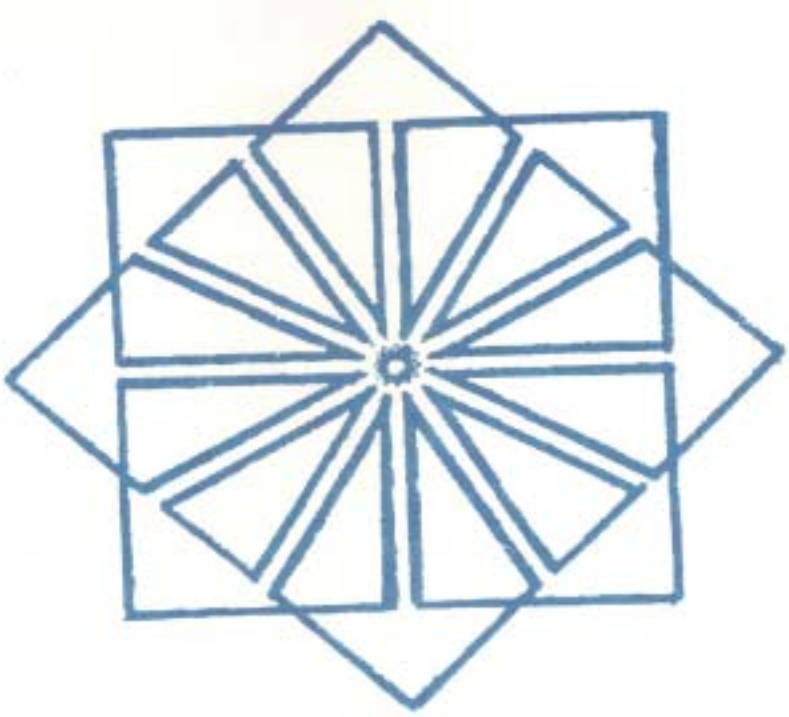
EMERGING TRENDS IN DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH

Volume 3 *No. 1 & 2* *January - July 1996*



ETDR PUBLICATIONS
MEERUT

EMERGING TRENDS IN DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH

EDITOR : VIRENDRA PAL SINGH

ASSOCIATE EDITOR : MANJU SINGH

EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD

BRIJ RAJ CHAUHAN
UDAIPUR

KERSTIN BOHM
STOCKHOLM

K. L. SHARMA
JAIPUR

HEINERICH BECK
BAMBERG

ARVIND CHAUHAN
BHOPAL

G. P. PANDEY
SILCHAR

JEFFERY HENDERSON
MANCHESTER

DHARAM GHAI
GENEVA

EDWARD J. JAY
OAKLAND

S. L. SHARMA
CHANDIGARH

SEEMA GAHLAUT
ATHENS (USA)

G. RAM
SILCHAR

@ Emerging Trends in Development Research

FORM 'B'

Editor's Name, Nationality and Address	:	**Dr. Virendra Pal Singh Indian Department of Sociology Assam University , Silchar (India) 788011**
Publisher's Name, Nationality and Address	:	**Dr. Virendra Pal Singh Indian Department of Sociology Assam University , Silchar (India) 788011**
Periodicity		**Half yearly**
Place of Publication and Address	:	**142, Budhana Gate Meerut Pin - 250002,**
Owner's Name, Nationality and Address		**Dr. Virendra Pal Singh Indian Department of Sociology Assam University , Silchar (India) 788011**
Laser typeset by		**ETDR Computers, National Highway , Silchar Saumya Computers Chauhan Market, Modipuram, Meerut**
Printed at		**Sakshi Offset Printers, 149, Subhash Nagar, Meerut**

EMERGING TRENDS IN DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH

Vol. 3 No. 1&2 Jan.- July 1996

CONTENTS

ARTICLES

Tradition and Modernity : Middle Class Life in Bhopal 1

EDWARD J. JAY

Contemporary Relevance of Dr. Ambedkar's Perspective for the Upliftment of Rural Poor 11

VIRENDRA PAL SINGH

Environmentalism and Sustainable Development 19

ARVIND SEHGAL

Dominance versus Sharing : An Alternative Model for Development 27

S. D. GORE

Traditional Tribal Leadership and Modern Polity : An Interface 37

G. RAM

Migration and Caste mobility in an Indian Village 53

H. P. SHRIVASTAVA

Book Reviews

Vandana Shiva and Maria Mies: Eco-Feminism
Vandana Shiva : Staying Alive 59

KAMINI TAYAL

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

GORE, S. D.	Reader, Department of Sociology Sri Parashurambhau College Pune,India
JAY, EDWARD J.	Professor of Anthropology California State University Hayward, U.S.A.
RAM, G.	Reader, Department of Sociology Assam University Silchar-788 011, India
SEHGAL, ARVIND	Department of Sociology Vallabh Govt. College Mandi- 175 001 (Himachal Pradesh) India
SHRIVASTAVA, H.P.	Department of Sociology L. B. S. Post-Graduate College Gonda (U. P.), India
SINGH, VIRENDRA PAL	Reader in Sociology Assam University Silchar-788 011 India
TAYAL KAMINI	Reader, Department of Sociology MCM DAV College for Women Sector-36, Chandigarh, India

Tradition and Modernity : Middle Class Life in Bhopal

EDWARD J. JAY

THE SETTING

The modern city of Bhopal, located about 400 miles south of Delhi, has an area of 285 square kilometers and a population of 671,018, according to the 1981 census figures (Census of India Town Directory : 89). The city is important not only as the capital of India's largest state, Madhaya Pradesh, but as a major industrial centre. Perhaps it is best known abroad as the site of the world's largest Industrial disaster, the Union Carbide gas explosion of December 2, 1984, in which some 3828 persons were killed outright,19000 were permanently disabled,and upto 150,000 others injured or seriously affected in various ways. But this event tragic as it was, is not the subject of this paper.

Before independence, Bhopal was not only a city, but a small central Indian state governed by a succession of Muslim rulers begining in the eighteenth century. Muslim rule was particularly noteworthy for its many female heads of state, known as *begums.* The city's early history is cloudy, but existing accounts assert that it was founded in the eleventh century, A.D. by Raja Bhoj (1010-1055), one of a line of Rajput kings who ruled the Malwa region of central India from about 800 to 1200 A.D. (Ali 1984 : 2). According to the old Bhopal State Gazetteer, prepared during the British period, the name Bhopal is "popularly derived from Bhojpal or Bhoja's dam, the great dam which now holds up the Bhopal city lakes, having been built, it is said, by a minister of Raja Bhoja....." (Bhopal State Gazetteer 1908 : 1). Bhopal's lakes, known as "upper" and "lower" , respectively, provide a central focus around which the city is built. They are said to modify its climate, which indeed is relatively pleasant, even during the hot season, April through June. Bhopal is also known for its beautiful parks, the range of green hills which overlooks it, and its quaint "old city", which continues to be largely Muslim in population and character. The Muslim population of Bhopal is at least a quarter of a million, and the city's 466 mosques are said to represent the largest number of Muslim places of worship in proportion to population of any city in the world. Some of these, such as the Taj-ul-Masjid are edifices of truely majestic proportions. Other architectural monuments, such as palaces and public buildings are also noteworthy. In 1982 an elaborate structure called Bharat Bhavan (India Hall) was completed overlooking the largest of the two lakes. It was designed as a centre for the arts,housing both permanent and changing exhibits of traditional and modern Indian painting and sculpture and providing a venue for concerts, lectures and seminars.

Like any large city, Bhopal is divided into many neighborhoods with distinctive characterstics.The focus of the study reported on here is a small neighborhood or *mohalla* called Shaktinagar in the Bharat Heavy Electricals (BHEL) area on the southeastern outskirts of the city. The BHEL plant, which now employs some 18,500 workers, was established as a public sector enterprise in 1961 by the government of India with the goal of producing much-needed heavy electrical equipments such as hydroelectric dynamos,high voltage transformers,generators,electric engines for rail transit, and so forth. Because of the scale of the enterprise, a large tract of land was set aside for a planned community surrounding the plant. This community is nearly a small town of its own, with housing,schools,medical facilities, markets, places of worship, parks, a sport complex, and recreational centres. In 1981 the population of the BHEL area was about 86,000 (Ali 1987 : 5-6).

Shaktinagar consists of a 68-acre parcel of land with 476 house plots, 438 of which were occupied by dwellings in the 1989-90 period. Plans for *mohalla* were drawn up by the BHEL Employees Co-Op Housing Society in the 1960's. Originally the land occupied by the entire BHEL complex was donated to the project by Madhaya Pradesh government. A proportion of this, in turn, was set aside by the BHEL administration for management and supervisory employee housing in Shaktinagar and Saketnagar. To construct their houses, future occupants first had to pay a "deposit" of Rs. 5,000-22,000, depending on the size of the plot. Later they were provided with low-interest loans of upto Rs. 80,000 to begin actual construction. The plots are of four sizes, 100' x 60', 80' x 50', 60' x 40' and 50' x 30'. The houses were built in various styles and sizes according to the status, and therefore the income, of the occupants. In some cases these are two-storey buildings, one storey occupied by the owner and another by tenants. Many of the houses are elaborate, and "modernistic", with large front porches or patios overlooking lawns and gardens. There is a great varietyof architectural styles and building plans. Generelly they have the living room in front and are not built in the traditional style of large Indian houses with courtyards in the middle. All have modern plumbing,bathrooms, and kitchens. Virtually all kitchens are equipped with gas stoves, refrigerators, blenders, toasters and other appliances. TV sets are universal and VCR's very common in these homes. Most houses have overhead fans and many have "coolers"of the water and fan variety. The homes of higher paid employees inevitably have an automobile parked in the driveway and sometimes one or more motor scooters as well. Lower-rankig technical and engineering staff (and some renters who may or may not be BHEL employees) occupy the smaller houses and rarely own cars.

Two additional features of the physical environment of Shaktinagar are notable : first, the Housing Society's plans for the *mohalla* include a shoping centre, two primary and one secondary school with attached playgrounds, a community hall and three large public gardens. As of May, 1990, work was in progress on the shopping centre, but the school and gardens were still in the planning stage. Secondly, a broad, 180' wide

road along the southern edge of the society has never been paved although the roadbed has been laid out and cleared. Ironically, this broad roadbed currently is occupied by squatters who have come to the area seeking employment. The make-shift dwellings which they occupy constitute a kind of shanty town contrasting sharply with the affluent housing which it faces directly. During the period of the research a group of homeowners began a petition drive to evict or at least restrict these squatter colonies (locally called *jhugees*) to certain limited portions of the road area. The situation is made even more ironic by the fact that most of the squatters provide menial labor to the homeowners in the form of housekeeping, washing and ironing, gardening and construction.

OBJECTIVES AND RESEARCH DESIGN

Originally my goal was to study an urban immigrant population in the city of Raipur as a continuation of my long-range research in village, town and urban communities of Chhattisgarh, a cultural region in southern Madhya Pradesh, some 80 miles southeast of Bhopal, However, when access to that region was denied by the government of India, I revised my plans and decided to study traditional and modern norms and behavior patterns among middle class families in Bhopal, which is not viewed as a "sensitive" area by the government. Accordingly, supported by a Senior Research Fellowship from the American Institute of Indian Studies, I conducted fieldwork from August, 1989 through May, 1990 in Shaktinagar. The able assistance of three graduate students from the Department of Sociology, Barkatullah University, Bhopal, was Obtained and together we formulated a "basic data" interview schedule with 23 questions. I also designed a "follow- up" in-depth interview schedule with 7 major categories and a number of questions within each category. A total of 325 basic data household interviews were conducted, almost all by the students, and I completed 66 follow-up household interviews on my own with some assistance from the students. In addition, I resided in the household of a senior manager's family in Shaktinagar, obtained a guest membership in the "Senior Officers' club," and used participant-observation techniques to complement and enhance the interview data.

The basic data interviews revealed an extremely diverse, well educated community. There are 273 Hindu, 16 Jain, 15 Muslim, 14 Sikh and 7 Christian households in the sample. Among Hindus, the castes (*jatis*) are numerous and diverse; when grouped together under their *varnas* (four-fold division of Hindu society), there are 109 Brahman households, 72 Kshatriya, 66 Vaishya, 7 Shudra (20 of unknown or uncertain *varna* due to omissions in the data collection). Moreover, the inhabitants are also ethnically diverse, coming from virtullay every region in northern India and several in the south. The total number of persons is 1506 or an average of 4.6 per households. The inhabitants of 234 of the households,or about 72% live in nuclear families; the other 91 households, or 28% consist of extended or enhanced families. The space limitations of this short paper do not permit me to present much of the household data, but the following statistics are worthy of note: an average of 3 out of the 4.6 household

members either hold an advanced degree (above matriculation) or are studying for one. In other words, it appears that about 3 out of 4 adults hold or are working for a higher degree. The most noteworthy exception to this is wives of some of the lower-level employees in a workman or supervisory rather than a managerial position. BHEL has its own elementary and high schools, but some residents send their chidren to private schools outside the BHEL area. Of significance is the fact that of 906 offsprings produced in the 325 households in the sample, 687 or 76% go or went to English medium schools, while only 63 or 9.7% of the parents of these offspring attended English-medium schools. This is an interesting example of educational improvement and upward mobility among these middle class families.

Most of the BHEL employees in the sample are engineers, though some are physicians, technicians, accountants, and administrators. All employees are grouped into three basic salary grades by employment position: workmen, supervisors and executives. These in turn are divided into a total of 28 ranks, with salaries ranging from Rs.800 per month all the way upto Rs. 5,000 per month.(During the 1989 - 90 period there were about 18 rupees to the dollar). In Shaktinagar, nearly all the heads of households in the houses occupying the 37 largest plots were in the executive ranks, although a few were physicians, who have a different but also very lucrative salary scale. In addition to the basic salary, employees receive a "dearness allowance" linked to the cost of living index as revised quarterly. This may be anywhere from Rs.200 to 1107, depending on the basic salary. there are additional perks, such as paid leaves with a transport allowance, low-cost loans, medical benefits, etc. Although complete agreement on the definition of social class has not been achieved among social scientists, it would seem that both by income and life style my infornants in this community clearly may be perceived as "middle class".

