the remaining seventy-one villages or 44 per cent of the total, plans were prepared at the village level. However,
here too, the village organizations do not seem to have played an active role. The government officials did the real job. Only thirteen village panchayats are reported to have undertaken some planning and execution of the programmes.  

From among these externally determined projects, villagers choose for adoption that which appears to be beneficial to them. But even here, not all sections of the villagers are represented in making this choice, and the programmes adopted are often the reflection of certain sectional interests. Therefore, for the majority of villagers, the programmes are literally from above; from the Government and from the upper class people, with the stronger emphasis upon the former.

At the village level, Gram Sevaks have to execute such programmes on their own responsibility, but the programmes directed from above are not necessarily fitted to the local situation, and the pressures from above may not allow modification by the lowest agent in the hierarchy. Consequently, programmes are often inadequately carried out and do not achieve the desired targets.

For example, an 'adult education class' was started

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during the peak period of agricultural activities. Naturally it failed to attract an appreciable number of students. Such discrepancies between the declared objectives and actual achievements give the Community Development Programmes a bad reputation among the people.

As mentioned earlier, the local situations tend to fail to be reflected in the formulation of programmes. This fact was even acknowledged by the Government evaluation organization. They frankly admit that "the programmes are not conformed to local conditions or requirements."^4 One of the basic principles of the Community Development Programmes is that the local programmes should be based upon the 'felt-needs' of the village society.5 The administrative organization is supposedly designed to ensure this, but the informal social structure and conflict of values of lower officials constitute a mechanism which blocks the direct communication to higher authorities from the village level.

Since Block Development Officers are evaluated by their Blocks' achievements, they encourage and press the team members to achieve the physical targets. (cf. Chapter III).

^4 Planning Research and Activities Institute op. cit., p. 33.

^5 Mukerji, B., Community Development in India, New Delhi, 1961, p. 60.
On this point, some Gram Sevaks who are working at the front of the Community Development Programmes have observed that emphasis should be "laid not only on the achievements of physical targets but on the achievement as a whole including the re-orientation of people's out-look and attitudes towards the programmes". The emphasis on physical targets has various consequences, but here we will mention three aspects for which material is available. These three are: (a) unbalanced achievements of Community Development, (b) unbalanced distribution of benefits, and (c) social injustice.

A. Unbalanced Achievements

Programme Evaluation Organization reports on the Community Development Programmes' achievements, saying "The record is impressive, considering the long period of stagnation in which rural India had rested in the pre-project period", and continues, "but it is not equally impressive when considered in the light of the requirements of the people." According to the report, items involving physical change, especially constructional and irrigational activities, are successful. However, items involving changes in standards

6 Planning Research and Action Institute, op. cit., p. 33.

or norms of living such as adult literacy and personal and environmental hygiene; items involving changes in social attitudes such as community centre activities, youth clubs, women's organizations; or items involving changes in organizational attitudes in the economic field such as better understanding of the objectives and obligations of co-operation, market, credit co-operative, and so forth, are not equally successful. In short, physical targets are generally achieved but educational or social targets are not.

B. Unequal Distribution of Benefits

We will discuss this matter further in Chapter VI. In brief, the emphasis on physical targets and achievements presupposes the most effective use of economic inducements. Inducements are most effective when they are offered to persons of some wealth already. Thus the more advantaged people will get most benefit from the Programmes and the less advantaged will get least; and benefits will therefore flow unequally among the various sections of village society.

C. Social Injustice

As we will discuss in Chapter V, the low castes in the village society are always in the lower class (which may also include some high caste people). The low caste people have been placed at a disadvantage by their ascribed status, and the unequal distribution of benefits from the Programmes
will enlarge this social distance. This is the creation of social injustice. In this respect, the short term goal and the long term goal of the Community Development Programmes come to contradict each other.

III. Lack of Co-ordination

When Government officials have the value of 'self-protection', they are subservient to their superiors and oppressive to their inferiors; and their horizontal relationships are ones of rivalry. These rivalry relationships are often marked by an uneasy truce between the competitors, each refraining from invading the other's sphere of competence in order that he himself will not be invaded.

Within a section, its members are rivals, but to outsiders the members of the section ideally present a solidary front. This creates sectionalism. As long as matters go according to plan and no emergencies arise, all will be well. But should an unusual contingency appear, the officials will seek to protect themselves by passing on the responsibility for coping with the emergency to another section. This will in turn slow up the bureaucracy's process of communication and decision-making, and will lead to failures in co-ordination.

This aspect was noticed from very early periods of
the Community Development Programmes in India. For example, the UN experts emphasized the necessity of co-ordination in the work of Government organizations as early as in 1953 which was the year following the launching of the Programmes. They said:

Examples were cited where requests to meet village needs emanating from the communities were delayed beyond measure through the necessity for proceeding through channels which had been established for unco-ordinated services.\(^8\)

The experts noted an example where the demand was created in several villages for improved seeds. They were not available until the planting season was over. Sometimes, the requests were even refused.\(^9\) Consequently, the social prestige of Gram Sevaks was lost and the execution of programmes became harder.\(^10\)

Dube reports an incident in which the Gram Sevaks were directed to sell the seeds which arrived after the planting season was over. Unless they sold the seeds, the Gram Sevaks would lose their positions. So the Gram Sevaks asked the personal favours of villagers to buy the seeds. The surplus was bought from the salary of the Gram Sevaks.\(^11\)

\(^8\)UN, Mission to South and South East Asia, p. 56.

\(^9\)Ibid.

\(^10\)Dube, op.cit., p. 189.

\(^11\)Dube, op. cit., p. 186.
the Gram Sevaks were directed by their superiors to sell seeds in regions which did not grow the plants in question. So Gram Sevaks had to sell them as food, and villagers reluctantly bought them. The kind and quantity were inadequate.

In other places, inferior seeds were sold in the name of improved seeds. From the next year on, no one bought seeds from the Government. Such failings would make the Government lose prestige among villagers and so render the Programmes less effective.\textsuperscript{13}

\textsuperscript{12} Dube, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 187.

\textsuperscript{13} Dube, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 200.
In 1793, the East India Company issued the "Permanent Settlement" law which created new intermediary agents between the Company and the villagers. These agents were called zamindaris. Zamindaris were entrusted with authority to collect revenue and, in return for their services, were given a certain amount of commission. Though the amount of tax and commission was fixed by law, these zamindaris were still able to collect more than was legal and so increase their own revenues. By doing so, they became parasite landlords. The British Government several times attempted to reform the system from the middle of the last century on, but all such efforts failed. Before Independence, the zamindaris were the lords of the villages. Following Independence, this hated system was abolished.

After abolishing the zamindaris, who had been the channel of communication between villagers and Government, the Government found it necessary to create a new system of intermediary agents. This new system is that of the panchayats or village councils. These panchayats are intended to fulfil
two functions: (a) as intermediary agents between Government and village society, and (b) as organs of village self-government. But the panchayats are more closely integrated into the administrative system than were the zamindaris,¹ and through the panchayat the villages are thereby linked to the larger society.

The panchayat is not the only link that joins the village to the larger society. Oscar Lewis, for instance, has shown how villages in Delhi are related to the external world by marriage, descent, and political alliances.² Caste divisions provide another social organization of extralocal nature, cutting village society into several layers but at the same time linking these layers with their equivalents in other villages. As Srinivas says, "the village has a solidarity even though composed of several different castes. Each caste again has a solidarity cutting across the village."³

¹Nair, op. cit., In her book, Mrs. K. Nair reports numerous reactions of villagers to the Government. For example, see the following description: "As for Zemindari, we are not very happy that it has gone. We get no consideration from the Government such as the zemindar used to give." p. 74.

²Lewis, Oscar, Rural Life in Northern India, 1957.

In this sense, a village society occupies a position in a larger network of both horizontal and vertical social relations.

Nevertheless, the society of the village remains an isolated and autonomous world. It is almost a 'physical unity' since the whole village might act in a crisis. Nevertheless, the society of the village remains an isolated and autonomous world. It is almost a 'physical unity' since the whole village might act in a crisis. Though villages may be located side by side, they may have no effect upon one another. In spite of close social interactions, they are 'isolated'.

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4 Srinivas, Ibid.

5 Nair, op. cit., p. 162:

In Ratnagiri is another interesting example of two communities, living side by side for generations, but not learning from each other. Here the Muslim fishermen of the Daldi community, for example, are far more prosperous than the local Hindu fishermen, because for one thing, Daldis have bigger boats and superior equipment by way of nets, hooks and line than the Hindus. The Hindus' boats are only one man tonies. They fish mainly in the creek and use only hook and line with small sail. Thirdly, the Daldis alone salt the fish. The Hindu fishermen on the other hand do not salt or cure the fish with the result that whatever they catch they must sell fresh, the same day. What they are unable to sell in the local market by sundown, they dispose of at any price, or just throw the fish in the gutter. But they will not salt it because it is not the custom or tradition with them to do. Daldis, in fact, but wholesale from the Hindu fishermen at low price and then salt the fish and sell it far into the hinterland at a handsome profit. Yet the Hindu and Muslim village are side by side. (Underlining supplied - M.S.)