A major goal of the research was to determine the extent to which these middle class families adhered to "traditional" lifestyles and to what extent their lifestyles had been "modernized". Without getting involved in an elaborate discussion of what constitutes "tradition" vs. "modernity" in the contemporary Indian context, for the purpose of this paper let it suffice to think of traditional norms and behavior in terms of those patterns prescribed in religious scriptures, those revealed in the ethnographic literature of the last 40 years, particularly for rural areas, and those understood from my own observations in previous research in village and town, begining in 1967 - 68. Admittedly, this approach is subjective, but I think most Indians as well as students of Indian society and culture would agree with the general picture if not all the details. The term "modern" is widely used in India to refer to a set of values which is more permissive, liberal and democratic than that which is rooted in traditional Indian life. A typical example would be tolerance for inter-caste marriage. Another might be acceptance of "love" marriage rather than arranged marriage. Attitudes towards religion, caste customs, women's roles, kinship relations and many other aspects of Indian life appear to be changing, i.e., modrnizing. Although difficult to quantify, it appears that modernization is progressing more rapidly among urban, middle class Indian than among other segments

of the population. Let us see what my data show.

In the 66 in-depth follow-up interwiews which were conducted, I probed for information on leisure activities, persistence and importance of kinship ties, family organization and division of labor, attitudes toward health, medicine, industrialization and science, adherence to traditional religious beliefs and participation in religious activities. These interviews were as open-ended as possible, but I always tried to focus on subjects which would provide information on the above topics. Most Interviews lasted about an hour and most were conducted with male head of household,though often with other family members present.

MAJOR FINDINGS

1.Kinship and Marriage

It is obvious that most families have liberalized their attitudes and practices relative to marriage. Althogh parents remain responsible for finding potential spouses for their children and for making the wedding arrangements, young people enjoy more freedom in expressing their approval or disapproval of life partners. No longer do potential mates wait until tje wedding to see each other. At the very least they meet each other before marriage, and this practice now is so common that it is regarded customary. Most male informants said they would not object to their children choosing their own mates, but often qualified this by adding that they would want to check on the background and families of the bride or groom to be. Older women in these families are less tolerant of so-called love marriages. Althogh nearly all male informants maintain that marriage into the same "community" is preferred and upper caste informants rigidly draw the line on marriage to low caste or untouchable people. But generally speaking most people are more concerned about social class considerations, such as occupation, wealth and education than about traditional caste and kinship criteria.

I have already noted that about 28% of the households in the total sample of 375 consist of extended or enhanced families. Most commonly one finds a household head's elderly parent or parents living in the home, but siblings living elsewhere. However, there are cases of two or three brothers and their wives, children and elderly parents occupying a household in a traditional joint family manner. But whether or not there is residential unity, virtually everyone maintains close ties with lineal and various types of collateral relatives, wherever they may be. Many BHEL families come from rural and small town communities elsewhere in India where they have an ancestral home. If their parents or relatives continue to live there, frequent visits are made and many people plan to retire there. During a daughter or daughter-in-law's pregnancy and childbirth, the woman's mother or mother-in-law frequently comes to help with the housework, and sometimes remains for several months thereafter.Many additional examples could be cited to demonstrate the continued importance of traditional kinship ties.

2. Household Routines and the Division of Labor

Most of the households remain traditional in the sense that the male head goes off to work and his spouse stays at home to do house work, prepare food and raise children. However,there are also many households in which a son and his wife both work and the grand-parents take care of the children. Virtually all of the well to do households, and many with quite modest income hire housekeepers and gardeners. Women from the *juggis* are hired to clean house, do dishes and help with the laundry, as a minimum. They also accompany the women of the house on shopping trips to help carry groceries or other purchases. In nearby markets frequently one also sees spouses shopping together, particularly if major purchases have to be made. The family car is often used for such shopping excursions.

3. Caste Behavior

Among these middle class families, traditional restrictions on interdining are largely ignored. Social gatherings at public functions such as wedding or parties at the "club" include people from many castes and all religions. A private homes as well, the guest list is likely to be very diverse, organized in terms of one's workmates, neighbors, acquaintances, etc. In strictly vegetarian households where meat is never prepared ,only vegetarian dishes are offered to guests but this is no deterrent to participation by non-vegetarians. And vegetarians seem to have no compunctions about eating vegetarian dishes in non-vegetarian homes , even though they know that meat has been cooked in those kitchens. There are even households in which women cook meat for their husbands and children, though they remain steadfastly vegetarian themselves.

Caste identity comes into play in relation to marriage, as mentioned above and also in relation to certain social and political observances. In the BHEL community there are a number of regional and /or caste organisations , or samaj , which bring together people of the same community in an attempt to maintain selected aspects of their culture, such as performances of folk music, folk dramas , mythological recitations and the like. In some instances apparently such organizations also serve as mutual help groups and try to advance the interests of the group with reference to social and political issues. The traditional complex caste hierarchy and its structured integration so characteristics of village life is absent in this urban setting ,but all vestiges of caste identity have not been eliminated.

4. Occupation , education and the position of women

As we have seen ,most of the male occupations involve engineering and technical fields of various kinds .Accordingly ,most of the senior males in the sample have university or other higher education degrees ,such as engineering certificates from technical institutes .Most have a good command of English as well as one or more Indian languages ,since

English is required for most of the supervisory and managerial positions at BHEL . Virtually all offspring of college age are indeed attending a college or university ,including the females. One finding that suprised me is that many of the young women are going into engineering fields. I learned that one reason for this is the BHEL policy of hiring automatically , in positions for which they are qualified ,the male and female children of BHEL employees . Other fields popular with the younger generation are medicine and law. Clearly, as the next generation matures fewer women will remain housewives exclusively. It is likely that ,just as in Europe and the U.S. , both spouses will work and increasingly ,given the abundance of available cheap labour, household help will be hired to deal with the menial chores at home.

5. Religion

Religion appears to remain the most traditional sphere of activity for these middle class people. Although purity-pollution considerations relative to caste interaction are greatly relaxed ,in other ways religious beliefs and practices remain strong and traditional .Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Christians continue to perform their respective household rituals (or prayers) and life-cycle rites, observe religious holidays, visit places of worship, go on pilgrimage and generally participate fully in religious activities. Moreover, though a few informants expressed some mild skepticism about metaphysical concepts, most seemed to accept the core of beliefs associated with their religion. During my stay a very popular production of the Ramayana was serialized, presented on television for an hour every Sunday at 9 A.M. Although watched for its entertainment value by people of all religions, Hindus were a particularly devout, consistent audience. Only the medium , not the message, seems to have been modernized.

6. Recreation and entertainment

Because BHEL is such a self contained community, most of the people of Shaktinagar are able to stay within the area for most kinds of recreation and entertainment. Those who qualify may go to the Senior Officers' Club where they attend various functions such as a big musical cum drama production (complete with a lotto" game, refreshments, etc.) in the club's ampitheatre at Divali time ,weekly movies, and various occasional events .During the hot season the Club's swimming pool is open with certain hours reserved for ladies, others for men, and still others for children. In the fall the tennis season begins ,and a relatively small but devoted group of male tennis players participates in double on the club's three clay courts every evening after work and on Sunday mornings from 6 to 9 A.M. The club also offers billiards, cards and a reading room. Other classes of workers at the plant have their own clubs, but they are smaller and less pretentious.

There is a sports arena in the BHEL area where young people participate in all kinds of activities, including soccer, field hockey, track and field events, etc.

Some of the wives of senior managers in Shaktinagar participate in a"kitty club". This group meets once a month and contributes a sum of money to the " Kitty." A drawing is held and the winner takes the money in the Kitty but is also obligated to host the next meeting. This means providing the place and tea or coffee and refreshments. The main activities are card playing, discussions on issues of the day and of course gossiping. The refreshments typically are an interesting combination of Indian foods (Such as *samosas* and *pakoras*) and western food such as sandwiches and pastries. In my host's residence the woman of the house prided herself on her chocolate cake. Some of these women also meet weekly in one another's homes for cards and chatting. In a more traditional vein, some women also meet every Thursday for the singing of *bhajans*.

One interesting and somewhat surprising observation about recreation and entertainment is that very few people from Shaktinagar go into Bhopal proper for movies, concerts, or cultural events at Bharat Bhavan. A few families do go in for dinner at several restaurants where Indian, Western or Chinese food is served. Aside from this the only reason to go downtown or into the old city is shopping. Certain Bhopal markets are noted for one type of merchandise or other, so shopping trips often take people outside of the BHEL complex in ways which no other activities do.

Finally the most universal form of entertainment in the colony these days seems to be television. Though limited to just three channels at the time of the study, TV carried a variety of programming with wide appeal. And many people have VCR's, so that renting movies has become a major alternative to going out to the cinema.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Patterns of sociocultural change in contemporary Indian society may be observed at two levels : those on the surface, such as the relaxation of rules regarding arranged marriages, and those deeper ,infrastructural features, such as industrialization and the modernization of production. These deeper aspects of change have resulted in a shift from rural sources of wealth, i.e. landlordism, to urban sources of wealth, i.e. professional and technical pursuits as well as business and commerce. At the same time, certain persistent features of traditional life, such as advantages accorded higher castes, influence access to the new urban roles and lifestyles. The most substantial changes seem to be in areas such as consumer technology (TV, automobiles, refrigerators) and entertainment /recreation. These contrast with religious belief and behaviour and the general importance of kinship, which seem to have changed only superficially if at all.

On the other hand, among the middle class families of this study at least, women are attaining access to education and therefore non-traditional occupations, including the professions, in a way which was unthinkable a generation ago. We have also observed that there is a great relaxation of rules governing intercaste behaviour, and indeed caste in the traditional sense has lost much of its meaning here. Still, there is a persistent objection to intercaste marriage. Such a combination of modern and traditional attitudes with regard to the same institution appears to be the predominant feature of middle class values that I have observed.

NOTES

This is a slightly expanded version of a paper by the same name presented at the annual meeting of the South-western Anthropological Association in San Diego, California on April 23, 1993. The research for this report was undertaken on a 1989-1990 Senior Research Fellowship of the American Institute for Indian Studies, for which the author is very grateful. Thanks are due many other institutions and individuals too numerous to mention in detail here. But particular gratitude is due Professor I.S. Chauhan, Chair of the Department of Sociology, Barkutallah University, Bhopal, the faculty of the Department of Sociology and especially Dr. Arvind Chauhan and Dr. Virendra Pal Singh, graduate students Ruchi Ghosh Dastidar, Shikha Chauhan and Kumaresh S. Kashyap, who served as my very able research assistants in the field, my hosts in Bhopal ,Harjinder and Panna Singh Sokey, and last but not least my very close lifetime Indian friend, the late Hindi writer G.K.Shaani. Without the help and kindness of these and other people the project could not have been completed.

REFERENCES

Ali, Syed Ashfag 1984 : Bhopal -Past and present. Bhopal : Jai Bharat publishing house.

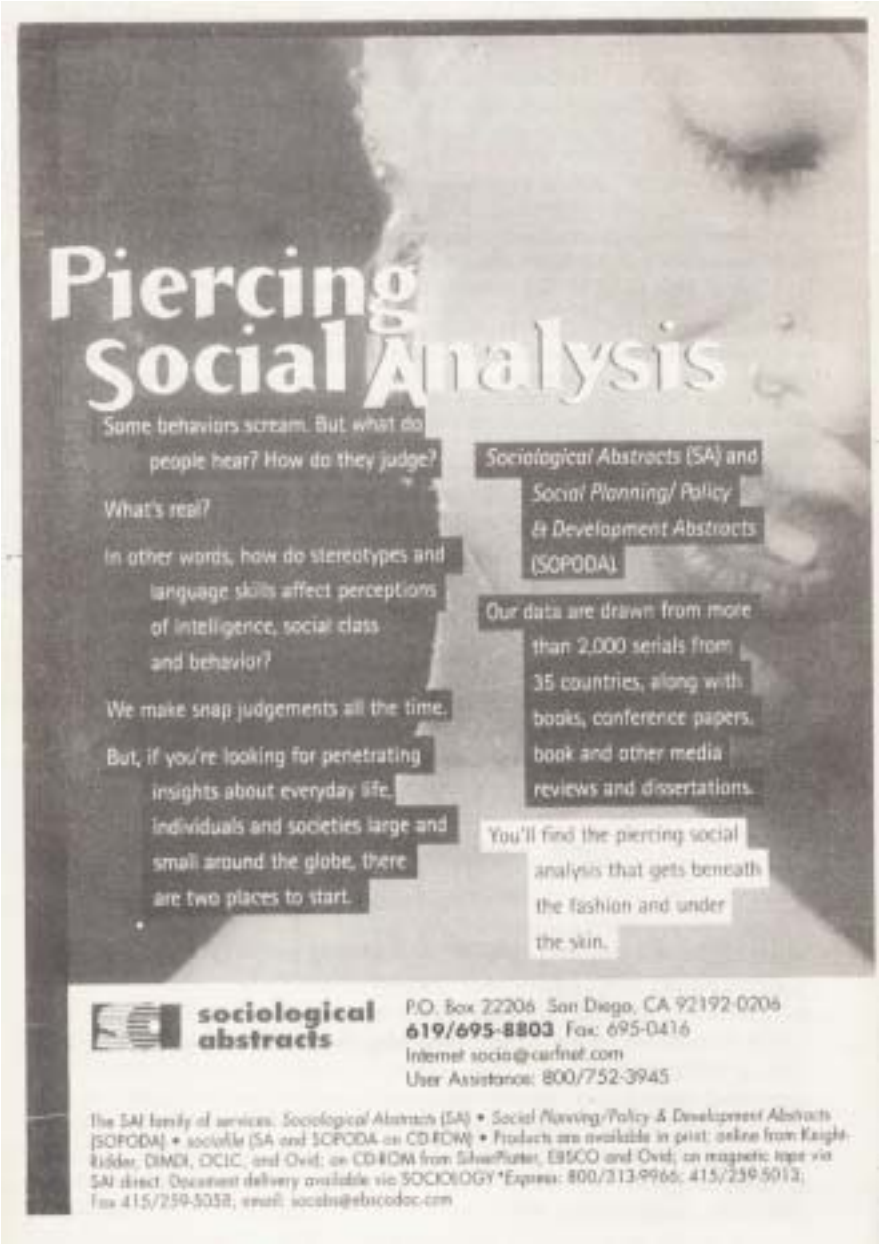
1987 : A Guide to Bhopal. Bhopal : Jai Bharat publishing house.

Bhopal State Gazetteer

1908 : Calcutta : Superintendent Government Printing, India.[Compiled by Captain C.E.Luard]

Census of India 1981

1981 Town Directory. New Delhi :Registrar General.


Piercing Social Analysis
Some behaviors scream. But what do people hear? How do they judge?
What's real?
In other words, how do stereotypes and language skills affect perceptions of intelligence, social class and behavior?
We make snap judgements all the time.
But, if you're looking for penetrating insights about everyday life, individuals and societies large and small around the globe, there are two places to start.
Sociological Abstracts (SA) and Social Planning/ Policy & Development Abstracts (SOPODA).
Our data are drawn from more than 2,000 serials from 35 countries, along with books, conference papers, book and other media reviews and dissertations.
You'll find the piercing social analysis that gets beneath the fashion and under the skin.
sociological abstracts
P.O. Box 22206 San Diego, CA 92192-0206
619/695-8803 Fax: 695-0416
Internet socio@cerfnet.com
User Assistance: 800/752-3945
The SAI family of services. Sociological Abstracts (SA) • Social Planning/Policy & Development Abstracts (SOPODA) • socialfile (SA and SOPODA on CD-ROM) • Products are available in print; online from Knight-Ridder, DIMDI, OCLC, and Ovid; on CD-ROM from SilverPlatter, EBSCO and Ovid; on magnetic tape via SAI direct. Document delivery available via SOCIOLOGY *Express: 800/313-9966; 415/259-5013; Fax 415/259-5058; email: socabs@ebscodoc.com

Contemporary Relevance of Dr. Ambedkar's Perspective for the Upliftment of the Rural Poor

VIRENDRA PAL SINGH

The present paper is aimed to analyse the contemporary relevance of Dr. B.R. Ambedkar's perspective for the upliftment of rural poor in Indian society. The paper is divided into three parts. The first part delineates Dr. Ambedkar's views on caste system. In second part, Dr. Ambedkar's views on economic Reforms are discussed. Finally, contemporary relevance of Dr. Ambedkar's perspective for the development of rural poor are discussed.

DR. AMBEDKAR'S VIEWS ON CASTE SYSTEM

Dr. Ambedkar was very critical of Hindu caste system and he advocated for the abolition of caste and sub-caste from the Indian society as it had been solely responsible for the under-development of a large section of the population in India and is the root cause of the problems like untouchability and poverty (Ambedkar, 1946; 1948). He expressed his views on caste and caste system in a number of his writings and speeches. But one of his best works on caste systems is considered his speech which was originally prepared for the 1936 conference of *Jat-Pat Todak Mandal* of Lahore, but not delivered owing to the cancellation of the conference by the Reception Committee on the ground that the views expressed in the speech would be unbearable to the conference (Chanchreek & Prasad, 1991 : 23). Later on this speech was published in a book form for wide circulation.

In this work Ambedkar criticised the defenders of caste who defended it on the ground that the caste system is but another name for division of labour and if division of labour is a necessary feature of every civilised society then it is argued that there is nothing wrong in the caste system. In Ambedkar's views, caste system is not merely division of labour but it is also a *division of labourers.* It is not merely unnatural division of labourers into water tight compartments which is quite different from other forms of division of labour, it is an hierarchy in which the labourers are graded one above the other. Moreover, this division of labour is not spontaneous, it is not based on natural aptitudes. As a form of division of labour the caste system suffers from another serious defect. The division of labour brought about by the caste system is not a division of labour based on choice. Individual sentiments and individual preference have no place in it. It is based on the dogma of predestination.

Thus, as an economic organisation caste is a harmful institution, in as much as it involves the subordination of man's natural powers and inclinations to the exigencies of social rules (Ambedkar, 1991 : 36).

He also examined biological trench given in the defence of the caste system. It is said that the object of caste was to preserve purity of race and purity of blood. In his view, the caste system cannot be said to have given as a means of preventing the admixture of races or as a means of maintaining purity of blood. In fact, caste system does not demarcate racial division. Caste system is a social division of people of the same race. He also refuted the argument that the caste system was in accord with the basic principle of eugenics. To argue, the caste system was eugenic in its conception is to attribute to the forefathers of present day Hindus a knowledge of heredity which even the modern scientists do not possess. Thus, it is a social system which embodies the arrogance and selfishness of a perverse section of the Hindus who were superior enough in social status to set it in fashion and who had authority to force it on their inferiors (Ambedkar 1991 : 38-39).

In his view, "Caste does not result in economic efficiency. Caste can not and has not improved the race. Caste has, however, done one thing. It has completely disorganised and demoralised the Hindus"(Ambedkar 1991 : 39). In fact, the concept of Hindu society is a myth. Hindu society as such does not exist. It is only a collection of castes. There is an utter lack among the Hindus of what is called "consciousness of kind". There is no Hindu consciousness of kind. In every Hindu the consciousness that exist is the consciousness of his castes, that is the reason why Hindus can not be said to form a society or a nation. To form a society it is necessary for a man to share and participate in a common activity so that the same emotions are aroused in him that animate the other. Making the individual a share or partner in the associated activity so that he feels its success as his success, its failure as his failure is the real thing that binds men and makes a society of them. But on the contrary, the caste system prevents common activity and by preventing common activity it has prevented the Hindus from becoming a society with a unified life and a consciousness of its own being (Ambedkar 1991 : 40)

In his view, the economic disabilities of the untouchables were originated from the laws of *Manu Smriti* which restricted equality of opportunity for a large section of Indian society and transformed the Indian social system into a closed system in which mobility in social, economic and political spheres was highly restricted. Therefore, the first and foremost idea that came to Ambedkar's mind was the abolition of caste. He examined the suggestions already forwarded by others and refuted the idea of abolition of sub-castes for abolishing castes because instead of abolishing castes it may turn castes into more powerful and mischievous (Ambedkar 1944 : 96). He also refuted the strategy of allowing inter-dining for abolition of castes because, according to him, "there are many castes which allow inter-dining. But it is a common experience that inter-dining has not succeeded in killing the spirit of castes and the consciousness of Castes" (Ambedkar 1944 : 57). But he strongly advocated the idea of inter-marriage to abolish castes. In his view, the real

remedy for the breaking of the caste is inter-marriage. Inter-dining could only supplement it. But it was very difficult to attain this goal because inter-dining and inter-marriage are repugnant to the belief and dogmas which the Hindus regard sacred.Therefore, the real problem lies in the religion rather than in the caste.

Thus, in Ambedkar's view the caste system and religious sanctions of the Hinduism are mainly responsible for the evil of untouchability. In order to eradicate it, mere abolition of sub-castes is not sufficient, even inter-dining may not resolve this problem.The only solution of this problem is inter-caste marriages. But he was also aware that religious ideology supports caste system. Therefore, he rejected shastras (religious books) which gave sanction to the evil of caste and untouchability and suggested that these must be destroyed.

Ambedkar was very much aware about the fact that since the high caste Hindus had nothing to gain but much to loose by the abolition of caste and untouchability, his reforms related to caste system would not be supported by these section of the society. Therefore, after very careful consideration he adopted an alternative strategy for the upliftment of the poor section of the society. He said that "the depressed classes think that the surest way to their elevation lies in higher employment and better ways of earning a living. Once they become well placed in the scheme of social life, they would become respectable, the religious outlook of the orthodox is sure to undergo change and if this did not happen it could do no injury to their material interests" (Ambedkar 1945 : 110). He suggested a threefold scheme of reforms at social, economic and political levels.

At the social levels, he considered *education, organisation* and *agitation* as three main tools for the social upliftment of the depressed classes and used these words as a slogan of his movement.

The importance of education was very much reliased by Ambedkar. He was aware about the fact that the education may only serve as a means of achieving social justice if it is applied to the lower strata of the Indian society. It would raise their spirit of rebellion. And once their eyes were opened they would be ready to fight the caste system. Therefore, he emphasised on education at a large scale in favour of the depressed classes.

Apart from his emphasis on education, he equally stressed upon the organisation of these classes to agitate against the social evils of caste system and untouchability.

Thus, Ambedkar was very clear in his perspective on caste system and his emphasis on spread of education among the depressed classes was aimed to bring social change at the ideological level. In other words, his strategy was of modernising the society through modern education.

AMBEDKAR'S VIEWS ON ECONOMIC REFORMS

Ambedkar's scheme of economic reforms includes his ideas on small land holdings, rural industrialization and his conception of state socialism. In his view, the loss of economic power created a situation of helplessness for these castes against the twice-born castes of Hindu social system and their exploitation at every level pushed them back to the status of downtrodden class. Therefore, the gain of economic power is essential condition for the progress of the under-privileged classes of the society (Ambedkar 1946 : 45-51). He visualised better prospects for untouchables when they become economically better off with adequate political power in their hands.

Ambedkar considered farming as the most important industry of India. He had written a paper entitled " Small Holdings In India and their Remadies" (Ambedkar 1998). In this paper, he examined the problem of small land holdings in India and their remedies. The major problem in this regard was that out of the vastness of land under tillage, so little land was cultivated in proportion to India's population. Thus, a large part of agricultural population was idle, superfluous and exerted a great pressure on land. This pressure was the chief cause of the sub-division of land resulting in small holding and the accruing inefficiency of Indian agriculture. Another factor responsible for this feature was the laws of inheritance amongst the Hindus and Muslims.

He emphasized on the need of industrialization of India and he considered it as a universal remedy for the economic ill of the depressed classes. In his own words, "If we succeed in spurging off the idle labour in non-agricultural channels of production, we will at one stroke lessen the pressure and destroy the premium that at present weighs heavily on land in India. Besides, this labour when productively employed will cease to live by predation as it does today, and not only earn its keep but will give us surplus and more surplus is more capital. In short, strange though it may seem, industrilization of India is the soundest remedy for the agricultural problems of India and also, it is evident of the untouchable landless labourers" (Ambedker 1918 : 19). His argument for the industrialisation of India was perhaps influenced by convergence theory of development which claims that "the process of Industrialization produces common and uniform political, social and cultural characteristics in societies which prior to industrialization, may have different historical backgrounds and social structures" (Nicholas et el. 1984 : 53).

Ambedkar advocated for the ideal of state socialism in order to achieve the goal of industrialization. His firm belief was that only state socialism rather than private enterprise could ensure rapid industrialization of India. He was not very hopeful about the results of tenancy legislation or consolidation of holdings because most of the untouchables were landless labourers. Therefore, the land reforms would be more beneficial for the upper and middle order of castes while depressed classes would remain downtrodden. He had drawn a complete plan of the type of state socialism he desired for India and incorporated it in the memorandum, he submitted to the Constituent Assembly in 1947

(Ambedkar 1947 : 14-16). Some of the salient features of this plan were as follows: (i) that both key industries and basic industries shall be owned and run by the state or by corporations established by the state; (ii) that the agriculture shall be a state industry, (iii) that state insurance shall be a monopoly of the state and the state shall compel every adult citizen to take out a life insurance policy commensurate with his wages as may be prescribed by the legislature, (iv) that state shall acquire the subsisting rights in such industries, insurance and agricultural land held by private individuals, whether as owners, tenants and mortgages and pay them compensation in the form of debentures equal to the value of his or her right in the land (v) agricultural industry shall be organised on the following line in Ambedkar's scheme: (a) The state shall divide the land acquired into forms of standard size and let out farms for cultivation to the residents of the village as tenants to cultivate on certain conditions such as - (i) the farm shall be cultivated as a collection farm; (ii) the farm shall be cultivated in accordance with rules and directions issued by Government, (iii) the tenants shall share among themselves in the manner prescribed the produce of the farm left after the payment of charges properly leviable on the farm; (b) The land shall be let out to villagers without distinction of caste or creed and in such manner that there will be no landlord, no tenant and landless labourer; (c) It shall be the obligation of the state to finance the cultivation of the collective farms by the supply of water, draft animals, implements, manure, seeds etc. (d) The state shall be entitled to levy the following charges on the produce of the farm; (i) a portion for land revenue; (ii) a portion to pay the debenture-holders; (iii) a portion to pay for the use of capital goods supplied; and (iv) to prescribe penalties against tenants who break the conditions of tenancy or willfully neglect to make the best use of the means of cultivation offered by the state or otherwise act prejudicially to the scheme of collective farming.

CONTEMPORARY RELEVANCE OF DR. AMBEDKAR'S PERSPECTIVE

Dr. Ambedkar's perspective has a great relevance for the upliftment of poor sections in contemporary Indian society. In the foregoing sections, it has been delineated that Ambedkar had foreseen that the caste system is not only the root cause of social evils like untouchability, but it also restricts mobility in other spheres of life. Therefore, for the upliftment of the poor classes, education shall play the role of modernizing agent. by means of organization and agitation they have to generate class-consciousness among them. Because the new social order will be based on class system.

At the economic level, he emphasized on rapid industrialization of Indian society which has it own bearings on the traditional social structure. As a result of industrialization, the caste forces may be weaken in Indian society and it may provide a passage for the class based society, an open social system in which mobility at individual level would be possible through personal attainments rather than ascriptive criteria. Ambedkar was also aware about the evils of capitalism. Therefore, he suggested that the key and basic

industries and agricultural farming on acquired land should be under control of the state because in private sectors, the upper castes will again exploit the depressed classes.

His perspective on these issues is in coherence with the recent developments in the sociological theory of development. The development theories of nineteenth century and early twentieth century relied more on convergence theory which was based on the experiences of development process in the Europe and other Western societies where rapid industrialization was accompanied by smooth transformation of the traditional social structure into dynamic modern social structure. But the experience of the present day 'Third World' countries compelled the development theorists to modify their view point. In developing societies, traditional social structure is proved to be very powerful as it has a very close association with religion. It creates hindrances in the process of social change at ideological level. Therefore, modernization of traditional values and belief system seems to be a pre-requisite of the process of social change in these societies. Moreover, the process of industrialization is also very slow in want of financial resources and modern technology. Therefore, the impact of industrialization is very limited i.e., only upto the urban centres where caste ties have been weaken to some extent. These theoretical elements were already present in Ambedkar's thoughts. Unfortunately, our strategy of development after independence has been a victim of adhocism (Maithani and Singh 1987; Singh 1985). We have not made any serious attempt to modernise our rural population, particularly the weaker section through massive programme of education which could have been the first and foremost task after independence (Singh : 19994). Even after about five decades our half of the population is illiterate. Naturally, most of the illiterate persons would be from the depressed classes. Without rational and scientific education the cultural backwardness and vicious circles of caste system cannot be broken down. Moreover, our rural development plans hardly made any serious effort for rapid industrialization particularly the development of agro-based industries in the rural areas. The industrial development in India has been confined merely to urban centres and has a very neglegible impact on the rural society. The programmes like Integrated Rural Development Programme and Jawahar Rojgar Yojna not only fell through to eradicate the poverty from rural areas but also led towards corruption and cynicism (Singh 1994 : 14).