Mrs. K. Nair gives another example of villages which are located very closely but their ethos is completely different. (op. cit., pp. 141-2). In the illustration, Budelpali village, the villagers never pay attention to the newly irrigated water. In the village of Pradhanatikara which is located within ten miles from the former, the villagers are extremely enthusiastic about the irrigation project. Strangely enough, farming conditions between the two are not very different from each other.
I. Social Structure

A. Family

The basic unit of the village society is the family. The prevailing Indian family is the so-called 'joint-family' which is schematized in the following diagram:

```
Paternal Grand Parents
  | Parents
  |  
  |  
  | Brothers & Their Wives  EGO = WIFE  Unmarried Sisters
  |  
  |  
  | Nephews & Nieces  Sons and Their Wives  Unmarried Daughters
  |  
  |  
  | Grandchildren
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Source: Dube, S.C., Indian Village, 1955, p. 133.

The joint family is a patrilineal and patrilocal group. It is ideally several generations in depth, and is made up of patrilineal elementary families plus collateral elementary families. In certain stages of the family cycle, the family

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6Elementary family in this thesis means the family which consists of a couple (and their unmarried children).
takes the form of the elementary family; nevertheless, the joint family can be considered as the principal family composition in Indian village society.

Each individual family is related to other families in and out of the villages by kin-relationships, and they form various informal groups of which mention will be made later.

Dube discovered four major principles of the power structure inside the family through his study in Mysore villages. Those principles are:

1. Respect for age.

2. Respect for position in the scale of kinship.

3. Superiority of the male.

4. Necessity of keeping certain family matters confined to the responsible members of the family, or at the most, within the family. 7

Such principles imply a hierarchical order of positions in the family. The family head, who is usually a senior male, is the representative of the family toward the village and outer

society. The house-wife, i.e., the wife of the family head, is responsible for the affairs inside the family household. If there are wives of the family head's brothers, they are under the authority of the housewife, but superior to the young wives, i.e., the wives of the family head's sons.

Seniority is not the sole symbol of power. As long as one can fulfil the duties of the family-head physically and spiritually, he can remain in the position, but when he feels no longer strong enough, he can retire from the position, and the next senior person, most frequently the first son, will occupy the position. The fourth principle suggests the very inferior position of the young-wife in the family. The young wives in a family form an informal group, but the relations among the members are very complex. They are always united and separated from time to time among themselves, and back-biting one another. They feel hostile towards the house-wife, yet each of them seeks to gain the house-wife's favour by telling her of the activities of the other young wives, and so gaining a securer position in the joint family. As a result, in spite of the hostile relations of young wives who are 'strangers' among the consanguineal family members,


\[9\] Dube, op. cit., p. 140.
with other family members, they are closely related to the senior generation, and the solidarity of the family is retained. This sense of solidarity of family members makes it possible for a family member to make a self-sacrifice for the maintenance of the 'house'.10

The young-wife is a stranger in the family, and she is not trusted by other family members. At the same time, if she is the wife of the eldest son, she is the next candidate for house-wife, and she is expected to assimilate to the family. Other family members therefore have regard and high expectations towards her. This conflict of principles makes her position in the family complicated. Dube's fourth principle has meaning in this respect. Some family matters are "confined to the responsible members of the family", and the young wife is sometimes excluded. Here, the principle of avoidance functions. When the matter is confined "within the family", she is counted as a family member and the principle of assimilation functions.

In principle, the family property is to be divided equally among the family members, but this will promote the fragmentation of land and undermine the economic basis of the 'house'. In practice, therefore, some family members, usually girls, are 'persuaded' to 'surrender voluntarily' their claims

10 Term used by Mrs. Kusum Nair to show the family as an institution.
in the land at least.\textsuperscript{11} According to the other family members, the girls are given their due share by way of dowry in marriage.

In the ideal type, the social action of an individual in the family is oriented by his status and position in it as defined by such variables as sex and age. The norm is the insistence on family solidarity and cohesion, and the value is the great attachment to the soil and settlement. However, these sentiments are changing slightly. There is a growth of individualism in the family, and migrations have become more frequent. Regard for these traditional principles is becoming less and less.\textsuperscript{12}

B. Caste

Hindus have a unique social system based upon strict ascribed status, and known as the caste system. There are four varnas: Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishas, and Shudras. The higher three castes enjoy greater social prestige than the other, and they are conceived as 'twice born' castes.\textsuperscript{13} These four castes are called 'clean' castes, and under them is a fifth caste called 'untouchable' or Harijans. If a higher

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{11}Nair, op. cit., p. 107.
  \item \textsuperscript{12}Dube, op. cit., p. 222.
  \item \textsuperscript{13}Dube, op. cit., p. 35.
\end{itemize}
caste member is touched by a lower caste member, the former is polluted and has to practise purification rituals. This is particularly true if the clean caste member is touched by a Harijan. In some parts of India where the convention is still vital, high caste members practice purification rituals from time to time.\textsuperscript{14}

Broadly speaking, the caste system has three distinguishing characteristics: (a) correlation between a caste and a specific occupation, (b) commensality within each caste, and (c) endogamy.

1. Monopoly of Occupation

Swineherds, and a few fishermen do not engage in agriculture in any way. When the villagers became educated and went out to urban areas, they engaged in various occupations other than their own caste-occupation and agriculture.

2. Commensality

Perfect commensality is observed only within a single caste though this is also loosening very slowly. Lower castes can receive food from superior castes but not vice versa. Women are more particular about caste pollution than men. In spite of the official abolition of untouchability in the Constitution, attitudes against inter-caste commensality still survive. Inter-caste commensality at official occasions only serves to strengthen the segregation.

15 Srinivas, op. cit., p. 4.
16 Srinivas, op. cit., p. 20.
17 Nair, op. cit., p. 90:

Within the multi-caste villate community of Mucharin of today, there is normally no inter-caste dining nor social intercourse even within the upper castes 'unless there is some special occasion - when Puikka Phana is served', this being permitted under caste rules. But under no circumstances would we eat with the Harijans. This 'we' are the informants of Mrs. Nair.

18 Fukutake, op. cit., p. 90:

He (an instructor of the University of Biswa Plat) emphasized the significance of psychological approach. About the problem of commensality, he pointed out that the commensality in official occasion with lower castes does not solve the problem. Sometimes, he continued, this type of commensality strengthens the discrimination." (my translation—M.S.)
3. Endogamy

There is no sign of any weakening of caste endogamy. Professor Mukerji of the India Research Institute of Statistics has undertaken a sample survey of 6,500 cases from about 500 villages. He found only three cases of intercaste marriage, and failed to discover any clue to predict how this problem would be resolved.19

Every Hindu member of a village society belongs to some caste. Only excommunication from the caste or change of religion causes a change of caste status in the village society. When villagers' religion is other than Hinduism, such villagers behave as "a close-knit group in socio-religious matters".20 Generally, Hindus look down upon the people of other religions; and vice-versa; however, Hindus implicitly give 'appropriate' caste ranks from their side, and treat these heretics as castes.21 Though Hindus look down on Muslims, they admit the latter as a 'clean caste' and sit together or dine with them.

Among the major castes, there is a hierarchical order originally determined by religious doctrines. In each caste there are many sub-units which form in it a sub-hierarchy.

19 Fukutake, op. cit., p. 133.
21 Dube, op. cit., p. 135.
Rural economy is dependent upon (a) functional specialization of castes and (b) interdependence of castes. Besides their respective traditional occupations, they can engage in agriculture, but most traditional occupations are monopolized by their respective castes. This monopoly of a certain occupation necessarily relates a caste member with members of different castes on the household basis through the exchange of services. For example, Barber A is in contract with an agriculturist. The barber may visit the latter once or twice every month to offer his service, and in return, he receives grains in the crop season. The relation between the two is a relatively rigid one, and even when the agriculturist is not contented with the service, other members of the barber caste do not accept a request for a new contract with them because of their courtesy for Barber A. The agriculturist has to continue the relation with the barber. In this way, caste is playing the function of a trade union for its members as well as providing an integrating factor for the villate society.

Each caste, including members in several villages, has its own caste panchayat or caste council. This council will be concerned with regulating matters within the caste. Inter-caste affairs are regulated either by the village councils or by meetings of representatives from the various caste councils.
By his caste status, and by his particular position in the system of exchanging services with other families, the social roles of any individual are narrowly delimited. Attachment to one's own caste is a rigid social norm of each caste member, and if one's behavior should conflict with it, one would be excommunicated from the caste. By excommunication, a person is not down-graded and pushed into a lower caste, he is merely denied the "privileges of equal participation in the socio-religious life of the village society".22

C. Social Stratification

As has been pointed out in the earlier section, the correlation between caste and occupation is weakening. This means that a different type of social differentiation exists parallel with the caste system in village society. According to Dube, in the village of Shamirpet, six major factors contribute towards status differentiation. These are: (a) religion and caste, (b) land-ownership, (c) wealth, (d) position in government service and village organization, (e) age, and (f) distinctive personal traits.23 But, these six factors seem to be reduced into three: caste, economic basis, and personal traits.

22 Dube, op. cit., p. 39.

In his study, Dube describes the case of an 'untouchable' farmer who acquired land and cattle. "Acquisition of land would very materially affect the social position even of a person of humble birth". Wealth alone does not guarantee prestige and high regard from one's fellow villagers. It is necessary also to behave in accordance with one's caste role as seen by the persons with whom one dwells. In the instance quoted by Dube, this principle meant that the Harijan farmer, though now wealthier than before, nevertheless continued to behave as a Harijan as was expected by the other villagers. In this case, the Harijan farmer's own personality and attitudes also led him to behave in a manner respected and admired by the other villagers.

But, among the six factors, personal traits are ranked the lowest, and ascribed status is the highest. The economic basis is also closely correlated with caste origin because the caste system is not an open-class system. The economic advantages of high caste members will allow them to be wealthy, and give them better opportunities to get socially respected occupations or positions. Therefore, by the combination of high caste origin and high economic status, some people would acquire the socio-economically higher statuses in the village society. They have the social prestige and

\[24\text{Marriott, M., } \textit{op. cit.}, \text{ p. 96.}\]