The new economic policy which over emphasizes on the processes of Globalization, Liberalisation and Privatisation, is not at all in coherence with the perspective of Dr. Ambedkar who laid emphasis on state intervention both in agricultural and industrial sectors of Indian society. The fruits of the capitalist development in near future will have to be extracted by big industrialists in collaboration with the multi-national companies of the developed world. The depressed classes both in rural and urban areas have to face very serious problems in near future in the form of poverty, and unemployment. It suggests that there is a need to reformulate the development policy in the light of the perspective of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar and other modern thinkers.

REFERENCES

Ambedkar, B.R. 1918 : "Small Holdings in India and Their Remedies". *Journal of Indian Economic Society.*

1945 : *What the Congress and Gandhi have done to the Untouchables,* Bombay : Thacker & Co. Ltd.

1964 : *Mr. Gandhi and Emancipation of the Untouchables,* Bombay : Thacker & Co. Ltd.

1947 : *State and Minorities : What are their rights and How to secure them in Constitution of Free India,* Bombay : Thacker & Co. Ltd.

1948 : *The Untouchables : Who were They and Why they became Untouchables,* New Delhi : Amrit Book Co.

1991 : Annihilation of Caste, In K.L. Chanchreek and S. Prashad (ed.) *Dr. B.R. Ambedkar,* New Delhi : Shree Publishing House, Originally Published in 1944.

Chanchrek, K.L. 1991 and Saroj Prashad (eds) : *Dr. B.R. Ambedkar,* New Delhi, Shree Publishing House.

Nicholas et al. 1984 : *The Penguin Dictionary of Sociology.* Harmondsworth : Penguin Books.

Maithani, B.P. 1987 and V.P. Singh : Planning and Implementation of NREP in Arunachal Pradesh, *Journal of Rural Development,* Vol. 6, No. 4, pp. 366-385.

Singh, V.P. 1994 : "Dr. Ambedkar's Thoughts And Strategy of Rural Development in India", *Emerging Trends in Development Research,* Vol. 1, No. 1& 2, pp.1–16.

1995 : "Planning and Implementation of NREP in Assam", in R.G. Singh And R.D. Gadkar (eds), *Social Development and Justice in India,* New Delhi : Radiant Publishers, pp. 152–168.

LLBa

Linguistics and Language Behavior Abstracts

P.O. Box 22206 San Diego, CA 92192-0206
619/695-8803 Fax: 695-0416
Internet socio@cerfnet.com

LLBA is available in print; online from KnightRidder; on CD-ROM from SilverPlatter and NISC; on magnetic tape from LLBA direct.

Environmentalism, Sustainable Development and Cement Plants in Himachal Pradesh

ARVIND SEHGAL

There has been a widespread and systematic concern for environmental issues all over the world particularly after 1960s. This is essentially because it is now well established that damage to environmental systems has assumed massive proportions and effects are manifesting themselves. Internationally efforts are on to find ways and means to manage and protect environment. All of a sudden the phrase.“ Environmentalism” has finally become pervasive and dominant discourse and emerged as a major area of concern world-wide.

Environment may be defined as the aggregate of all the external conditions and influences affecting the life and development of an organism. Our environment consists of four major elements Land, Water, Air and the living organisms such as plants and animals, Land, Water, air form the physical environment while plants and animals form the biological environment.

Both physical and biological environment assets provide three main types of essential services to humanity. First, the environment is a basic source of raw materials and inputs that support economic activities. Second, the environment is the sink which absorbs and recycles the wastes products of human society. Finally, the environment provides essential life support functions without which many living organism would cease to exist. But unfortunately of the two important functions of environment viz. Productive and Protective, the former has often been excessively emphasised. However the most crucial of its role in providing long term ecological security including conservation of our life support systems has often been ignored. This has resulted into the disturbance of environmental equilibrium and caused number of environmental problems such as degradation of agricultural land, air pollution, water pollution and threat to flora and fauna and biological diversity. When environmental harmony is destroyed in this way for short gains, nature revels leading large scale damage to ecology and society.

Unless large scale damage is inflicted on the environment, it too has a capacity to heal itself. It is possible to inflict damage upon the environment such that regeneration is no longer possible. This leads to either a local or global environmental change depending upon the extent of damage. All life on earth is interdependent and man is only a strand in the delicate web of relationships. Any disturbance creates a chain reaction which may not be visible for some time. If man and various forms of life do not find ways and means to live together ultimately there will be no life on earth. Thus, if any link in the interrelations between the elements which constitute the environment is damaged in such a way that nature is not able to renew itself continuously then this results in environmental crisis.

As soon as people rise above their survival to the fittest level, they will become environmentally more conscious and will be devoting resources too to save the environment. In addition, development is also expected to bring along technological innovations, substitutes and structural changes, which would not let environmental damage rise above the negative consequences expected from the expansion of overall economic growth. For increasing productivity level, we have to work out suitable alternatives beneficial to the ecology of the area and all strategies for development should have the basic theme of environmental stability and ecological balance.

However, Developing nations, 'Development Projects', Third World Developmentand `development' are now viewed as a part of the global framework, a struggle to uplift the poor and deprived citizens of the world to the level of their industrial counter parts. The question is : when looking in the context of the present realities of shrinking resources and mounting debt, should this ideology of upliftment be the main focus of current development projects. And do the present development strategies in practice have any chance of providing realistic and positive changes for their intended beneficiaries.

The ideology of the dominant pattern of development derives its driving force from a linear theory of progress from a vision of historical evolution propounded in the 18th and 19th century Western Europe and universalised throughout the world especially in the post war development decades. The linearity of history, presupposed in this theory of progress created the ideology of development that equated development with economic growth, economic growth with expansion of the market economy, modernity, with consumerism and non-market economies with backwardness.

The concept of development is widely used but is least understood. In the last three decades development has been talked about more in terms of reduction of poverty, inequality, unemployment and illiteracy within the context of a growing economy. In the light of this, development has been perceived as a multidimensional process involving reorganisation and reorientation of national institutions, social structures and people's attitudes in the perspective of economic growth and the improvement in life chances and civil quality of life.

It can also be viewed as a process of realising certain goals or values such as improved health, improved housing, better nutrition, more communication, improved transportation, increased command over resources and making accessible safe and clean water, healthy air, sanitation facilities etc. Thus, development is not only measured in terms of social justice and social cohesion but it seeks to improve the social quality of life and social quality of people.

Human Civilization requires both a standard of living and a standard of life simultaneously. While economics, endeavours to provide the former, the onus of providing a substantial part of the latter rests on environment. Though we live on one plannet and yet in different worlds, no country can ever choose between environment and development. For asking a country to choose between environment and developments like asking someone to choose between left and right eye.

The term "Sustainable development" brings together two basic principles underpinning the management of human activities, one concentrating on development goals, the other on limiting the harmful impacts of human activity without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.

Sustainablility centres around the concept of renewal and the importance of people in its practice of continued economic growth without destruction of natural world. Our survival depends upon a new kind of development where environment and economic objectives are placed within a common framework and where there is a firm commitment to equitable sharing of material and natural wealth both within and among countries as well as between generations.

Sustainable development determines the kind of earth our children will inherit from us. Sustainablity is a holistic concept that can be on the global, national local and individual scale. Development is sustainable when it responds to current needs without jeopardising those of future generations.

Sustainability involves a responsible cutting down of excessive conveniences and luxuries that exhaust the Earth's resources. The concept of sustainable development is not only development which will conserve our resources and not destroy and damage them, as our present development modules are doing. Sustainable Development is equally important because it is development and not for a few in society.

The concept of sustainable development came into prominence in 1980's and evolved itself as one of the mainstream development paradigms by late 1980's. In the process, it has undergone numerous changes in its definition and objectives. However the most popular definition so far has been the one adopted by the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED). According to this definition, Sustainable development is the devel-

opment that needs of present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs (WCED 1987). Such sustainable development is environmentally non-degrading, technically appropriate, economically viable and socially acceptable.

While the WCED'S statement of the fundamental objectives of Sustainable Development is brief, the Commission is much more elaborate about the operational objectives of sustainable development. It states that "the critical objectives which follow from the concept of Sustainable Development" are: (I) reviving growth; (II) changing the quality of growth; (III)meeting essential needs for jobs,food,energy,water and sanitation; (IV) ensuring a sustainable level of population ; (V) conserving and enhancing the resource base; (VI) reorienting technology and managing risk; (VII) merging environment and economics in decision making; (VIII) reorienting international economic relations. Most organizations and agencies actively promoting the concept of sustainable development subscriber to some or all of these objectives with, however, the notable addition of the ninth operational goal. (IX) making development more participatory.

The formulation can therefore represent the mainstream of Sustainable Development thinking. This "mainstream" includes international environment agencies such as UNEP, IUCN, WWF, developmental agencies including the World Bank, the US Agency for International Development, the Canadian and Swedish international development agencies, research and dissemination organisations such as the World Resources Institute the International Institute for Environment and Development, the World Watch Institute and activist organizations and groups such as Global Tomorrow Coalition. Although sustainable development takes on different meanings in different contexts, it usually implies a growth in productive activities which does not result in the irreversible depletion of natural resources. Because it specifically takes conservation and economic development, sustainable development could be a useful paradigm of development planners and environmental activists.

Environment and Development are inexorably inter-linked. Development can not subsist upon deteriorating environmental resources and environment, it turn, can not be protected if development does not take into account the environmental problems. Failure to manage the environment and to sustain development threaten the very basis of our existence. Therefore, Himachal Pradesh Govt. decision to go ahead of with cement plants has generated lot of social, political and environmental controversy. It may be argued that the exploitation of limestone deposits is necessary for the development of the State but necessity has to be weighed against its unwanted consequences. Be it coal for the generation of energy ,iron ore for export and the growth of the steel industry, bauxite for feeding the aluminium plants or limestone for the cement industry. But behind the facade of development, mining operations destroy the material basis of the survival of large number of local people. The ecological disaster caused by the limestone mining for the cement industry is much more higher than the cement industry itself. If for various geological reasons,the mountains in India are repositories of the

richest minerals, they are also the central features of our life support systems. From the ecological viewpoint, limestone in its fractured form provides the best and the largest aquifer that can sustain the supply of water. The most efficient and economic use of the mineral in this perspective which views limestone in its relationship with other resources is its conservation's for the sustainable supply of water on which all economic activities depend. For one interest group the most productive use of the likest one deposits lies in their extraction for commercial and industrial use. For the other and much larger interest group consisting of the local communities the most productive use of the same limestone deposits lies in their in situ function in conferring the large volumes of rain water. There is destructive impact of the limestone industry on he hydrological balance as it is reflected in the fact that the spring fed streams disappear underground while the high porosity of the fractured limestone belt permits the storage of water for year around discharge.

The extraction of mineral resulted into deforestation slope failure and land slides which raise the beds of streams and rivers by pilling up debris in these drainage channels. The combination of heavy monsoons ,bare slopes and silted river beds leads to flood that was endowed by nature with excellent drainage. Debris carried by the heavy rainfall raises the river beds, changes the course of river leads to soil erosion in the adjoining agricultural land and forests, so it disturbs the land soil vegetation an the top soil of the region. Irrigation channels are destroyed by the flow of silt and other debris from mines or from mining roads. Quarrying operations destroy food and fooder and the area below the limestone belt can no longer be used for grazing and large area used to have practically no vegetation as these areas are covered by debris from the mines. The dust particles which settle on green leaves choke the respiratory system of plants thus effect their growth and output. An important economic activity based on animal husbandry is therefore being eroded. The decline in livestock affects the production of milk, the production of energy for farm operations and the production of animal dung that provides soil fertility for sustainable agriculture. Irresponsible querying my kill cattle as well as humans residing nearby area as. Quarring operations have negative effects not only the villages in the vicinity of the quarries but also the villages in other parts.The pollution caused by cement plant is far less than the ecological disaster caused by mining. While dust pollution at plant site could be controlled with modern devices, pollution caused by mining and the movement of thousands of trucks could not be controlled effectively. Himachal which is known for high incidence of lung diseases. The increase in concentration of dust particles in the air would further aggravate the situation. Besides vices, pollution caused by mining and the movement of thousands of trucks could not be controlled effectively. Himachal which is known for high incidence of lung diseases. The increase in concentration of dust particles in the air would further aggravate the situation. Besides dust and smoke , the vehicular traffic also adds to air and noise pollution and cause traffic obstructions and damage to existing roads.

The decision of the Govt. to allow mining in interior areas would spoil and pollute virgin areas have a vast potential for the development of tourism. Thus, cement industry would destroy the tourism industry in the State and eliminate wildlife and plants. The Champions of industrial growth who are in the favour of cement plants on a plea that limestone industry would generate employment are living in fools paradise as highly mechanised plants have cut short all man power requirements. Therefore, locals expect a bleak chance of getting jobs. The only avenue left is the indirect employment opportunities with transport operations and other related business. But company's plants to keep a big share of transport operation in its own hand has further diluted this indirect employment avenue too.

The ecological crisis clearly affects the poor more drastically than the rich, despite, the prevalent myth that concern for a stable ecology is a luxury which only the latter can afford. The natural endowment of these mountain ranges is an essential part of the resources base for the survival and economic activity of the people in the region. Limestone quarrying and the cement industry come into direct conflict with other important economic activities on which the majority of the residents depend for their livelihood. Some of the important economic activities- agro-horticulture, tourism, education , such as schools and research institutions and knowledge-intensive manufacturing are based on a favourable climate and clean environment.However, limestone quarrying and its allied processing units will destroy the resources base on which other activities survive and prosper. Cement plants, therefore, could affect not only the natural beauty and ecology of the Himachal but create avoidable hazards to people and their cattle, homes and agricultural land and undue affection of air, water and environment. Thus, the growth recorded by the limestone industry , has to be seen against the background of the decay of the other economic activities and not independently of it.