economic power to influence other members of the village society. They are the elite group; we will describe such an elite group as 'upper class people'. The landless agricultural labourers are almost exclusively Harijans. They have no independent economic basis, and their caste origin makes it extremely difficult for them to acquire it. Some persons who do possess their own land, but also cultivate other land as tenants may also be considered in the same economic category as the Harijans. These people are less influential and their ascribed status does not itself attract the respect of other villagers. These people we will call 'lower class'. The farmers, traders, and some persons who possess their own land, yet borrow some more land from the landlords are called 'middle class'.

To illustrate, McKim Marriott reports the occupation composition of the Kishan Garhi Village in 1951 as follows. Among 161 households, 66.6 per cent are engaged in agriculture and the rest are specialists (29 per cent) and Traders (5.4 per cent). 64 per cent of those who are engaged in agriculture are tenants and 32 per cent are landless agricultural labourers.25 Many tenants and most of the agricultural labourers are in debt from borrowing grain and money from landlords and money-lenders (who are Traders). Heavy debtors can never repay

25 Marriott, M., op. cit., p. 96.
it. Old and big landlords are supposed to have lost their 'excessive' land in the Land Reform, and to have been replaced by new 'small landholders'. But, in many places, the Land Reform was not overly successful; though in this particular example, the old landlords do not have the traditional leadership in the village society any more.²⁶

Landlords usually supply certain facilities to tenants other than making them till the land. For example, K. Nair interviewed a landlord with 2,000 acres of land. This landlord, on the occasion of a birth in the tenant's family, gave one para of grain if the new born was a male child and a half para is it was a female. "This is because he grows up. It is the convention. The girl will go away after marriage. Yes, it is a long-term policy and I am still following it," says the landlord.²⁷ If the tenant received the grain, he must work for at least one year though there is nothing to prevent a man from leaving if he wants to after the one year. This grain becomes an oral contract. Such small gifts can obligate the tenants because their life is so poor. Nair describes the poor people's houses as follows:

²⁶ Marriott, M., "Social Structure and Changes in a U.P. Village", p. 98. Nair, op. cit., p. 65, writes, "The landowners admitted very frankly that they had taken the precaution to divide their holdings among the members of their family so that when the ceiling is imposed they will not loose any land."

²⁷ Nair, op. cit., p. 41.
I went inside every single cottage in the village (in U.P.). They are small mud huts with tiled roofs. The entrance is very low and many have no doors. Inside is a small walled-in yard, lined on one side with a little verandah, and one or at the most two rooms. In each room lives a whole family. Inside the room there is usually an earthen silo for storing grain, but no other furniture. The chula is in the verandah; straw lies scattered in the yard; in some a little grain is lying on the floor. But in none of the 85 homes is a chula alight or even with ash in it. In the corner near the chula are piled neatly face downward, the cooking utensils, earthen pots and a rare piece of brass. In one cottage there is a little cooked sag in a pan, black in colour. Therefore, any gift will benefit their material life. Thus tenant-landlord relationships become more than pure contract in the Western sense. To the landlords' one-sided benevolence, unconditional obedience must be offered from the side of the tenants. The benefit is not balanced: a small amount of expenditure of grain by the landlords will bring a great amount of service from the tenants, thus making the rich richer and the poor poorer.

In such a relationship, the persons involved are not contractors' of equal status but enter what is in effect a 'master' and 'servant' relationship. The 'masters' will allot "well defined duties" to the 'servants' at special occasions such as funerals or weddings. For instance, as a

28 Nair, op. cit., p. 82.

29 Srinivas, "The Social System of a Mysore Village", p. 27.
wedding in the 'master's' family, the men of the 'servant' family are required to repair and white-wash the wedding-house, put up the marriage canopy before it, chop wood to be used as fuel for cooking the wedding-feast, and do other odd jobs. Women of the 'servant' family are required to clean the grain, grind it into flour in the rotary quern, and cook food. In return for these services, the 'master' makes presents of money and cooked food to the 'servant' family. 30 Their relationship is not limited to the sphere of production but even to the sphere of daily life. These closely knit relationships modify the acute conflicts of their economic interests.

For example, if the tenants were not in such relationships as these they would not know when the leases on their tilling-land would be terminated by the landlords; and, at best, would expect to be given the worst land in the village. They are always in an uncertain situation, and they cannot improve their tilling-land, for land may go to someone else. The morale for production is low, and the soil is exploited without improving-devices being applied. To improve the soil and farming methods, the status of tenants must first be improved.

30 Srinivas, op. cit., p. 29.
D. Faction

The tenants who are not in such a master-servant relationship as we have just described have unstable rights and receive less facilities from the landlords. In most cases, the tenants cannot provide the facilities from their own capital. To maintain these relationships with the landlords may mean to belong to a 'faction'. Since the relations between landlords are often rivalrous, the line between the supporters of one landlord and the supporters of another is relatively clear. The households within this line share more or less a common interest, and behave on the same ground. This is a 'faction'. If a faction supported a given idea, other factions would say 'No!' and vice versa. Through the rivalry relations between factions, the inter-caste relationships within the faction are integrated, while castes create a sense of solidarity among caste members. Thus in spite of horizontal and vertical divisions, between castes and factions, the village is also integrated by vertical and horizontal bonds, within factions and castes.

II. Power Structure

The official agent of self-government in the village society is the village panchayat. It had existed
for centuries before the British Regime. After the independence, it was again set up as an important part of the policy of the new Government of India. As on 31st of March, 1961, 89 per cent of Indian villages were covered by this newly re-established institution (cf. Appendix Table 5 & 6). In Uttar Pradesh, coverage of villages and rural population by village panchayats was 100 per cent. Average number of villager per panchayat in All-India was 2.6, and in U.P. was 1.5. The average number of persons per panchayat was reckoned at 1,396 for all of India, and 755 for U.P.

In Uttar Pradesh, the State Assembly in 1947 passed the Panchayat Village Raj Act. By this Act, the members of the panchayat are to be elected by all the voters of the village, and the number thereof vary to 16-31. Seats are reserved for scheduled castes proportionately to population. The term of office is 5 years, and the method of election is by show of hands. Besides the annual grants by the Government, the main sources of funds are local taxes and licence fees on vehicles, sale of goods, and so forth. Main power and functions are:

establishment and maintenance of primary health centres, maternity and child welfare clinics, dispensaries, veterinary hospitals, primary schools, drainage works, minor irrigation works, etc., water supply, preparation of plans for the Khand and review of Plans prepared by Gaon Sabbas, development of agriculture, animal husbandry,
cooperation, cottage industries, etc., examination of Panchayat budgets and general supervision of Panchayats. 31

Since this institution has been set up from above, to train villagers for self-government and ultimately to serve as the intermediary agent between Government and ordinary villagers, the panchayat is expected to play an important role in the Community Development Programmes. Under the Programmes, the village panchayat is the official agent of the village society to carry out the programmes jointly with the Gram Sevaks.

Before the village panchayat was set up, Zamindaris were the law for all purposes. The zamindar in the village society was the head of a specific family of the highest caste. By means of the village panchayat, the source of authority has been expanded from one family to a wider cluster of people, and the panchayat is theoretically opened to every person regardless of ascribed status. In this sense, the establishment of the panchayat is an attempt at decentralization of powers in village society.

In practice, this is not the case. As the panchayat is the formal source of authority in the village society, members of the panchayat can justify their deeds through the

31 Ministry of Community Development and Cooperation, Panchayati Raj... a comparative study on legislations, April, 1962, New Delhi, p. 31.
functioning of the institution. The panchayat then tends to become the target of factions seeking their own prestige and power. These factions are led by upper class people, and the nature of the panchayat will be determined by the combination of the interests and the balance of powers of the upper class people. The size of the faction will determine the number of members of the panchayat that the faction can elect from their own group.

If there was only one predominant faction, which could monopolize the panchayat, decisions could be made and the panchayat function smoothly. If several factions of similar size are against one other, the panchayat is indecisive. In such a situation, if there is a superior authority, it will determine the decisions of the panchayat. Kusum Nair gives an interesting illustration. In one village, there was a widow of a zamindar. The panchayat in this village could not function at all because it was divided equally between two powerful and otherwise irreconcilable factions. Because of her prestige and of the capabilities she had shown in running the estate of her late husband, and because she is outside the two factions, she was asked to become leader of the panchayat. She did so, although she was not really interested in the panchayat (she runs it by proxy.), and since then it has been "one of the smoothest working panchayats in the district and the State."  

32Nair, op. cit., p. 95.
In villages where the panchayats are not active, landlords and wealthy Traders constitute an informal ruling clique, governing village affairs in much the same way as they did before Independence.

III. Value System

Each individual in village society is under the social control of three social levels: family, caste, and village. In the family, he occupies certain positions in the inner order in accordance with his sex and seniority. Directions from the senior members are obeyed, in theory, by the juniors not wholly because of personal traits but because of their respective positions in the family. The underlying idea is attachment to the family.

In the example of the rich 'untouchable' farmer that Dube has given, he is respected and admired by the members of his village society because he never ignores the caste line. For each caste, there is a set of expected roles in the village society, and the farmer is in a position where he does not necessarily have to take the roles. However, by taking the roles, or, at least by showing other people his willingness to conform to the expected roles of his caste, he is successful in gaining public approval. In other words, remaining in one's
own caste is valued by the villagers. At the cast level, attachment to the caste is the value.

In spite of the horizontal and vertical social divisions within the village, the village is still an integral unity, and each member of the society has a sense of belongingness regardless whether or not the sense is pleasant or unpleasant to the individual. Villagers know clearly who does and who does not belong. A villager's primary identification must be with his own village society, the members thereof are expected to follow those norms which would increase the strength and cohesion of the village. The value at this level is therefore attachment to the village society.

The value at each of these three levels is thus attachment to the existing social order.

The most important point is revealed in the case of the untouchable farmer. He is respected and admired by all the members of his village, including his own caste members. By the higher caste members he is admired because he did not forget his caste origin in spite of the wealth which he has accumulated. He is admired by his own caste members because he did not forget his own caste in spite of his high economic status which most of them cannot achieve. Here, the fact that he did not forget his caste (ascribed status) is the focus of the people's interest in spite of his economic
status (achieved status). The nature of the attachment to the social organization is coloured by the dominance of ascribed status rather than achieved status. This is also reflected in Dube's list of the six factors that contribute to social differentiation. Among the six, the ascribed status was most important, followed by achieved status, and finally, personal traits.

This strong attachment to ascribed statuses causes a great reluctance to change. This value is projected in the traditional customs and contribute to maintain the order in the village society. A remarkable example is seen in Nair's description of two fishing villages located side by side without being influenced by each other. There, dominance of traditional custom prevents the change of technology in the Hindu village in spite of evident economic advantages in changing.

This attachment to ascribed status is also exemplified by the attachment to one's position in the family. Each position has a set of expected social roles and an individual is required to take the roles of his position, and no other roles. By taking these roles, the inner order of the family is maintained. Taking the specific roles attached to the specific position confines individuals to their ascribed status, and also frustrates their own desires if these conflict with the roles. Each family has a set of
expected roles in its own caste (cf. the illustration of Barber) and each caste in the village society. In this series of ascribed positions at various levels, there is one salient feature. The individual should confine himself to his status and should not revolt against it. This value will create a specific pattern of attitudes toward authority. To obey authority is to maintain the harmony and retain the security of one's own position in the social order. To those persons in authority above him, therefore, the individual will be obedient. To persons on the same level as himself, he will never compromise and will insist on his interests and rights (cf. factions in the village society). To those below him, he will behave in an authoritarian manner; as in, for example, the mother-in-law's behavior towards the young wife. This same complex of attitudes may be observed in the relationship of the villagers to Government officials. Villagers do not trust the government officials because they have been exploited by them. But, the Government is the source of authority, and to become a government official is valued, (cf. Dube's six factors), and the villagers will therefore obey the Government. This discrepancy is important. Individuals suspect, but still obey the Government. Obedience is motivated not by the inner conviction of the individual's conscience, but by his desire to secure his social position. The reaction to Government programmes is therefore determined not directly by
a value of 'right-or-wrong' but rather by the contribution expected by the individual to his own security. He may therefore be sincere and honest to persons of his own in-group, but rather less than reliable to outsiders. This sort of thing is revealed in the quarrels between factions in village society.

But this value system is changing. Individualism is now developing in the family, and achieved status is more respected than before. Village society is becoming less isolated, and the new programmes of education instituted after Independence are also modifying the expectations and values of the younger generation.

We shall next in the following chapter discuss how this social structure and value system of village society affects the Community Development Programmes.
CHAPTER VI

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES AND VILLAGE SOCIETY

I. Effects of Community Development Programmes upon Village Society

The achievements of the Programmes are salient in All-India figures, but the distribution of benefits to each social stratum has been unequal. Those farmers who are mostly clean caste members and who are already the most advantaged in the economic sphere received the greatest share. On this S.C. Dube remarked that nearly 70 per cent of benefits went to the 'elite group' and to the more affluent and influential agriculturists.¹ Gerald D. Berreman holds a more radical view. He claims:

There has been little community development activity aimed at directly benefiting non-agriculturists or even non-landowners.²

As pointed out in Chapter II, the achievements at the village level are still not impressive. K. Nair's following observation may not be an exceptional case considering the achievements per village. (cf. P. 31)

¹Dube, India's Changing Village, pp. 82-3. Elite Group means the most influential upper class people in the village society.
The well is probably the only memorable development the village has known in 50 years. It still has no school, and only one brave boy from Kahronwali, Farida's ten-year-old son Allahbux, daily walks five miles to and from the school in Ranjitpura.3

In the Block, the village in which Block Headquarters is located will be benefitted most. The farther the villages are from the headquarters, the less they will benefit from the Programmes. Then, here and there, many villages remain that are not affected by the Programmes, and in which the villagers just heard of the five Year Plans at the time of the general election, six years after the Plans were launched.4 Even at the Block Headquarters village, sometimes the effort by the Programmes still has had no or very little effect upon the problems the Programmes are aimed at. A Japanese rural sociologist has described his impression of a village under the 'active' Community Development Programmes as follows:

This shock (caused by the poverty of the villagers) is not released by such institutions as health centre, play-ground, or centre for social education. I am prepared to say that these symbolize the efforts for the new-birth of village India. However, such symbols are foreign to me since they do not impress me with bright hope. The overwhelming poverty of the rural villages defeated me completely.5

3 Nair, op. cit., p. 122.
4 Nair, op. cit., p. 32.
5 Fukutake, op. cit., pp. 117-8 (Translation mine-
However, this is simply an impression. To bring more objectivity into the data we must have more detailed comparisons.

The effects of agricultural programmes are the most striking, and will serve best to demonstrate some of the effects on village society of Community Development Programmes.

The first notable effect, as revealed in comparisons of the productivity of Community Development Villages and non-Community Development villages, is a general increase in the crop yields of the former, due to the availability of improved seeds and fertilizer. But though increases do unmistakably occur estimates of them are highly variable, ranging from as low as 6 or 7 per cent to as high as 63 per cent. Perhaps the best estimate is one of a 20 to 25 per cent increase generally where community development has been in progress for three years or more.  

Second, where Community Development has taken hold, marked changes have taken place in the pattern of crops. In the Ghosi Development Block, U.P., a 1958 survey noted an increase in the proportion of land devoted to vegetables.

The growing of vegetables and fruits has been popularized by the community development workers; 39 per cent of the large cultivators

in the Block area, 48 per cent of the medium cultivators and 24 per cent of the small cultivators reported having started the growing of vegetables or fruits during the last three or four years. In the non-Block area, the percentage of cultivators who reported the growing of vegetables or fruits was very much smaller, being 14 per cent, 8 per cent and 3 per cent respectively for large, medium and small cultivators. Generally vegetables or fruits are grown for domestic consumption, though in a few cases they are also being sold.7

But it must be admitted that Ghosi is an exceptional instance, and that elsewhere the popularization of new seeds, fertilizers, and crop changes is not very successful.

Third, there is an expansion in farming knowledge, though again this expansion is variable. In the Ghosi Development Block, for instance, even non-Community Development villages have acquired some of the information how to use insecticides and fungicides. This is apparently attributed to their contacts with villagers in the Block area; and is thus indirectly attributable to a fairly intensive extension programme in the Block area. The larger-scale cultivators are the ones who most readily adopt farming improvements: their relatively larger holdings make it less risky for them to experiment with new materials, and their relatively better education renders them quicker to perceive the possibilities in the new information brought to them by the Community Dev-

II. The Effects of Social Structure upon the Community Development Programmes

A. Village Panchayat

At the village level, the first organization which has contact with the Programmes in the village society is the village panchayat. The Planning Commission undertook a study of 60 panchayats located in 15 evaluation blocks. The number of respondents was 1,080. The average number of persons under each panchayat in this study was 2,600, which implied that some panchayats were responsible for more than one village. The panchayat elections "have resulted in creating or aggravating factional rivalries in about one third of the villages". The members of village panchayats are older persons, those belonging to cultivating or land-owning castes, and those who have some education. 60 per cent of the panchayat members are over 40 years old, and 90 per cent are landholders. However, only 33 per cent of them are considered well off

8UN, op. cit., pp. 18-9.


10Pl. Com., op. cit., p. 18.
by their fellow villagers. This may mean that faction leaders do not join the panchayat but manipulate its members from less public positions.

The problem of resources is the most difficult one faced by the panchayats. The various Panchayat Acts of the States provide long lists of sources of revenue for the panchayats, but in fact there are very few sources. "In many cases, the self-raised income of the panchayats is barely sufficient to pay for expenditure on establishment." The regular income of the selected panchayats varies from a per capita average of Rs. 3.6 per year in Manavadar (Saurashtra) to Rs. 0.17 in Bhadrak (Orissa). Considering the self-raised income alone, the range is from Rs. 1.64 per year in Erode (Madras) to Rs. 0.07 in Cachar (Assam). This is because villagers are too poor and, more importantly, have little interest in the panchayat.

Though their own revenue resources are small, the Government expenditure for the Community Development Programmes provides a relatively abundant financial source for those panchayats under community development, enabling these to construct and repair roads, building drinking-water wells, and erect community buildings. These three activities have been

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11 Ibid.
carried out by 71.4 per cent, 46.4 per cent, and 30.4 per cent of the panchayats respectively. Taking up these activities has not necessarily had the effect of strengthening the panchayats. For example, the construction activities were undertaken by ad-hoc committees which were often not related to the panchayat, and sometimes functioned as rivals.

Villagers' interests in the panchayat are not always keen. When the assembly is held, the attendance is poor. The panchayat members themselves are often apathetic. The communication from the panchayat to the villagers is not perfect. For example, the panchayat often decides a programme of People's Participation, and villagers contribute their labour power without knowing the purpose of the programme. If they do not 'co-operate', the panchayat can impose fines upon them. Ordinary villagers must obey the decision which is made above, and the communication is one-way. This causes the lack of interest.

Village panchayats can be active under the Community Development Programmes because financial resources are then

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14 Pl. Com., op. cit., p. 22.

15 Ibid.

16 Nair, op. cit., p. 97.

17 Dube, op. cit., p. 81.
relatively abundant. Panchayats as such are expected to develop as agents of local self-government in the process of Community Development. In practice, the panchayats tend to be conservative and are therefore not suitable organs for changing the value of the village people, though they can make decision on physical programmes. The members are elected according to such characteristics as seniority, sex, caste, and faction. The elected members are influential people of the village society, but their decision can be effectively executed only if the factions are well represented and the faction-leaders are agreed. If such a balance is not achieved, the other faction(s) may block the function of the panchayat, and force the work to be done by a faction, which then organizes ad-hoc committees and carries out the programmes in competition with the panchayat.

The elected members can execute physical programmes because they are aged males of relatively high caste. This is a reflection of the values of village society. The panchayat sometimes allots work in an authoritarian manner to villagers, and imposes fines upon those who refuse the assigned roles. The panchayat members are obedient to higher authority such as government officials, particularly the higher ones, and to very high class people (cf. the case of the zamindari's widow). Thus, the panchayat tends to reflect the upper class people's interests and to accept the directions from the government.
The physical programmes which are agreed both by the government and high caste people will be executed with less difficulty than will non-physical programmes; but if either one should disagree, any programme would be less effectively executed.