REFERENCES

Adiseshiah, Malcolms, (ed.), 1990 : *Sustainable Development, Its Content, Scope and Prices.*Lancer International, New Delhi.

Arora, Guljit, K., 1995 : Environmental Extremism or Ecomomic Development, *Mainstream*, Vol. xxx iii, No.22, April 22.

Colchester, Marcus, 1994 : Sustaining the Forests : The Community based Approach in South and South-East Asia, *Developmentand Change,* Vol. 25, No.1. Jan.

Holmerg, Johan, (ed.),1992. *Policies for a small Planet,* Easteern Publications, Ltd., London.

Ingham, Barbara, 1993. The Meaning of Development, Interactions Between "New" and "Old" Ideas. *World Development,* Vol21 (ii) Nov.

Karshenas, Massoud, 1994 : Environment ,Technology and Employment : Towards a New Definition of Sustainable Development, *Development and Change,* Vol. 25, (5) Oct.

Kkoshoo T.N.1988. *Environmental Concerns and Strategies.* Ashish Publishing House, New Delhi.

Lele, Sharachchan M., 1991 Sustainable Development : A Critical Review. *World Development,* Vol. 19, No.6, June.

Munasinghe , Mohan , 1993 : Environmental Issues and Economic Decisions in Developing Countries, *World Development.* Vol. 21 (i i) Nov.

Redclift , Michael ,1987. *Sustainable Development : Exploring The Contradictions.* Methuen , London.

Reddy , Ratna , V.,1995. Environment and Sustainable Agricultural Development : Conflicts and Contradictions, Economic and Political Weekly, Vol. xxx No.12, March 25.

Southagate, Douglas, D. and Disinger, John F., (ed.), 1987 : *Sustainable Resource Development in the Third World.* westview Press/ Boulder and London.

W.C.E.D.1987 : *Our Common Future,* Oxford University Press, New Delhi.

I

EMERGING TRENDS IN DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH

Vol. 4 No. 1 & 2 Jan.-July 1997

HIGHLIGHTS OF FORTh COMING VOLUME

ARTICLES

Hinduism, Judaism, Christianity and Islam in a Universalistic and Dialogical Interpretations
HEINRICH BECK

Lawyers and Caste in an Indian City
VIRENDRA PAL SINGH

Indian Women and Environment : Some Sociological Formulations
ARVIND CHAUHAN

Leisure Activities and Social Life in an Industrial Township
MINOO MISHRA

Social Mobility among the Scheduled Castes
SWAROOP K. MOHANTY

BOOK REVIEW

Arther J. Vidich : The New Middle Classes : Life Styles, Status Claims and Political Orientations
BIDYUT DEB CHOUDHURY

Domination versus Sharing - An Alternative Model For Development

SUDHANSHU DAMODAR GORE

In the process of economic development the control of, or access to, a particular technique/technology acquires utmost importance as a key factor. To hold control of such a factor inevitably leads to competition and conflict amongst the various beneficiary groups or individuals in the community. When a particular process is introduced to a society anew, apart from the technological aspect of that particular development process, knowledge about the process may itself act as a key factor depending upon the stage of development of that society prior to introduction of that particular development process. Gaining control over or access to resources denied hitherto becomes then the main aim of some groups (mostly the deprived ones) and retaining, monopolising and restricting control becomes a problem for the more established dominant group / groups / classes.

CONCEPT OF DOMINATION

In the changing situation, the key factor in the rural power structure does not remain confined to the access to technology alone but 'knowledge' of applying that technology in a particular situation becomes the 'key factor'. The knowledge flows from a source-group which not only possesses knowledge but is also in a position to decide what knowledge is to be made accessible to others (and to what extent) and what should not be. Thus, this group dominates the flow of basic information and knowledge. In a traditional society, the knowledge tends to be shared by all concerned, firstly, because it is limited and secondly, because it is considered as a common asset or heritage. Interestingly enough, newly introduced developmental technology does not automatically become a part of that heritage. Its introduction creates a sort of ascendancy of the source groups over others.

In a small community also this pattern of dominant and subordinate relationship between the 'givers' and `receivers' surfaces whenever some new technology is introduced. It not only creates domination but also seeks to retain and sustain it. In such a pattern, not only those at the receiving and are the losers but also the society as a whole loses a lot. First of all, the process

of economic growth may itself be hampered. Secondly, rich traditions and institutional arrangements of a society may be destroyed. Thirdly, the ostensible groups become dependent on the dominating groups. Fourthly, whatever development takes places, does not necessarily lead to harmoneous and integrated development as such. Fifthly, it creates profound distortions within the group itself. The needy group loses its integrated character, the traditional qualities and cultural heritage is not only destroyed but is seen as undesirable.

CONCEPT OF SHARING

The following important aspects would explain the essence of sharing as a principle : (i) **Integrated development** : the development should not be equated with economic growth alone. Consideration of socio-cultural, educational, technological and such other factors as a part of development is equally necessary (ii) **Global approach** : Development of a group in isolation is not possible. Adequate linkages amongst different groups need to be developed so that the progress of all will be linked with each other's progress. (iii) **Equitable growth** : The advantages of development process should be made available to the weaker sections in such a way that they can have an opportunity to be equal to the powerful blocs. (iv) **Endogenous element** : A development process should encourage actually the self reliance of a people. Aims and objective should be based on the needs perceived by the ostensible beneficiaries and not as seen by the dominant groups. The beneficiaries should be encouraged to harness resources which are at their disposal easily and not to be supplied from outside. The needy should gain strength from their own cultural heritage, values, and modes of thoughts and actions.

In any cooperative lift scheme, control over actual distribution of water acts as a key factor for its success. If a handful of individuals get to know the necessary details of the working of the lift scheme and others have no access to such a knowledge, the domination pattern would get established inevitably. If however, most of the beneficiaries have adequate knowledge of working of the lift, can 'sharing pattern' occur there? A study of such apparently simple situations will enable us to compare situations conforming to the 'dominant pattern' with those close to the 'sharing pattern'.

The concept of sharing as an antithesis of domination in this model is something different from and additional to simply sharing of benefits. As used here, the concept of 'sharing' implies that less developed groups do not simply mean people without culture or innovativeness and groups devoid of any development potential of their own, but those who have something to pass on to others should not only acknowledge but also pay due respect and scope to the potentialities of others. If by dominating, the dominants are destroying the qualities of a people, the pattern is as much disadvantageous to the dominant as it is to the dominated ; for the dominant too may lose some useful knowledge in the process, a collective wisdom possessed by 'needy' (dominated) groups. Since all situations are not uniformly designed, nor are their implications uniform, scope to the originality amongst less well-developed is a necessity not only

for themselves but also for the process of development as a whole. Mutual sharing for maximum benefits ought to be the aim of the development process so that people become self-reliant and self-supporting in every respect. Thus, domination and sharing symbolise two situations or patterns which differ mainly in the nature of basic relationships between the groups.

The government of Maharasthra adopted a policy to promote 'cooperative lift irrigation schemes' to boost agricultural productivity in the state since its formation in May 1960. In cooperative principle, sharing of at least benefits, if not of knowledge, is implied. It is also expected that those who participate in a cooperative venture have equal access to its control. The researcher had noticed that farmers have been forming cooperative lifts very enthusiastically, to start with but subsequently, very few of these lifts continued to function effectively. [See table 1]

Table 1

Status of the lift cooperatives in Maharasthra : 1986

Head	1961	1985
Total no.of societies	119	2,001
Share capital raised	Rs.22 lakh	Rs.650 lakh
Command area (in Hectares)	18,300	3,00,000
Irrigated area by these lifts	4,700	1,00,000
Societies in profit	41	500
Profits	Rs.2 lakh	Rs.100 lakh
Societies in loss	62	800
Losses	Rs.2 lakh	Rs.150 lakh

A question that would strike to any scrupulous observer of rural Maharashtra is :– 'why only a few lifts ran successfully and why others – only a few miles away – remained suspended ?' Studies were conducted in a drought prone village in Pune district in search of causes leading to this condition. A village called Sangvi Sandas was selected for the purpose. The village Sangvi-Sandas is situated about 45 kms. East of Pune city. Its exact position is 18-37 latitudes North and 74-10 longitudes East. It is on the right bank of River Bhima and is connected by a metal road to Wagholi on Pune-Ahmednagar state highway.

The lift of Sangvi Sandas was initially started in 1996 as a cooperative venture. At that time it functioned smoothly hardly a year or so. It was suspended from mid 1973 till 1984 when a social worker from *Gramayan* [a voluntary organization from Pune] revitalised it. It is functioning smoothly since then to serve the purpose well. In both the cases, outside agency had played an important role but the patterns of relationship between such an agency and the farmer members were

different. The pertinent questions guiding this study are : (i) What was mode of transfer of knowledge to peasants in the period 1969 to1973 ? (ii) What was mode of functioning of lift during that period ? Can it be held responsible for what happen subsequently ? (iii) How and why did farmers re-organise themselves after 1982 to restart the suspended lift ? (iv) What mode of functioning of the lift is at present ?

COLLECTION OF DATA

All members of the lift in Sangvi Sandas were treated as a universe of the study for obtaining quantitative data . In order to get at the economic effects of the lift on the village life and on individual farmers, basic data were collected using an interview schedule, on which data for each respondent were recorded. A separate schedule was used for collecting primary demographic information about each household in the sample. Another schedule was meant to collect information on detailed consumer expenditure pattern of each household and its economic conditions prior to introduction of the lift. The third schedule is much broader in its coverage. Most of the questions were aimed at seeking information about the investment of members of their irrigated land as well as their non-irrigated plots.

For secondary source material, files from the Gramayan office in Pune, files from cooperative lift society's office at Sangvi and the records of Talathi office served a very useful purpose. This type of data was used primarily to prepare an historical account of the lift in Sangvi.

For qualitative data, we used informal meetings and discussions with the villagers in general and lift members in particular. The technique of interview was utilised to the maximum and forms to situational requirements but without missing the consistency of investigation. The researcher frequently visited the village. Many members and non members of the lift cooperative were contacted each time and non-scheduled, spontaneous, unstructured interviews in the form of informal conversations too were carried out fruitfully. The villagers were aware right from the beginning that researcher's visits were in connection with his research project. The researcher could also seize an opportunity of attending a few general body meetings, executive committee meetings of the lift society as well as informal gatherings of the members on some issue concerning the lift, e.g. recovery of bank loans. The proceedings of such meetings were revealing and proved to be of utmost importance in understanding the interactions of the members and the dynamics of power and decision making process. A diary of all such interviews and meetings was maintained by the researcher. Notes were made in the evening of each day of visit.

POWER STRUCTURE

The power structure is related basically, to the economics of the lift. A beneficiary farmer has to purchase a share of the cooperative, which is irrespective of his land to be irrigated under the lift. The selections are held every year and the Executive Committee of five members is elected. They appoint

a secretary who is paid employee [could be a non-member also] but is not elected. Patkari is also appointed as a paid employee. The Chairman and the Vice Chairman are elected from the Executive Committee by all members of the society. The Secretary and the Committee have to work hand in hand. The Secretary is expected to be a trained person, or at least an educated person if a trained one is not available. He is expected to be conversant with rules and all procedural matters concerning decision making and execution of those decisions on the behalf of the cooperative society.

Major decisions are made in a general body meeting and the executive committee has to follow up their implementation. In practice, the Chairman and the Secretary wield considerable power much greater than is stipulated in the rules of the cooperative society; especially when the average farmer member is not much educated and is ignorant of rules about the working of the cooperative.

In Sangvi Sandas, the old lift scheme was initiated in 1969. Manibhai Desai, a well-known social worker and devoutly committed to the Gandhian thought on rural reconstruction, approached the villagers to persuade them to form a lift irrigation cooperative, which was to become a member of the Haveli Taluka Lift Cooperative Federation. Though seemingly an attractive proposal, the villagers were initially rather reluctant to form such a cooperative. After a series of meetings between the Federation promoters and the villagers, about 25 farmers came forward and thus the proposed cooperative was ultimately formed. Once institutionalization of the cooperative was formalised, the members were totally at the mercy of the Federation basically because none of the villagers had any knowledge whatsoever about the whole scheme – either its formal-legal aspects or its working and practical operations.

The Federation took upon itself the task of completing various formalities and handling government / official agencies associated with rural development schemes including the irrigation department. A farmer member's role was confined to only two things : (i) to purchase a share of the cooperative and (ii) to mortgage his land to the bank for obtaining the required loans as directed by the Federation. All the practical aspects of the paper work, survey, estimates and work-plan were looked after by the Federation. When each of the proposed lifts [at various villages] was finally passed and loans were received by the respective village lifts, the Federation saw to it that the lifts actually started functioning. In all 26 lifts started functioning, which had been initiated by the Federation, till 1972, and these include the lift in Sangvi.

In Sangvi, when the lift started functioning in 1971, the Federation in a sense had completed major part of its role. The water was available to the farmer-members for agricultural purposes. To ensure proper functioning of the lift was the responsibility of the villagers themselves. Initially, some guidelines and norms regarding actual utilization and distribution of water were laid down by the Federation. They comprised of main aspects of the economics of the lift, such as procedure of calculating water consumption of each individual member, how to work out consumption charges, how to schedule the distribution

of water and the like. The federation appointed a 'patkari' to take care of physical channeling of water in the fields through distributories, to appear a schedule and to keep the members informed about the day-to-day functioning of the lift. The Executive Committee of five members was formed which was responsible for efficient working of the lift.

From the village KV, SB, BD, NT and MS are the persons who took initiative in forming lift scheme in scheme in 1969. They acted as leaders of farmers in Sangvi, before the lift commenced. After the lift came to functioning, they were appointed as members of Executive Committee by the Federation. All of them are owners of more than 10 acres of land, KV and SB are from 'deshmukh' family. BD and MT are from Talekar families, which are supposed to be original owners of the land around. Therefore, all of them esteem themselves above other. MS not only a descendent of a 'police patil' but he had also held that office for some years till 1970. All of these used to expect and did indeed receive also high respect from other villagers.