Since members are elected and behave in accordance with the local values, it would be hard to change the values of village people by means of panchayats, unless proper training is first given to the villagers generally. As the village panchayat is an official local authority to execute the Programmes, the Programmes will first meet with the panchayat, and the nature of the programmes will be somewhat changed: greater emphasis on physical targets which coincide with the interests of upper class people, and less emphasis on reforming the values of the villagers.

B. Caste

High caste villagers are sometimes reluctant to cooperate with Community Development even though, as we have already shown, the Programmes in their physical aspect actually benefit the high castes most of all. This apparent paradox is due to the Government's aim at achieving "social justice",

18 In respect to such training, Kusum Nair gives a very informative example of leadership and its effects. A political leader started to train the Harijans in a village. Within several years, the values of the lower caste people had been remarkably changed. Nair, op. cit., pp. 95-7.
an aim which makes the high castes unwilling to co-operate lest they lose their own higher status.

The middle castes, such as agriculturists and some other clean caste members who are neither very rich nor very poor, are most helpful to the Programmes and the Gram Sevaks.\(^{19}\) Gram Sevaks spend most of their time with these people, and their personal relationships with these caste people are deeper than with others.

On some occasions, low caste members are very co-operative at first with the programmes in order to raise the social prestige of their caste by raising the standard of their living. Though an absolute increase may be observed, however, their relative status remains the same, and they very soon find that the Community Development Programmes are designed not for them. As a result, when their co-operation is sought, they ask why they should help the farmers increase the advantages which high caste landowners already enjoy.\(^{20}\)

In the villages Dube has studied, there was considerable inter-caste rivalry and should the Programmes benefit certain castes in the village society, this rivalry would be perpetuated.\(^{21}\) Such benefits solidify the advantages of certain

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19 Dube, *op. cit.*, p. 166.
castes to the disadvantages of others. Thus as the amount of benefits provided by Community Development varies, so also does the increase of caste inequalities. The more intense the community development in a given village, the more will distance increase between the upper and lower classes in the village.

An instance of 'People's Participation' will illustrate how the benefits go to certain castes. A village may decide on construction of a village road. The allotment of labour is decided on the caste basis. The traditional correlation between occupation and caste determines the type of work each caste contributes. The higher castes would take administrative roles and manual work would fall upon the low caste. As no payment would be made to them for this work, the low caste labourers would resent it. Once the road is constructed by the Programme, the landlords could transport their sugarcane to the market and sell it at more profitable prices than ever; but the only benefit the low caste people would get would be that of walking on the road themselves. Or, should a school be built using 'untouchable' labour, the children of these same 'untouchables' would be prevented from attending the school because of the caste line.

Village people are generally suspicious about Gram

22 Dube, op. cit., p. 139.
Sevaks since they are not informed about the Gram Sevak's caste; and for the high caste people the agent would introduce to the low caste the 'dangerous' thought that caste be abolished, while low caste people may regard the Government servants as new exploiters. Should their caste be known, other problems arise for the Gram Sevaks. If the Gram Sevaks are high caste members and work for the low caste persons, they are criticized or rejected by the high caste members of the village society. If the Gram Sevaks are low caste in origin, the high caste members again reject them. The Gram Sevaks are most successful in villages of their own castes.

The social norm controls the social action of caste members by means of the sets of expected roles in village society. Consequently, higher caste members get the most benefits for easiest roles, while low caste people get little benefit for hard manual labour. No wonder inter-caste rivalries are mostly inaugurated by the lower castes. Where land reform is successful and low caste people acquire some land to till, a relative decline of the landlord class and a relative rise
of the low castes take place. The roles set up for the castes gradually change in spite of clear caste lines.\textsuperscript{23} In these circumstances, the rivalry relation would be inaugurated from the side of the high castes.

These role expectations according to caste are the biggest difficulty in the implementation of the Programmes.

In these expected roles, certain values are projected and patterned. This is reflected in the reactions of village people to the Gram Sevaks. Whether Gram Sevaks are high caste and would contact low caste people or are low caste and have to meet high caste people, these government agents cannot receive the best co-operation from the village society as a whole. Contact with persons of the same caste will be most favourably responded to because this does not conflict with the value of caste-attachment. The activities of Gram Sevaks and the new values structured in the Community Development Programmes, are a challenge to the traditional values of village society. This is part of the reason why the Gram Sevaks have such hard times at the village level.

\textsuperscript{23}Nair, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 110: (A wife of a landlord) "The government has given land to Harijans in this village. The result is that they will not do our work. And now I, a 'Fat woman' (with heavy emphasis on the word Fat) I have to dirty my hands and do this work of making cowdung cakes. Is this a Fat's work? 'But don't you want the condition of Harijans also to improve?' 'Why should it?' is the forceful reply with the full weight of conviction behind it. 'Harijans were born to do manual jobs. God made them such, and they should be allowed to continue as such. Am I meant for this...do I deserve it?' and she holds out her dirty hands to invite sympathy".
The same value of attachment to one's caste sometimes causes very strong cooperation by the low castes in order that the Programmes may raise the social prestige of these castes; but for the same reason, high caste people are cautious about the Government programmes. In any case, insofar as the reference frame of action of the villagers is the caste, the execution of programmes involving 'new' values is extremely difficult.

C. Social Stratification

We have already noted the function of social stratification in leading to an unequal distribution of benefits from Community Development. We will now examine this relationship at work in credit-co-operatives. Farmers need capital to improve their farm land, to add farm buildings, to acquire farm implements by individuals, and to aim at a net-over-all growth in quantity and quality of livestock. To meet the situation, the Government has made provisions to loan money at low interest.

According to the UN experts' study, net-borrowing in U.P. samples was Rs. 51 per household per year. But the investment of borrowed money differed with the social status of the household: Rs. 7.6 per household per year by small

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cultivators, Rs. 31.2 by medium cultivators, and Rs. 69.8 by large cultivators. In this figure, agricultural labourers (Harijans) are not included. This means that the nature of borrowing by various castes is different. High caste members borrow money to improve their production while low caste members do so to survive.

The financial source is an important clue in considering this problem further. One fifth of borrowing in the U.P. case came from institutional sources and a correspondingly greater proportion from money lenders. Since the policy of credit co-operatives is to make a loan to those persons who can make most efficient use of the money, "it is generally found that only the larger landholders, with their better financial position and greater influence, benefit, substantially from the loan facilities of credit co-operatives". Credit co-operatives lend money at low interest, and money lenders at high interest. Consequently, the lower and poorer classes are not only pushed out of the benefit of the Government plan but have to suffer from heavy debts from which they cannot escape. This socio-economic cleavage between the richer and the poorer would therefore become wider as the result of the Government's 'inducement'. The illiteracy of the Harijans

26 UN, op. cit., p. 57.

27 Ibid.
is another factor. They cannot read the application instructions and they are afraid to sign so many sheets of forms. This illiteracy and its disadvantages is so closely related to their ascribed status that we can regard this as part of the problem of castes.

Social stratification and caste are so closely related (indeed the caste system is a form of social stratification that emphasises ascribed status rather than achieved status), that changes in the role behavior of caste members, individually and collectively, will change the status of their caste.

In the illustration of a Fat woman given by Nair (see above, footnote 23 on p.108), the problem of ascribed status and achieved status are entangled. The Fat woman insists on the caste system and the set of roles assigned to the individual castes. Her resentment is rooted in the fact that there is another social order in parallel with the caste system, and though the two might have been almost identical in the past, nowadays there is a cleavage between them. For her to admit the other social order means to accept that she must do tasks traditionally done by Harijans; but she is forced to admit it by the fact that Harijans do not now fulfil these traditional roles as she expects them to.

This 'new' behavior of Harijans as well as of the
Fat woman is caused by the fact that the former have been given new land by the Government. As a result, a new set of tasks requires the Harijans to work on their own fields and leaves them little room for the role the Fat woman expected them to fulfil. If they have means of production, the traditional roles which are related to their non-possession of these means, will disappear and the associated values will also change. Thus, in spite of the dominance of ascribed status in village society, the weight of achieved status is gradually increasing. However, the direction of the change of values is not necessarily that intended or expected by the social planners. The lower class people may be contented with small benefits, and remain indifferent to the rest of the Programmes.

The Community Development Programmes are, in some way or another, changing the values of villagers in a manner which can be directed as the planners desire if they can find some way of counter-balancing the greater social distances between strata being caused by the unequal distribution of benefit of the Programmes.

D. Faction

The abolition of zamindaris and introduction of village panchayats has caused a significant change in the pattern of the exercise of authority. A new opportunity of leadership has been opened for a wider group in village
society, and factions have emerged in rivalry relation to secure significant positions and to increase their socio-economic prestige. When a single faction monopolizes the panchayat, the Programmes are likely to be distorted by this faction's own interests. Other factions may show apathy to the Programmes or sometimes hostility to it. When several factions co-exist in the panchayat, agreement is very hard, and, the council has to ask higher authority to settle its problems.

As the village society is divided vertically by factions, Gram Sevaks wishing to be successful should get the co-operation of faction leaders. So finding out these leaders is one of the keys for the success of the Programmes, particularly in the initial stage. If the Gram Sevaks fail to do so, the achievements of the Programmes may be seriously affected.

As the economic base changes, part of the set of roles for each social stratum also changes. Since the basis of factions is the household relationship which is solidified by the common interests and differences of economic base among the social strata in the faction, the change of the economic status of some of the members will change the nature and structure of the factions. But this potential effect of the Community Development Programmes is counterbalanced by the widening of the gap between rich and poor; this latter effect
of the Programmes makes more necessary to the poor the household relationship on which the factions depend, and so strengthens the factions.

E. Family

In a family, the authority of decision-making is in the hands of the family head who is in theory the most senior person. To adopt a 'progressive' (N.B., a programme suggested by the Community Development Programmes) idea and method, or not, is decided by him. Since the Gram Sevaks are relatively young, the senior people are reluctant to accept their advice or guidance in farming methods. The unit of production in the village society is a household, and a change of farming method a very risky proposition. The family heads are therefore wary of making changes unless the advantage thereof is clearly demonstrated.

The dominance by the male sex has great effects upon the Programmes. If a woman comes out into the open, "everyone will say 'phirne wali surat hai' ('a woman who loafs around') and she will get a bad reputation." This criticism is particularly strong against the young wives. The programmes

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28 Dube, op. cit., p. 159: "Out of seventeen multi-Purpose VLWs working in the Project, seven are in age group 31-35, six are in group 20-25, two are in group 36-40, and there is one each in group 26-30, and 41-45">

29 Nair, op. cit., p. 74.
designed for the female sex do not therefore attract many spectators or participants.

The women are the last to enjoy the benefits of the Programmes. They are not given the chance of receiving formal education, adult education, and other benefits. When they attend women's classes, if there are low caste people present, high caste members will leave, or vice versa. The amount of benefits is unequally distributed among the disadvantaged sex, too.

As the right of decision making is in the hands of men, the benefits to the family are shared less by women. Nair gives an interesting report in this connection. In Mysore, because of the 'change', drinking coffee was a fashion in a village. Not only that but male villagers liked to take 'sumptuous' meals at a 'hotel'. But they do not give their earnings to their women, and the women have tasted neither coffee nor meal. The living costs became high and no money for saving is left because of the expenditure by the males. So to repay the debts, women have to work on the field while men are enjoying 'leisure' in chattering.  

This makes women indifferent to the Programmes.

At the family level, Community Development Programmes are considered as a matter for the family and not for individuals. The adoption of 'new' devices which effects the economic

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30Nair, op. cit., pp. 54-55.
base of the family is treated with the greatest caution, for the traditional methods at least guarantee the maintenance of the present situation. The decision-making is in the care of the family-head, which position is not open to junior persons. The principle of seniority in the family blocks penetration by new ideas mediated by the juniors. The inferior position of the female sex prevents the women from participating in those programmes which are of public nature. This is particularly true of those members of the female sex in inferior positions in the family, i.e., the young wives. Thus the Programmes are participated in and the benefits are enjoyed by only the 'important' members. The rest are alienated from the Programmes. However, the attachment to the family as an institution is imposed upon family members. Those who are in inferior positions, junior and female, have to contribute most because they are like candidates or apprentices for important and responsible posts, and must prove their suitabilities. So, while the 'important' members are enjoying the benefit, these juniors have to work hard for the family.

Individuals are protected from the outer world by the family. This is because the welfare policy of the Government has been poor and does not guarantee the security of an individual, and the family has had to take this role at the expense of respect for the individual.\textsuperscript{31} Education is expected to

\textsuperscript{31}This theory first suggested about the role of family in Japan by Professor Kizaemon Ariga of Tokyo University of Education (Now Keio University).
change the values of young villagers, but, after receiving seven or eight years' education most boys do not want to work as tillers in the fields.\textsuperscript{32} Formal education introduces the younger generation to many of the conveniences of the outer world, and attracts them to the places where these are available, so drawing them away from the traditional situations of village society.

The values of attachment to the village and to the family may be loosening among the 'educated' young people. Individualism grows, and respect for seniority, sex or family position declines among them, while senior members continue to abide by these principles. The conflict between generations is therefore increased in the family. Their views of the world are different. For example, the following statement by a wealthy young villager represents this trend:

\begin{quote}
Jeevan adds: "The one big difference between us and our elders is our elders are still in the dark, interested only in village factions and politics. They do not even want to make the people literate because they feel the working classes will get out of control. We, on the contrary, are very keen to educate them."\textsuperscript{33}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{32} Nair, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 146.

\textsuperscript{33} Nair, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 156.
If such values would have effects upon the senior people, the Programmes would have been welcomed; but the 'educated' leave the village, and the new values do not influence the senior villagers. On the other hand, lack of employment in the cities makes them dependent upon the family, and, though reluctantly, they have to support the principle of seniority while they remain in the family and wait a chance for independence.34

The Programmes can cause a change of values to a certain extent, but they cannot provide the economic conditions to develop this change further, for social welfare policy does not develop quickly enough, and there are not enough new jobs to go around. Thus the individuals in the village society have to remain in the same reference frame of action as before.

III. Effects of Villagers' Values upon Community Development

The attachment to the existing social organization may raise the morale of villagers for co-operation with the Programmes, for they want to raise the social prestige of each of the levels of which they are the members. At the family level, upper class people co-operate with the Programmes

34 Nair, op. cit., p. 146: "In Bengal, for every white-collar job of Rs. 50 per month, there would be at least 5,000 applicants from among the 'educated' classes in the rural areas." (Underline supplied - M.S.).
because they can enter into contact with higher Government officials, and the villagers' valuation of authority makes these upper class people appear more distinguished in the eyes of village society. At the caste level, low caste people show enthusiasm in order to raise their standard of living and so increase the prestige of their own caste. At the village level, the people want to show other villages that they adopt 'progressive' ideas.

On the other hand, this value tends to create an economically inefficient pattern of expenditure of Community Development money. At the family level, the increase in the consumption of durable consumer goods, such as bicycles and torch lights, to increase their family's prestige has to be managed with a fixed home budget, and is consequently balanced by a deterioration in quality of food, drink, and so on. So the living standard deteriorates. At the caste level, each caste member is attached to his own caste, and does not want to share the public well with members of other castes. As a result, in one village in the Punjab the UN experts found that:

(The villagers) had sunk too many drinking-water wells (for caste reasons), and every well had too wide a lip, so that large quantities of cement had been wasted. 36

35 Nair, op. cit., p. 152.
36 Un, Mission in India, p. 22.
A shortage of cement resulted, and the villagers could not make irrigation canals water-right. Larger areas could have been irrigated from the same storage basin simply by stopping the leaks in the canal banks. At the village level, a brick-and-tile school had been built in the village with neither chairs nor desks. The school was equipped with parallel bars for gymnastic exercises, and a children’s slide, all made of steel, but in the fields the preparation of seedbeds was not properly done because of a shortage of agricultural implements for the production of which inadequate quotas of iron had been allotted.

This well-built school building is intended to increase the social prestige of this village among its neighbours. But the Programmes failed to increase the villagers’ production because of the villagers’ prestige-oriented expenditure.

This attachment to the existing organization entails reluctance to change. Reluctance to change implies acceptance of the present situation and distrust in the future. This has in turn two effects upon the Community Development Programmes: (a) villagers are with difficulty persuaded by the demonstrations, and (b) they are reluctant to adopt the 'advanced' ideas and methods suggested.

The landlords themselves do not show an interest in increasing production. They come one week before the

37 Ibid.
harvest, make an assessment, and demand their share which is legally 40 per cent but in practice almost 60 per cent. Consequently the tenants have no interest in making increases either. If they produce more, the landlords will take more.\(^{38}\) This occurs even after Land Reform, which had aimed at reforming such abuses and still failed to achieve its target. Even though there are opportunities to borrow more land, the tillers are contented to cultivate only enough land to feed their families, and no more.\(^ {39}\)

This value is reflected in their orientation to the future. An increase in gross output and therefore in income does not interest them if the margin of profit per para or bag of rice thereby decreases. This is normally the case with heavier investments in fertilizer and labour.\(^ {40}\) The villagers do not want to change the present situation although the change might bring greater benefit in the long run. From past experience, they know what will result from the present method, but to make the changes is too risky. Thus they are only with difficulty persuaded by demonstrations, and the role of Community Development Programmes as an inducement to change may therefore be blocked.

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\(^{38}\)Nair, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

\(^{39}\)Nair, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

\(^{40}\)Nair, *op. cit.*, p. 44.
Attachment to the existing social organization results in a pressure to confine oneself to one's status. This produces a particular pattern of attitudes towards authority. This attitude further reduces the effect of the Community Development Programmes as an indicement to change.

On the whole, Government officials are traditionally held suspect by the village people. Government officials are reported to take bribes from villagers, and to behave in an authoritarian way. If the villagers do not give bribes, or if they resist the authoritarian manner of the officials, these officials will resent the villagers and take vengeance by using the administrative power. Alan Beals reports the following statement by one of his informants:

> We are illiterate, we don't know how to deal with them. We don't know the rules and regulations of the government or 'collective'. If we oppose them, they make a separate case, saying that the people of such and such a village insults them.\(^{41}\)

On the surface, villagers show respect for the Government officials. They call the Government agents *swamy*, which means 'lord'.\(^{42}\) They adopt the methods suggested by the Programmes, because they wish to avoid the future troubles that would arise


\(^{42}\) Nair, *op. cit.*, p. 54.
from disobeying the officials. The increasing physical achievements may not be motivated by the villagers' inner enthusiasm, and the villagers may go back to their traditional methods as soon as the Programmes are over. For example, see the responses recorded by Dube:

Q. What do you think of the new seed?
A. What can I think? If the Government thinks it is good, it must be good.

Q. If the experiment succeeds this year, will you try it next year?
A. Yes, if the Government asks us again.\footnote{Dube, op. cit., pp. 196-8.}

The people's same attitude would take different forms under other conditions. Government is regarded as the source of authority. Therefore, if the officials tried to be nice with the villagers, the villagers would not accept the officials. Fraternization sometimes hinders the development of the Programmes. Consequently some officials frankly think that they should go back to the authoritarian attitude again.\footnote{Dube, op. cit., p. 120.} When officials are authoritarian, villagers will not take any responsibility, and obey commands but do not co-operate.

This obedience without inner trust causes irresp"
ibility on the side of villagers are excessive demands on the Government. Villagers were formerly under zamindaris, and under this system, the relationship between the intermediary agents and villagers was personal. However, after the zamindaris were abolished, the Government replaced them as the source of authority. Now, villagers have to depend upon the Government as they did upon zamindaris, but the Government-villagers relationship is not a personal one. The concept of Government is abstract, and villagers do not know where to go and what to do. Villagers also think that every facility which the zamindaris had supplied should be subsidized by the Government.