Once the local Executive Committee took over the day-to-day work, the Federation authorities minimised their interference. As the Executive Committee was responsible for, it had also powers over, the distribution of water from the lift. The ordinary member was happy that abundant water was available for the first time in his fields. That kept him busy with the farm operations. They believed that the leaders i.e. members of the Executive Committee, were capable of handling the lift operations properly. In fact, the leaders knew their business too well, more than what others expected of them. Very soon it became clear to other members that leaders often tried 'to rob water' i.e. to consume more water than their due share. Since they were bestowed with the authority, patkari could be easily pressurised by them to do so.

A few members did raise the issue of misuse of authority occasionally in their informal talks – a usual practice among the rural folks. The response from other members was mild because most of them were concerned about getting enough water for their own fields and not to bother about who was doing what. A few of them did genuinely admire their leaders as the very persons who had taken initiative for bringing the lift to the village and had persuaded others to join the scheme. Hence, they did not really doubt their leaders integrity nor did they believe their leaders would do something that would harm the smooth running of lift. Since the initiators of the lift were also traditional leaders, there was no higher authority at the local level, whom a member could complain to. Consequently, the situation was conducive for the leaders to acquire near absolute power.

The fruits of the scheme were attractive till the crucial problem of repayment of loans and payment of water and electricity charges had not confronted the beneficiaries. The bills of M.S.E.B. were not paid in time by the Executive Committee members in spite of collection from the farmer-members and consequently the electricity supply to the pumphouse was cut off promptly by the Board in mid – 1973. The lift came to a standstill.

EFFECTS OF CLOSURE OF THE LIFT

The outcome of nearly two years (1971 – 73) efforts could be summarised as follows : The traditional leaders of the village, who were also big landlords, (i.e. owning more than 10 acres of land each) had put only a part of their property at stake in the lift, and had exercised control to the lift for their maximum benefit. They made good profits of the increased farm products but did not pay their dues. On the contrary the small holders (i.e. those less than 4 acres of land each) had major part of their property at stake if not all, got only a limited benefit from the lift because they had no control over the working of the lift. Finally, although most of them had paid their dues in time still they could not prevent the lift from coming to a dead halt.

The economic condition of most of the member-farmers at Sangvi was too precarious for them to sustain this blow. Most of the members, especially those who did not have any other sources of income than their lands under the lift, had to mortgage their assets to the bank, and were literally ruined. The lift scheme thus added to their economic burden instead of helping them to reduce it. The leaders did not suffer to the same extent because all of them had plots of agricultural land elsewhere also.

The consequences of this crisis are not far to seek. A few of the villagers migrated to find work as wage labourers. Those who had neither contacts nor courage to move out had to search for work in the neighbouring villages. A few others who did not believe in hard work and were looking for easy money, reportedly started distilling illicit liquor – [hathbhatti] It was initially marketed outside the village but soon many residents of Sangvi also got addicted to drinking.

Thus, a village, which had so far maintained its social cohesiveness, was now transformed into a faction-ridden village. Factionalism on the basis of primordial identities of caste also started showing up. Even amongst Marathas, individuals started quarreling amongst themselves - a fact to be attributed largely to their newly acquired drinking habits.

THE SECOND PHASE OF THE LIFT

In 1982, one fine morning, an outsider approached the village. The visitor had come from another village called Parodi only 10 kms. away from Sangvi. After his education upto matriculation, he had completed a course designed for secretaryship of cooperative societies. His family owned a few acres of land and was satisfied and happy with their lot. The visitor known as HT came in contact with the voluntary organisation from Pune called Gramayan, in 1981. The organisation was established to help peasantry stand on their own feet, and to promote rural development through self-help and mobilisation of resources at the local level. HT had decided to take up as his first assignment a case of non-functioning lift. HT selected Sangvi for a simple reason that it was nearer his place.

Soon after HT's arrival in Sangvi he befriended many of the villagers through his free and uninhibited association with all of them. Nobody had ever dreamt that the lift would resume its functioning after a nine year interval [1974 to 1983], but his robust optimism paved way gradually to an eventual solution of the problems of the villagers. A few from amongst the younger generation saw wisdom in HT's thinking, logic and argument. A few others were impressed by his sense of commitment and dedication to the social cause. A few who were suspicious of his intentions in the beginning, were at last convinced of his seriousness of purpose and sincerity towards the task he wanted to accomplish.

After initial talks and discussions which took 5 – 6 months HT was able to bring people together on the issue of restarting the lift and could rebuild confidence among them. Many villagers had privately confided in Ht and had told him who were responsible for the stoppage of the lift in 1973 and in what way. Authorities of Gramayan visited Sangvi a few times in the years 1982 and 1983. They had discussions on various aspects of the proposed plan of restarting the lift in the village. A few enthusiastic farmers were taken to visit a lift at Nimgaon Mhalungi [12 kms] which had been put back into operation.

HT also tried to put across a few more ideas to the villagers by this time. He emphasized the need to achieve total prohibition in the village, to send children to school, and to resolve all local conflicts through consensus and amicable settlements in the village panchayat itself. These additional activities on the part of HT ushered in a new culture and outlook on quality of life among the villagers, particularly most of the youngsters realised how he had much more to offer to others and they now readily acknowledged his leadership.

First of all HT (on behalf of the proposed lift society as its Secretary) had to seek permission from the government. One major hurdle was that a new lift in place of the old one should take upon itself repayment of all the balance dues. In this particular case it was around Rs.12 lakhs. The financial burden of the lift was estimated to be Rs.4 lakhs; thus the overall responsibility of payment of earlier dues and repayment of fresh loans was of the order of Rs.16 lakhs – by no means a small sum. The villagers gave a second thought to the whole proposal, But finally accepted the challenge.

The second main problem was with the rules laid down for agricultural financing by the nationalised banks. Those who were members of the old lifts also, were disqualified for entering into a new mortgage deed for raising a fresh loan, but due to the goodwill of Gramayan authorities with the highest authorities of the Bank Of Maharashtra, The bank that had financed the earlier lift, agreed to accept the cases afresh.

The agreement between individual farmers [lift members] and the bank authorities needed to be registered, the Sub-Registrar declared that only three cases would be completed in one sitting and that there would be only one sitting every week. Fortunately, in this case also, the superior authorities of the Sub-registrar were convinced by the Gramayan authorities and ordered

their subordinate staff to complete all the cases in one and the same sitting. Incredible though it may sound, he indeed completed them in a day.

The M.S.E.B. staff was also no less sadistic in harassing the needy peasant. All the required formalities were completed by the end of May 1984 and the electricity connection was awaited since then. It was a question of connecting only a few feet of live wire to the pumphouse installation but the M.S.E.B. circle engineer took nearly six months to approve of it and sign an order to that effect.

From July 1985, regular implementation of the lift commenced. Initially, most of the members had no idea about making the maximum as well as optimum use of water available to them. Secondly, many of them were also skeptical about smooth and continuous functioning of the lift. Thirdly, and most importantly, many did not have sufficient capital resources to invest. But still, the results were satisfactory. The joy of the farmers was expressed by our informants thus : " After many years we had abundant food grains for Diwali festival and that also produced by our own land without resorting to borrowing ".

By the end of May 1986 except 5 – 6 members all members had paid up their installments to the lift office. Those who had not paid were not deliberately doing so, but their produces were not sold by that time and were going to pay, as soon as the sale proceeds reached their hands. Thus, the society could pay its own installments to the bank at the end of the first year. The first year of the resumption of lift not only proved a great success but also created a sense of achievement and purposefulness in the minds of the members.

SOCIAL IMPACT

Though most of the farmers are poorly educated and a few of them were even illiterates they are now encouraged to think logically, rationally, and thoroughly by the young Secretary. He does purposely play a curious role trying to involve all members in the discussion by asking suggestive questions. He carefully channelises the flow of discussion. He wants to develop among them the habit of logical-analytical thinking. Although HT was capable of giving them ready-made solutions he did not do so. That would have created a sense of dependency amongst the members; on the contrary he wants them to work with their collective wisdom - not with anybody else's wisdom – and then own the responsibility of what they decided.

The first period of old lift i.e. from 1969 to 1973 was that of domination pattern. Throughout this chain of events between 1969 and 1973, ordinary member-farmers had remained silent spectators though the project aimed at their development. They had neither any knowledge of the happening around them nor any control over the chain events. Consequently, those at the receiving end suffered economic losses and the Federation or the 'leaders' too did not benefit in the long run. Ultimately, nobody could taste the fruits of the so called development.

In contrast with this background, the nature of leadership that emerged from 1982 onwards definitely has been close to the pattern of 'sharing'. Right from the beginning, the farmers of Sangvi were involved in decision-making process about restarting of the lift, and participated in the proceedings of the lift Cooperative Society. Gramayan tried to put across the idea that, 'economic growth must not be an end in itself, but needs to be seen as a means for better way of life'. The concept of development should be understood as something involving an overall change or multidimensional but integrated change'. Thus, the working of lift after 1983 involved inculcation of altogether new qualities, values and virtues. Farmers started learning to think rationally, discuss collectively and arrive at decision within the framework of prescribed rules and regulations. Their traditional fatalism is now being replaced step-by-step by self confidence and the spirit of self reliance. A new self-consciousness and creative will had replaced their earlier meek and docile disposition.

The farmers from Sangvi have realized the inherent strength of participatory decision-making. Thus, the seeds of modern thinking, participatory democracy and collective leadership were sown. The traditional farmer accepted day-to-day situations as God's gifts but farmers now thought in 'this worldly' terms. A very important lesson had been learnt by them that, "difficulties could always be overcome by efforts." Along with the economic achievements that the lift had made possible these social advantage are very important as they had a far reaching impact on the village community. Intervention of HT in resuming the lift, and in making people participate in the decision-making processes at the grass-roots level had thus completed the transition from the 'dominant' to the 'sharing' pattern of collective leadership. The difference between the two situations was necessarily that of the relationship inside the group of beneficiaries themselves. As already mentioned, impact of the ideology of self-help, self-reliance and commitment to participatory decision-making in the second phase of working of the lift, has resulted into a sustainable development. The lift cooperative at Sangvi has thus illustrated very clearly that replacement of the 'domination pattern by the sharing' model in a concrete micro-level setting is the most viable and lasting alternative in rural development.

Traditional Tribal Leadership and Modern Polity : An Interface

G. RAM

THE PROBLEM

Leadership is the essential structural feature of a social organization which is ever problematic from within and without. A few members (leaders/ superordinates) always come forward to lead the rest (followers / subordinates) in solving the problems – internal and / or external. The phenomenon of leadership has constantly been in the focus of rural studies in India. Studies of rural leadership in India which included tribal leadership also have historically evolved through two phases; viz., (i) the village studies mostly of the early fifties as a rule dealing with the phenomenon of leadership as sub-system (Srinivas 1955; Dube 1955; Marriot 1955; Chauhan 1967) and (ii) the studies of rural leadership, independent of other questions, ushering in the late fifties, i.e. the time of democratic decentralization through Panchayati Raj institutions in rural India (Park and Tinker 1959; Govt. of India 1965; Vidyarthi 1967). Studies of the latter type revealed two different types of the new leadership: (a) the new leaders are from high economic status, upper caste and old age (Roy 1951 ; Lewis 1954 ; Dhillon 1955 ; Bachenheimer 1956 ; Singh 1958 ; Barnabas 1958 ; Orenstein 1959 ; Opler 1959 ; Hitchcock 1959 ; Retzlaff 1962 ; Berreman 1963 ; Srivastava 1965 ; Kumar 1965 ; Asthana 1965 ; Gupta 1966; Sudhansu 1967 ; Singh 1967, 1968, 1969, 1985 ; Ranganath 1967 ; Rao 1968 ; Khan 1969 ; Jha 1972 ; Mehta 1972 ; Sachchidanand and Lal 1973 ; Muthayya and Raju 1973 ; Lakshminarayana 1985) and (b) the new leaders are young and educated drawn from all castes and classes (Beals 1955 ; Cohn 1955 ; Govt. of Rajasthan 1961 ; Dayal 1962 ; IIPO 1964 ; Narain and Mathur 1967 ; Bhatt 1967 ; Krishn 1967 ; Ganguly 1967 ; Chauhan 1968 ; Beteille 1969 ; Seth 1969 ; Sarkar 1971 ; Somjee 1971 ; Govt. of Maharashtra 1971 ; Gangrade 1974 ; Sharma 1974 ; Jain 1976 ; Shiviah, et. al. 1978, 1986 ; Sharma 1979 ; Bhargava 1979 ; Prasad 1981 ; Lakshminarayana 1985 ; Singh 1985 ; Pamecha 1985). Full length studies on leadership in rural setting engaging sufficient attention in the seventies have continued to conceptualize the phenomenon of power (leadership) alongwith its ever increasing complexity. The question of tribal leadership in India has so far remained almost unattempted and barring a few studies, only stray remarks are available. Reports of the Sadiq Ali Committee on Panchayati Raj in Rajasthan (1964 : 150 – 1) and the Rajasthan State ScheduledCastes and Scheduled Tribes Commission (1964-65 : 10) pointed out failure of the Panchayati Raj in attending the welfare of weaker sections. The emerging leadership (Narain, et. al. 1966 :283) or new

elite (Roy – Burman 1965) drawnfrom influential and traditionally upper sections is accretive of the traditional leadership (Mann 1978 : 101 – 2; Pamecha 1985). The new leadership emerged in a very limited number even in the areas preponderantly populated by tribals and it just ratified the decisions taken in the traditional tribal councils in Rajasthan (Chauhan and Swaroop 1966 : 159 – 65). Traditional, transitional and emerging patterns of tribal leadership in Bihar indicated that traditional leadership was under stress in the wake of forces of change and had ineffective articulation at the state and the national levels (Vidyarthi 1978). The politics of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in Gujarat signified that although the tribals entered competitive politics much later than the Harijans, they have gone far ahead of the later on the race of power politics owing to the tribal concentration in certain areas (Shah 1976). Thus, in India a bulk of tribal people have undergone the experiences of emergence of elite followed by a series of transformations. The area has mostly remained unresearched and the available studies whatsoever generally discuss the patterns of emerging leadership and the experiences of traditional leadership in the new situation, leaving the question of its working uncovered. The Panchayati Raj institutions presently provide a systemic purview for the comprehensive understanding of the emerging patterns of structuring and functioning of tribal leadership in India.

This paper deals with the patterns of structuring and functioning of the leadership emerging at successive political formations of panchayat in the tribal matrix of overlapping social, cultural, economic and political relations. The response of traditional tribal leadership, collective and undifferentiated, to the introduction of a formal panchayat may lead to traditionalization of the latter or to modernization of the former or to somewhat of mixed type. The question which arises here is : What are the structural and functional patterns of tribal leadership emerging in the wake of modern polity, i.e. Panchayati Raj in India ? To attempt the question the discussion is placed in the context of a Bhil Village Council, i.e., Alsigarh Gram Panchayat in Rajasthan. The massive Bhil tribe of India is found in numerous groups in the states of Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat, Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh. It is at present the oldest and second largest tribe in Rajasthan living largely at subsistence level. After a long spell of their social life in the autonomous political communities in the past, the Bhils of various socio-economic levels have become participants in the modern polity of India after Independence. Nature of their response, experiences and consequential transformations within the parameters of a panchayat are brought out by using a methodological and technique multiplex in the study.

METHODOLOGY

As a polity referring to organizational aspect of a society functioning for realization of its common goals (Chauhan 1968) the panchayat is a structural arrangement constituted by leadership drawn from the society in a given space and time. In a civilizational society of regional diversities and historical depth like India, the geographical separateness and the experiences of constant interactions have been going on althrough the history. Unlike those in the west, Indian tribals

have since immemorable times been in the contacts with the majority of caste/ non-tribal people that worked for their economic and, to some extent, social integration in various regions and historical periods in India (Shina 1962, 1965, 1980, 1981; Bose 1980). Briefly, time and space are the two essential references for analysis of a structure in India and, therefore, the panchayat is here treated in the time-space perspective. To understand the various patterns of emerging leadership and its working and interrelationships, the historical process of periodic political formations of the panchayat has been undertaken for analysis. Synchronic and diachronic analyses are not appropriate to understand the phenomena of historical experiences because these analyses can examine a phenomenon only at one point or two of time-reference. Thus, the historical structuralism has been used for analysing the structuring and functioning of the emerging panchayat leadership. But, in view of this mode falling short in understanding behavioural dynamics of ever-increasing complexity, the dynamic class analysis has been applied to discuss the various forms of constantly increasing conflicts. Hence, dialectical structuralism deriving its richness from both historical structuralism and class analysis (Singh 1987) has been used for analysis of the entire political process in the panchayat. Owing to the historical context, the tribal microcosm is also complex, multi-layered and locus for working of forces of change. Therefore, a technique multiplex consisted of observations, interviews and case studies was administered to collect data for the study. Lastly, for the sake of in-depth, comparative and longitudinal understanding of a political reality, the single but significant cluster panchyat was selected with a view that the inferences derived here would be discussed alongwith those of the studies conducted in other parts of India in order to develop a theoretical perspective on leadership studies.

CONTEXTUALIZATION

The Alsigarh Gram Panchyat is a politico-administrative constituent of Girwa Panchyat Samiti in Udaipur district which alongwith Banswara, Dungarpur, Chittorgarh and some parts of Sirohi districts of Rajasthan forms a part of the historical region of Bhils extending into the aforementioned neighbouring states. It is a cluster of three elongatedly connected villages; viz., Pai, Alsigarh and Aad situated at a distance of 26 Km. in the hilly tracts. The state Highway (the Udaipur-JHadol-Phalasia Road) in the south-west of Udaipur city. Alsigarh, the village of panchayat headquarters is flanked in south by Pai - the village largest in area, population and social differentiation and in north by Aad - the smallest one of them. The highway almost bypasses Alsigarh, virtually bi-sects Pai and leaves Aad far in the interiority. The panchayat is spread in a total area of 5,935 hectares comprising 3,018 hectares of Pia, 2,380 hectares of Alsigarh and 455 hectares of Aad and populated by 5210 persons comprising 2518, 2109 and

583 persons of constituent villages respectively (Census of India 1991) and differentiated into 19 phalas (sectors), viz., Mual, Vadla, Gawaadi, Nichla, Hamli Pipla, Paaba, Kemri,Khildi, Nalla Nalvat, Dhindhwaar, Waada, Kaatya, Naal, Kheria, Kaada, Uparla and Hetla - first eleven from Pai, next five from Alsigarh and last two from Aad; into 31 gotras; viz., Aahri, Bhagora, Bhudra, Bodar, Chhaanya, Chunkara, Daama, Daamar, Dungri, Hagya, Heeravat, Holki, Kalaawa, Kasota, Kataara, Kateria, Kharaadi, Kharwad, Kher, Khokharia, Mori, Od, Paargi, Patela, Relat, Sapania, Sokaara, Suwaan, Taavad, Talovia and Vadera - found twenty five in Pai, eleven in Alsigarh and eight in Aad; into 6 castes; viz., Balai, Bohra (Muslim), Khatik, Nagaarchi, Mahaajan and Naath - found all in Pai, two in Alsigarh and none in Aad; and into 3 religious denominations; viz., Hinduism, Christianity and Islam - found all in Pai, first two in Alsigarh and only first one in Aad. Hindus are further differentiated into Bhagats and non-Bhagats or into various panths and the Christians into the churches of two denominations; Viz., the Philadelphia Church and the Penti-Coastal Church.

Under the effect of two legislative Acts; viz., Gram Panchayats Act 1953 and Panchayat Samiti and Zila Parishad Act 1959 there were constituted five consecutive panchyat bodies of 45 leaders, in all, filling 67 seats - 11 seats each in the first two bodies and 15 each in the next three in January 1960, December-January 1964-65, March 1978, December 1981 and May 1988 during a period of over three decades until the last one was dissolved in 1992. Of 45 leaders, one has migrated out for good from the panchayat, seven are dead and thirty seven are still active to matter in the panchayat politics. Recently the Panchayati Raj has been re-organised under effect of Rajasthan Panchayati Raj Act 1993. Elections for the constitution of panchyats under this Act were held in December 1994 and January 1995. Salient features of the panchayat bodies constituted under the new Acts are the provisions of constitutional status for the Panchayati Raj institutions, a state finance commission for distribution of resources between state and PR bodies, direct elections of the representatives at all the three types of PR and reservation of seats in the bodies to ensure representation of the weaker sections; viz., Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, Other Backward Classes and Women. How far do these provisions are proved effective for any difference in structuring and functioning patterns of the newly constituted leadership as compared with the previous one ? The question remains to be attempted in future.

TRADITIONAL POWER STRUCTURE

As an autonomous political community, the traditional Bhil village, generally a pall (valley) or phala (sector) governed by a collective body of a **Da**

Mota (Elders Council) comprises of three streams of leadership, viz. : (1) *Gameti-Bhaanjgadia* (Secular institutional), *Waatawaala* (secular-non-institutional) and *Bhopa*,Bhagat, *Sewaadar,* Kotwal, etc. (sacred-institutional).

The secular institutional leadership consisted of a *Gameti* and a Bhaanjgadia has been hereditary, descending from one generation to another in male line of a family. When the male line of descendants discontinues due to some reason, a male member nearest in the descent has the right to step in the position. But if no nearest and suitable male candidate for the position is available, then the 'Da Mota' have been free to choose from any of the families in the village. The *Gameti* being village headman presided over the meetings of the 'Da Mota' to decide village affairs, looked after the internal affairs and led the village in the matters of external affairs. The *Bhaanjgadia* (truth-finder) assisted him in all village affairs and also acted as the junior *Gameti* in his absence. Vaka Ba Kataara is the *Gameti* of Pai, but not the one invested with the position. Actually his grand father and *Gameti* of Pai, Chatra Kataara, had two wives. From the elder wife he had two sons – Teja and Nanka, and from the younger, only one - Ambawa, Vaka's father. So, by the established custom Teja became *Gameti* who died issueless and, then, his younger brother Nanka stepped in the position. Nanka, too, died soon. But his two minor sons - Hardaara and Maawa survived. In such a state of affairs, the Kaamdar (official from the Darbar, i.e. Udaipur Princely state) keeping in view the wishes of people of pai offered to tie a *pagdi* (turban) on Vaka's head, but he refused to misappropriate the right of his cousin - Hardaara. Therefore, the *pagdi* was tied to Hardaar and Vaka was requested to act as the *Gameti* on behalf of Hardaara. By that arrangement Vaka is continuing till the date as a de jure *Gameti.* Naraa Ba Kataara, a *Waatawaala,* who died two decades ago, has been the de facto *Gameti* of Pai. Hira Ba Kataara is the *Bhaanjgadia* of Pai, who descended into the office occupied earlier by his father, Kamji and his grand father, Lakma in the past. Varda Ba Kharaadi, the *Gameti* of today's Alsigarh descended into the position occupied earlier by his father, Uda, and grand father, Gunja. His uncle, Khema Kharaadi, acted as the de facto *Gameti* until he died a decade ago. In a dispute arising 35 years ago over the village headmanship, four *Gametis* have been being appointed for the village as a whole. Besides Varda Ba Kharaadi, Kesa Solanki, Hagji Vadera, Fauja Kharaadi and Rama Kharaadi are the *Gametis* of Waada, Kheria, Kaada and Kaatya phala respectively. Nathu Solanki, Kesudas Vadera, Kaua Kharaadi and Shankar Kharaadi are the *Bhaanjgadias* of the respective phalas. In Aad, Sawa Paargi is at present the *Gameti* of the village, who inherited this seat from his father, Nana, and grand father, Amma. Hurma Paargi is the Bhaanjgadia of the village, who succeeded his father, Thaavra, and grand father, Waala.

The secular-non-institutional leadership consists of a number of *Waatwaalas* (deliberators) who by virtue of their commonsense, shrewdness,

dynamic character and reputation amidst the villagers have always been essential to decide various matters by discussing their pros and cons. That is why sometimes a powerful *Waatwaala* even came to be a de facto *Gameti.* Pai has a large *Waatwaala* leadership stream consisted of Dito Ba Hiraavat, Kanji Sapania, Thaavra Chhaanya, Dhanji Ba Kataara, Virma Kataara, Vira Kataara, Fauja Kataara, Khaatu Kataara Hardara Kataara, Thavra Kataara, Shankar Kataara, Havji Kataara, Rama Bhagora, Dheera Bhai Kataara, Kaku Ram Bhgora, Surji Bhagora, Rama Kataara, Thavra Paargi, Lalu Ram Daamar, Khem Raj Bhagora, Dharam Das Bhagora, Kalu Bhagora, Shankar Daamar, Gopilal Daamar, Chatra Daamar, Kalu Hiraavat, Dharma Hiraavat, Dharma Kharaadi, Kalu Kataara, Harupa Kharaadi, Dola Kharaadi, Bhaga Kharaadi, Kalu Paargi, Kesha Talovia, Ambawa Paargi and Jalma Paargi. In Alsigarh, Kesa Solanki, Naraa Ba Sapania, Sawa Kharaadi, Hurma Kharaadi and Dewa Kharaadi are the prominent *Waatwaalas.*

Aad, too, has a fairly large stream of Waatawaalas consisted of Bhuraji Solanki, Nana Kharaadi, Vesya Kharwad, Hakra Paargi, Dhana Paargi, Shankar Paargi, Dhula Paargi, Mohan Paargi, Bhema Solanki, Amvawa Paargi and Virma Paargi.

The sacred-institutional leadership consists of Bhopa, Sewaadar and Kotwaal who, particularly the Bhopas, are the specialists of supernatural affairs with an additional quality of being *Waatawaalas. The* position of Bhopa is also inheritable if the descendants are able to maintain the qualities. The Bhopas foretold the villagers of eminent dangers, explained adversities and freed them of evil powers. Therefore, they have also possessed influence over the worldly affairs of these people of deep religious attitudes. Dito Ba Hiraavat, Dola Hiraavat, Dharam Das Bhagora, Kaku Ram Bhagora, Thavra Bhagora and Lalu Ram Daamar are the Bhopas and sewaadars in pai. In Alsigarh, Varda Ba Kharaadi, Dhanraj Kharaadi, Kesa Solanki, Harupa Paargi, Hakra Paargi, Lalu Kharaadi, Pema Solanki, Limba Solanki, Gora Kharaadi, Dharma Kharaadi, Mawa Kharaadi, Kodra Vadera and Dharma Vadera are the Bhopas and Savji Kharaadi, the Sewaadar. In Aad, Nana Kharaadi, Bhema Solanki, Dhula Paargi, Hakra Paargi, Dhana Paargi, Rupa Paargi and Holma Paargi are the *Bhopas*. These leadership streams are found overlapping in their life as the qualities of all the three or at least of two streams are seen found in the same person.

Alongwith the presence of the *Gameti* and the *Bhaanwagadia(s),* the Elders Council has been an informal body varying in size from time to time and case to case. Number of *Waatawaalas* and *Bhopas* in the meetings does fluctuate but the presence of certain *Waatawaalas* is also ensured to decide the matters. The matters that come before the council are adultery, abduction of women, cattle, mango or mahua trees and conflict over land. The disputes are even today brought first to the notice of informal agencies. But when they are not able to settle them, then, the formal agencies like police and courts are invoked to intervene. In the past, all disputes were settled through the Gameti, *Bhaaniagadia,*

Waatawaalas or the *Da Mota* and nobody dared to approach external agencies. Now-a-days, influence of *Da Mota* is waning a bit fast in the wake of the expanding external contacts and spread of education.

EMERGING POWER STRUCTURE

To discuss the emerging power structure in terms of the historical process of change, one is prompted to ask the questions :

1. What kind of relationships does there exist between the two types of leadership, viz., the traditional and the emerging one?;
2. What patterns of leadership are perceived to be emerging out of the historical process of periodic political formations of the panchayat bodies?; and
3. What is the nature of functional interrelations of the newly emerged leadership in the panchayat?