For example, Nair shows us the following case. During the past three years, the crop has regularly failed in one area because of a shortage of water. Villagers are waiting for a canal. In fact, there are wells and they are broken; but according to the villagers the Government should repair them because "What are we paying the Government taxes for?" is the attitude. This excessive dependence upon the Government entails a lack of a sense of their own responsibility on the side of the villagers. So the inducement of Community Development has not functioned as expected, and no chain -

\[45\]
Nair, *op. cit.*, p. 100.
reaction of villagers' self-help efforts took place.

This lack of a sense of inner responsibility also expresses itself in the form of a short-sighted self-interest, which is another obstacle to realization of the Programmes. In one village, villagers have constructed a building for their primary school. But already the roof is sagging and it leaks so that the teacher has to declare a holiday whenever it rains. Yet no one takes the initiative to repair it. Or, in another village, a people's participation programme could not complete a road drain for three years. The basis of the people's contribution had been that each should give for the stretch in front of his own house only. Where the row of houses ends, responsibility ends, even though to reach the paved street, one has still to walk through 500 feet of stinking slush and pools of filth and water. 46

46 Nair, op. cit., p. 94.
CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

In India's Community Development Programmes, three basic assumptions are involved, and they were examined in the analysis of the process of distortion of the plan at the administrative organization and at the village society level.

The Community Development Programmes as social planning are formulated at the Central Government level with two goals: (a) increase of production, and (b) execution of 'social justice'. This social planning, however, has first been distorted at the level of the administrative organization, due to the social structure and set of values of the administrative officials. The administrative organization has been re-organized so that it can function with maximum efficiency and co-ordination among related administrative organizations to execute the plan. In spite of the fact, the plan is distorted by the behaviors of the members of the organization, for, there is a value of 'self-protection' among the members, and this value makes a given section in the organization an in-group while allowing them to regard other sections as out-groups. In order not to take any responsibility, the members
of the in-group require perfection in other sections, resulting in delays and lack of co-ordination of functionings in horizontal relations. In vertical relations, officials at a given level are obedient to their superiors while being authoritarian to the lower personnel, resulting in the lowest officials in the hierarchy inheriting the position of scape-goat. In the organization, communication is one sided, and the only information sent to the superiors from the lower staff is filtered to satisfy the superiors. In the organization with such power-structure, the lower can protect themselves by satisfying their superiors, and the officials emphasize only those programmes which meet their own interests, neglecting other programmes. In addition, upper class people in village society upon which the Programmes are executed, are influential upon the administrative officials. Those villagers who can indirectly influence the Government officials and the targets which can help the officials' self-protection draw more attention of the executors.

As a result, the executed plan loses flexibility to meet the local situation, and the physical targets are emphasized, losing comprehensiveness of the Programmes, and causing a lag between physical and non-physical programmes.

In the village society, ascribed status of the individuals dominate their achieved status. The pattern of
behavior of villagers are controlled by the status and role-expectations attached to it. The degree and type of villagers' participation in the Community Development Programmes differ from status to status and some villagers are alienated from the benefits of the programmes. When given programmes require conflicting patterns of behavior with the traditional role-expectations, the villagers do not co-operate with the programmes. (For example, see failures of women's programmes). When given programmes meet only a certain section of village society, the benefit goes solely to those people. (For example, the case of landless villagers under agricultural programmes). This causes unequal distribution of the benefits. The most benefited section is often the already advantaged. As the achievements of physical programmes are salient, the more unequal distribution of benefits is caused, the rich becoming richer and the poor poorer.

It is true that the non-physical programmes of Community Development have had some successes along the intended lines; but the achievements and the consequences of the physical programmes have more than counterbalanced the changes caused by the former.

The values of the people also control their responses to the Programmes. The value of attachment to the existing organizations may invite co-operation of villagers to the
the prestige of Programmes in order to increase their own organizations as well as to consume the limited resource of the projects in the most uneconomical manners from the view of the planners. Reluctance to change makes it difficult to persuade the people by demonstration, failing to obtain their co-operation. The villagers' suspicion of the Government distorts the responses contrary to the planners' anticipation. Thus, in spite of given opportunities, the people do not necessarily respond as the planners have postulated.

In the evaluation process, the reports prepared by the executors of the Programmes often give false pictures of the situation. Since the planners modify the Programmes on the basis of these reports as well as on the basis of the reports prepared by the special evaluation agents, the information provided by these two sources is so unbalanced that the planners tend to have a distorted picture of the actual situation.

In this process of distortion of the plan, dominance of physical targets and lag in achievements of physical and non-physical programmes are produced. The benefits from the achievements of the programmes go to upper class villagers, and the alienated class does not share the benefits. The cleavage between strata is widened and 'social injustice' results. Thus, the first assumption that the comprehensive (caused by the Community Development Programmes) of the
state of the variables determining the people's social action, affected one another in diverse ways, and sometimes opposed one another. The second and third assumptions are also not realized under the present situation.

These facts lead us to query the basis of the method of Community Development. The Community Development Programmes in India is a comprehensive method of social change with a given set of desired goals. To achieve the goals, a 'democratic approach' is adopted, consisting of (a) formulation of the policy by the elected representatives of the nation, and (b) the execution of this policy by officially appointed personnel with the consent and co-operation of the people affected. This 'democratic approach' assumes certain values. Therefore, this approach will be most effective in those societies in which democracy has been an essential part of the social tradition, but may not be nearly so effective in societies with different cultural traditions. This is because the values assumed in the democratic approach are already structured in the social norms of such societies, and by re-organizing the values so structured, the planners can re-orient the executees to the aimed goal. In other words, the change of values is merely a re-orientation of already-existing values and not the introduction of new ones.

In societies in which such democracy has not been part of the social tradition, different sets of values are
structured in the social norms. Therefore, the change of values desired by the Community Development Programmes entails having to eradicate the traditional values and replace them with the new set of values by persuasive means. This may not be impossible, but it is surely a very difficult task indeed. This is why the non-physical programmes need so very intense an effort, with assurance of only a small result, that they are almost certain to lag behind the achievements of the physical programmes. This lag has betrayed the planner's original intentions and resulted in the various phenomena we have described in the previous chapters.

There are consequently three basic problems that Community Development has to confront. They are:

1. How to harmonize the physical and non-physical programmes which take effect at such different rates of change.

2. How to compromise the two demands for increases in production and establishment of 'social justice' when, at least in the early stage of the process, these two goals appear incompatible.

3. How to minimize the distorting influence of the Government bureaucracy in the implementation of the Programmes.
APPENDICES

1. List of Programmes to be Carried out by Community Development.

2. Personnel trained for Community Development Programmes.

3. Coverage of Community Development Programmes.

4. All-India Physical Achievements for Some Important Items of Activity.

5. Progress of Panchayats...All-India.

6. Number and Coverage of Village Panchayats.
TABLE 1.
LIST OF PROGRAMMES TO BE CARRIED OUT BY COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

A. Agriculture and related matters:
   1. Reclamation of available virgin and waste land.
   2. Provision of water for agriculture through irrigation canals, tube wells, surface wells, tanks, and lift irrigation from rivers, lakes and pools.
   3. Development of rural electrification.
   4. Provision of commercial fertilizers.
   5. Provision of quality seeds.
   6. Promotion and utilization of improved agricultural techniques.
   8. Provision of technical information, materials and bulletins on agriculture.
   9. Dissemination of information through slides, films, radio broadcasts, and lectures.
  11. Promotion of marketing and credit facilities.
  12. Provision of breeding centres for animal husbandry.
  14. Promotion of home economics.
  15. Development of fruit and vegetable cultivation.
  17. Encouragement of the use of natural and compost manures.
  18. Provision for arboriculture and reafforestation.

B. Communications:
   1. Provision of roads.
   2. Encouragement of mechanical road transport.

C. Education:
   1. Provision of compulsory and free education, preferably of the basic type, at the elementary stage.
   2. Provision of high and middle schools.
   3. Provision of adult education and library services.

D. Health:
   1. Provision of sanitation (including drainage and disposal of wastes) and public health measures.
   2. Provision for control of malaria and other diseases.
   3. Provision of improved drinking water supplies.
   4. Provision of medical aid for the sick.
5. Pre-natal and post-natal care to expectant mothers, and mid-wife services.
6. Provision of generalized public health service and education.

E. Training:
1. Refresher courses for improving the standard of work of existing artisans.
2. Training of agriculturists.
3. Training of extension assistants.
4. Training of artisans.
5. Training of supervisors, managerial personnel, health workers, and executive officers for projects.

F. Social Welfare:
1. Organization of community entertainment.
2. Provision of audio-visual aid for instruction and recreation.
3. Organization of sports activities.
4. Organization of melas (village fairs).
5. Organization of co-operatives and self-help movements.

G. Supplementary Employment:
1. Encouragement of cottage industries and crafts as main or subsidiary occupations.
2. Encouragement of medium and small-scale industries to employ surplus labour for local needs and to provide products for outside project areas.
3. Encouragement of employment through trade, auxiliary and welfare services.
4. Construction of brick kilns and saw-mills to provide building materials for local needs.

H. Housing:
1. Demonstration and training in improved techniques and designs for rural housing.
2. Encouragement of improved rural housing on a self-help basis.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CATEGORY</th>
<th>Number trained to Mar. '58</th>
<th>Numbers trained during</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Block Development Officers</td>
<td>1,985</td>
<td>580</td>
<td>532</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Gram Sevaks</td>
<td>31,128</td>
<td>4,144</td>
<td>4,652</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Extension Officers (Co-operation)</td>
<td>1,220</td>
<td>633</td>
<td>621</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Social Education Organizers</td>
<td>2,269</td>
<td>579</td>
<td>309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Extension Officers (Industries)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) small industries service institute</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Khadi Gramodyog Mahavidyalaya</td>
<td>786</td>
<td>608</td>
<td>586</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Mukhy Sevikas</td>
<td>1,067</td>
<td>404</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Gram Sevikas</td>
<td>796</td>
<td>438</td>
<td>642</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Government of India, Community Development at a Glance (revised) 1962, p. 11.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STATE</th>
<th>No. of Blocks Allotted</th>
<th>Population covered by Stage I &amp; Stage II Blocks (Lakh No.)</th>
<th>Villages covered by Stage I &amp; Stage II Blocks (OO No.)</th>
<th>Number of Prenex Blocks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. of Blocks Allotted</td>
<td>No. of Blocks which other than stipulated</td>
<td>Stage I Stage II Total</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andhr Pradesh</td>
<td>445</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>326</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assam</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>575</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>414</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarat</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jammu &amp; Kashmir</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerala</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>416</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>298</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madras</td>
<td>375</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maharashtra</td>
<td>425</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lydore</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orissa</td>
<td>307</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punjab</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>899</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>610</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Bengal</td>
<td>341</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Union Territories</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>5,223</td>
<td>1,202</td>
<td>3,589</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 4

**All-India Physical Achievements for Some Important Items of Activity**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>Achievements during the Year</th>
<th>Average achievements per block during the Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1959-60 (1)</td>
<td>1960-61 (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGRICULTURE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Improved seeds distributed</td>
<td>6,964,000</td>
<td>8,273,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(mds)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Chemical fertilizers</td>
<td>13,833,000</td>
<td>16,500,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>distributed (Mds)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Improved implements</td>
<td>281,110</td>
<td>337,820</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>distributed (Nos.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Agricultural demonstrations held (Nos.)</td>
<td>1,541,900</td>
<td>1,227,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Compost pits dug(Nos.)</td>
<td>2,955,300</td>
<td>2,944,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animal Husbandry</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Improved animals supplies</td>
<td>17,997</td>
<td>21,274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Nos.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Improved birds supplied</td>
<td>244,100</td>
<td>329,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Nos.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Animals castrated(Nos.)</td>
<td>2,202,500</td>
<td>2,446,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural Health and Sanitation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Rural Latrines constructed</td>
<td>138,660</td>
<td>140,940</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Nos.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Pucca drains constructed</td>
<td>2,423,700</td>
<td>1,749,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Yes.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Village lanes paved (sq.yds.)</td>
<td>2,122,000</td>
<td>1,654,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Drinking water wells</td>
<td>35,470</td>
<td>38,470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>constructed (Nos.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Drinking water wells</td>
<td>50,450</td>
<td>46,470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>renovated (Nos.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Adults literacy centres</td>
<td>37,076</td>
<td>40,704</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>started (Nos.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Adults made literate(Nos.)</td>
<td>854,900</td>
<td>881,420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Reading Rooms opened(Nos.)</td>
<td>118,028</td>
<td>16,535</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Youth and farmer's clubs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>started:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1)number</td>
<td>52,009</td>
<td>46,170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2)No. of members</td>
<td>756,100</td>
<td>873,290</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5. Functional Gram Sahayaks
   camps held
   (i) number
   (ii) functional leaders trained (Nos.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>37,619</th>
<th>28,088</th>
<th>16</th>
<th>10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1,138,100</td>
<td>928,000</td>
<td>473</td>
<td>338</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Women's Programme**

1. Mahila Samitis/mandals
   started (Nos.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>10,148</th>
<th>14,300</th>
<th>4.1</th>
<th>5.1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

2. Membership in (1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>214,900</th>
<th>253,360</th>
<th>87</th>
<th>92</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

3. Balwadis/Nurseries
   started (Nos.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>6,242</th>
<th>7,111</th>
<th>2.9</th>
<th>2.9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

4. Children attending in (3)
   (Nos.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>152,700</th>
<th>153,540</th>
<th>70</th>
<th>63</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

5. Women's camps held (Nos.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3,684</th>
<th>2,812</th>
<th>1.7</th>
<th>1.2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

6. Women participating in (5) (Nos.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>101,800</th>
<th>81,800</th>
<th>47</th>
<th>34</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Communications**

1. Kacha roads constructed (Miles)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>13,405</th>
<th>16,263</th>
<th>5.4</th>
<th>5.8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

2. Existing kacha roads improved (miles)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>26,499</th>
<th>27,297</th>
<th>10.7</th>
<th>9.9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

3. No. of culverts constructed (Nos.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>22,719</th>
<th>19,860</th>
<th>9.2</th>
<th>7.1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Village & Small Industries**

1. Ambar Charkhas introduced (Nos.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>28,822</th>
<th>23,245</th>
<th>13.2</th>
<th>9.6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

2. Brick kilns started (Nos.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>10,892</th>
<th>13,041</th>
<th>5.0</th>
<th>5.4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

3. Bricks manufactured (Lakh Nos.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>13,622</th>
<th>12,874</th>
<th>6.2</th>
<th>5.3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

4. Tiles manufactured (Lakh Nos.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2,022</th>
<th>4,769</th>
<th>0.9</th>
<th>2.0</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

5. Seriing machines distributed (Nos.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>6,107</th>
<th>7,202</th>
<th>2.5</th>
<th>2.6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

6. Tannery pits started (Nos.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3,235</th>
<th>2,676</th>
<th>1.4</th>
<th>1.1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

7. Improved ghanis introduced (Nos.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1,255</th>
<th>2,159</th>
<th>0.6</th>
<th>0.9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

8. Bee-hives introduced (Nos.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>22,844</th>
<th>15,442</th>
<th>10.1</th>
<th>6.4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

9. Value of improved tools & appliances distributed:
   (a) Blacksmithy (Rs.'000)
   (b) Carpentry (Rs.'000)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>446</th>
<th>443</th>
<th>0.20</th>
<th>0.18</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>325</th>
<th>374</th>
<th>0.15</th>
<th>0.16</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**General**

1. Block Development Committee meetings held

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>14,272</th>
<th>14,594</th>
<th>6.9</th>
<th>6.1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

## TABLE 5

PROGRESS OF PANCHAYATS--ALL-INDIA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>30/9/’57</th>
<th>31/3/’59</th>
<th>31/3/’60</th>
<th>31/3/’61</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Number of Panchayats</td>
<td>160,369</td>
<td>177,633</td>
<td>179,906</td>
<td>193,527</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Number of villages covered (1,000)</td>
<td>410</td>
<td>461</td>
<td>483</td>
<td>502</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Rural population covered (Lakhs)</td>
<td>1,973</td>
<td>2,168</td>
<td>2,569</td>
<td>2,701</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Percentage villages covered</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Percentages rural population covered</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Average number of villages per panchayat</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Average population per panchayat</td>
<td>1,299</td>
<td>1,342</td>
<td>1,428</td>
<td>1,396</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 6

NUMBER AND COVERAGE OF VILLAGE PANCHAYATS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Number of Panchayats</th>
<th>Number of villages covered</th>
<th>Rural population covered (lakh)*</th>
<th>Percentage of villages covered</th>
<th>Percentage of population covered</th>
<th>Average No. of villages per panchayat</th>
<th>Average population per panchayat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Andhra Pradesh</td>
<td>14,548</td>
<td>26,450</td>
<td>2,256</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>1.760</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Assam (Plans)</td>
<td>2,570</td>
<td>17,717</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>2,646</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Gujarat</td>
<td>10,750</td>
<td>17,760</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>1,070</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Jammu &amp; Kashmir</td>
<td>936</td>
<td>6,956</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>11,996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Kerala</td>
<td>982</td>
<td>1,202</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>1,163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>13,495</td>
<td>45,679</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>1,870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Madras</td>
<td>12,337</td>
<td>17,313</td>
<td>222</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>1,799</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Maharashtra</td>
<td>19,151</td>
<td>37,668</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>1,258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Mysore</td>
<td>7,444</td>
<td>25,880</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>2,002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Orissa</td>
<td>2,342</td>
<td>47,939</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>5,807</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Punjab</td>
<td>13,439</td>
<td>20,855</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1,790</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Rajasthan</td>
<td>7,394</td>
<td>34,441</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>1,772</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Uttar Pradesh</td>
<td>72,333</td>
<td>111,722</td>
<td>546</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>755</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. West Bengal</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>303</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>976</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Himachal Pradesh</td>
<td>518</td>
<td>11,393</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>2,124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All-India</td>
<td>193,527</td>
<td>502,337</td>
<td>2,701</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>1,396</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* According to 1951 Census. (1 lakh = 100,000).

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