A mixed kind of relationship between the traditional and the emerging leadership comes out of the analysis undertaken for understanding the process of political formation of the panchyat. Dislocation of the emerging leadership with as well as belated emergence and discontinuity in power of the traditional secular and sacred institutional leaderships (*Gameti-Bhaanjgadia* and *Bhopa*), on the one hand, and continuity in power of the traditional non-institutional leadership (*Waatawaalas*), on the other, typically characterised the structuring of the panchayat. None of the *Gametis*, *Bhaanjgadias* and *Bhopas* from the constituent villages emerged in power in the first two subsequently formed bodies of the panchayat. The only Bhopa, Kaku Ram Bhagora, from Pai and the only *gameti*, Sawa Paargi from Aad emerging in power in the third and fourth panchayat bodies respectively discontinued in the bodies formed subsequently. But the Waatawaalas and their kins have been very much in the certre-stage of panchyat's formation right from the beginning. Except Shanti Lal of Mahajan caste in the first body, the sarpanches of all the remaining panchayat bodies. Dhan Raj Kharaadi, Laloo Ram Daamar and Nathu Ram Sapania, have been the sons of *Waatawaalas*. Of the two Up Sarpanches elected, in all, Khem Ba Kharaadi was a towering *Waatawaala* – the de facto *Gameti* of Alsigarh and Prabhu Ram Kataara, the son of the dominant *waatawala* from Pai. Almost all the ward panches were either *Waatawaalas*, or their sons or their kins. Therefore, the *Waatawaala* stream of leadership has been a mainstay of the emerging leadership in the panchayat, which in a sense, signified the continuity of traditional leadership in the panchayat's formation.

An examination of the leadership emerging through the historical process of panchayat's formation in terms of emergence, continuity, discontinuity and re-emergence in power (Sharma 1979) here leads one to obtain a pattern of fourfold leadership in the panchayat, viz.; (1) the leadership individually as well

as structurally continuing, (2) the leadership individually discontinuing but structurally continuing, (3) the leadership individually as well as structurally discontinuing and (4) the leadership individually emerging but structurally re-emerging. The prominent feature of structural continuity and re-emergence alongwith individual discontinuity in power of leadership is well built in the structural dominance of four gotras (clans); viz. Kataara and Kharaadi, and Solanki and Vadera from four *phalas,* Mual and Vadla, and Waada and Kheria of two larger villages, Pai and Alsigarh, respectively. A number of factors like legacy of traditional power, situational advantages, socio-economic position, and size and concentration of population have a combined role in the continuous entrenchment in power of a few structural units and discontinuity of a number of peripheral structural units and individuals.

The leadership continuing in power mostly emerged out of unanimity at elections among the villagers and meagrely out of contest. This indicates that the leadership structuring is taking place under the traditional influence of the *Waatawaalas* whose voice still prevailed over the meek majority. Then, the contest for power, though a little, is sociologically significant in two senses. First, the phenomenon of contest itself is indicative of emerging differences of the leadership entrenched in power. Second, the contest which took place for all the three offices, viz, sarpanch, up srpanch and wardpanch, and twice for the prime office of sarpanch is enough to attest the assumption that the tribals have come to understand the importance of formal authority which has aroused individual political aspirations. Besides, the individual discontinuity in power of leaders also implies circulation of power among individuals within a few traditional structures. Thus, the structural persistence characterized by traditionally, continuity and unanimity is the dominant feature of the emerging leadership in the panchayat.

But, further, a question arises :who are the individuals amongst whom circulation of power takes place even in the given narrow structural base? Answer to it points towards the cultural background of the power-seekers. The historical process of panchayat's formation depicts a gradual increase in number of literates and educated. Agriculturists-cum labourers, and adults and middle aged over illiterates and literates, agriculturists, and middle and old aged leaders respectively. It implies that the power circulation is explicable in terms of education, internal stakes and external contacts through occupation and adult age which may be viewed in contradistinction with illiteracy, agriculture only as occupation and old age respectively widely prevalent cultural characterstics among the traditional leadership. Education as the enhancer of capabilities, occupation as the source of internal stakes and external contacts and age as the reservoir of energy for actions have culturally redefined in the present times. Earlier, education or occupation was defined as culturally polluting them through external contacts and old age was preferred as to be a source of wisdom. Thus, structural persistence and cultural change can go hand in hand, and in such a situation social change

enters gradually through the cultural front and the tradition prevails over the structure. Owing to this state of affairs, a leader in the panchayat has in general a composite personality with an amalgam of traits of Waatawaala, Bhopa and formal leader performing both the roles, formal and informal, simultaneously.

EMERGING FUNCTIONAL PATTERNS

After the foregoing structural analysis of the emerging leadership, a question arises: what mode of working is perceived to be prevalent among the leaders? The functional scenario indicates a process of gradual movement from informalization or traditionalization to formalization in the mode of working of the panchayat. The entire process of functional evolution of the panchayat may be discussed under the following four stages : First, the stage of traditionalization or informalization of the panchayat's working: During the period of initial two subsequent panchayat bodies the leadership had no clear perception of roles and their performance in the panchayat. Intermingling their roles, the formal and informal (traditional) leaders even sat together in the meetings of the panchayat and took decisions which were stamped by the formal leaders only. Second, the stage of wire-pulling by the traditional leadership during the tenure of the third panchayat : The educated sarpanch, Laloo Ram, and others in the panchayat made a bit of demarcation between the traditional stranglehold in the panchayat.and decided the matters in some informal meetings with the traditional leaders and took them in meetings of the panchayat just tohave a formal approval. Third, the stage of persuasion during the tenure of the fourth panchayat body: The continuing sarpanch, Laloo Ram Daamar, and his team of ward panchs, again, taking a step forward on the way to formalization of panchayat's working began to discuss and decide the matters within the formal meetings of the panchayat but before their execution they convinced the traditional leaders about the decisions. Fourth, the stage of total dissonance between the two during the tenure of last panchayat body : The sarpanch, Nathu Ram Sapania - a hunch man of the MLA - Khem Raj Kataara, with his supporters emerged to carry out activities independently despite the opposition from his rival faction headed by the Up sarpanch, Prabhu Ram Kataara, as well as from the Bharatiya Janata Party faction in the panchayat body. But the politically surcharged working of leadership within the panchayat not only enraged the traditional leadership but also took it far away in formalization of activities. Thus, the functional process over the years has been a gradual process of emancipation of formal leadership from the traditional stranglehold in the panchayat.

The analysis of mode of working of the panchayat leadership, remains incomplete unless it is undertaken for understanding the contents and issues worked upon and the consequences thereof. A question arises : What kind of matters were worked upon and in what manner did they have been sociologically

consequential ? The panchayat bodies and leadership throughout the period worked upon the developmental aspect while leaving the governance side. A number of activities like preparing proposals, pushing foreward or pursuing them, allocation and utilization of the developmental funds received, execution of various developmental projects and implementation of schemes for individual or group upliftment constituted the working of panchayat bodies and leadership therein. In a tribal life of scarcity, the presence of or demand for developmental funds and projects came to be a concern for everybody, leave apart the leaders. They wanted the projects worked out for their own advantage or benefit. This developmental object of alien nature gradually drew the people, leaders and officials in a vortex of ever increasing conflicts depicting the emergence of a typical pattern of social relations among the tribals. The patterns of conflicts also evolved through four stages : First, the stage of emerging differences between insiders and outsiders : Though a non-tribal Sarpanch of Mahajan caste was elected unanimously, differences of the tribal ward panches and villagers with him soon came up over a fund received for digging and embankment of Relya Talai (water tank) in Alsigarh. Following the norms of utilization, the sarpanch pressed for free labour and meeting cost of material only from the fund, while the tribals wanted wages for work from fund and also suspected the sarpanch of misappropriating the **money of Government** (not of the people). In view of the widening differences of outlooks between the insiders (tribals) and the outsider (Mahajan Sarpanch), the latter resigned from the office to save his hands from burning in a **tribal affair**. Second, the stage of emergence of factionalism among the tribals : The tribals working at the site of Darra Maata Anicut (water tank) in Pai complained against the block officials of incorrect measuring of grains for the work while some of the tribal leaders stood in favour of the officials. Though the officials tried to dispel their mistrust, this event created not only a division between the tribals and officials but also factionalism among the tribals. Third, the stage of multiplicity of conflicts : During the terms of the sarpanch, Laloo Ram Daamar, in the third and fourth panchayat bodies, the issues regarding water hand pumps installation really happen to play a havoc with the tribals who involved into bickerings of various kinds, viz, : inter-and -intra- ethnic / gotra / phala / village / office / party. Fourth, the stage of political alignments and re-alignments : Alongwith the emergence of Nathu Ram Sapania in the office of sarpanch in the last panchayat body., the leaders of the panchyat body as well as the people aligned, first, in two camps : One headed by the sarpanch himself toeing the line of Khem Raj Kataara (MLA) at the grass root level and the other headed by the Up Sarpanch, Prabhu Ram Kataara, drawing support from the ex-Pradhan of Girwa Panchayat Samiti, Roshan Lal Nagda. Later on, a third faction consisted of the Bharatya Janata Party supporters also cropped up within the panchayat body. This fragmentation vertically divided the leadership and people after a lot of shuffling and re-shuffling. In such a conflictual atmosphere of functional evolution in the

panchayat, the traditional authority, frequently came in conflicts with the formal authority, which were resolved by concurrence, persuasion, compromise or even sheer exertion of formal authority. Thus, during the politico-developmental process of panchayat's functional evolution, a series of differences, factions, bickerings and fragments constantly went on through multiplication of conflicts of various kinds and by politicization of structural units and individuals. Through this course of events, the emerging leadership did learn to maintain boundary of actions with the traditional leaders, developed a capacity for resolving conflicts and exercise of power, and above all, achieved a certain degree of personalised politics.

STRUCTURAL PERSISTENCE, POLITICIZATION AND CHANGE

Interface of traditional tribal leadership and modern polity in the Alsigarh Gram Panchayat signifies a process of political evolution characterised by structural persistence, politicization and change. The process is highly Indianized in the sense that it leads to the accretion of modern element with traditional structures as reflected in the political and personality formations of leadership stretched over a period of three decades. The political formations have althrough been mediated by a few of traditional structures; viz., family, gotra, phala and village, and visualized in the constant features of traditionality in origin, continuity in power and unanimity-at-elections of emerging leadership of composite personality in the panchayat. This gives the impression that stability rather than change of / in structure in maintained by the emerging power structure under the democratic (modern) garb. But it is not fully true. Of course, the structural persistence is the all pervading phenomenon of the panchayat formations. The patterns of leadership such as the total dominance of traditional leaders, specially of the Waatawaalas, the leaders individually as well as structurally continuing in power, all, attest the fact of persistence. However, the phenomenon like individual discontinuity, structural discontinuity, structural re-emergence in power and contest-at-election of leaders seeking power, although of small size, do indicate that (i) there is, to great extent, a circulation of power among individuals within the structures entrenched in power; (ii) there is a belated and meagre emergence, discontinuity and re-emergence in power of peripheral structures; and (iii) the differences over sharing the power have soon surfaced within the entrenched structures. In brief, a process of politicization mostly within the entrenched structures. And sometimes outsideside them has been constantly increasing during political formations and this has induced a dynamism and competitiveness in the panchayat politics in the same manner as perceived in other parts of rural India (Brass 1965; Sisson 1972; Nagla 1984).

The competitive political dynamics show the emergence of educated, agriculturist-cum-labourer and adult leadership replacing the old one. This change-over to a new type of leadership owes to the re-defining of its educational,

occupational and age qualities in terms of changing cultural and ideological preferences. This cultural change mostly occurred alongwith the structural persistence. There is the sanskritization-westernization frame of analysis (Srinivas 1966) that explanins how culturalor positional changes can take place even without any corresponding structural changes. Therfore, it seems that in India the structural shell tribal or non-tribal, is rather impermeable for change whereas the cultural front is a window to enter in. The structural persistence initially resulted into the traditionalization of structuring and functioning of political leadership but alongwith gradually occurring cultural changes and increasing politicalization constantly paved way for its formalization. The behavioural dynamics in the political process are replete with divisions, factionalism, alignments and re-alignments, and fragments. This political character is not a tribal specific or a phenomenon of rural society, but a feature of Indian politics in general. Alike India at large, a number of traditional structures that persist between state and citizen and clash with each other prevent the making of a civic society in the Alsigarh Gram Panchayat also. At macro level, the problems of casteism, communalism, regionalism, lingualism or ethnocentrism are, all, the outcome of such mediating traditional structures. A thaw in their mediation can be made through mass distribution of socio-cultural resources like education and occupation. Only then, a participatory politics can be realised to function. But looking to the present position of human resource development in India, this goal seems to be too far. Finally, the structural persistence, politicization and change in the Alsigarh Gram Panchayat has confirmed that the polarity of tradition or tribalism and modernity is not tenable, at least, in Indian situation. Rather, it is evident that the more stronger the traditional social structure, the lesser is the possibility for breakdown of political modernization.

REFERENCES

Asthana, B.C. 1965 **The Panchayat Elections,1961,in Uttar Pradesh.** Lucknow : Planning, Research and Action Institute.

Bachenheimer, R .1956 **Elements of Leadership in an Andhra village**.

Barnabas, A.P. 1985 *Characteristics of Lay Leaders in Extension Work*. **Journal of M.S. University**, Baroda.

Beakls, Alam R. 1955 *Change in the Leadership of a MysoreVillage. Srinivas*, M.N.(Ed.), **India's villages**. New Delhi : Asia Publishing House.

Berreman,Gerold D. 1963 *Hindus of the Himalays* California : University of California Press.

Beteille, Andre 1969 **Caste, Class and Power.** Bombay : Oxford University Press.

Beteille, Andre 1977 ***T**he Definition of Tribe.* Thapar, Rimesh (Ed.) **Caste, Tribe and Religion.** The MacMillan Company of India Ltd.

Bhargava, B.S. 1979 **Panchayati Raj System and Political Parties.** New Delhi : Ashish Publishing House.

Bhatt, K.S. 1967 *Emerging Pattern of Leadership in Panchayati Raj Set-up in Mysore State.*Jacob, George (Ed.). **Readings in Panchayati Raj.** Hyderabad : NIRD.

Bose, N.K. 1980 **Tribal Life in India.**New Delhi : National Book Trust.

Brass,Paul R. 1965 **Factional Politics in an Indian State.** Berkeley : University of California Press.

Brown, B. 1959 **Traditional Concepts of Indian Leadership.** Oxford University Press.

Census of India 1991 **District Census Hand Book : Udaipur District.** New Delhi : Directorate, Census of India.

Chauhan, B.R. 1999 **A Rajasthan Village.** Udaipur : A.C. Brother.

Chauhan, B.R. 1968 The Panchayati Raj and Democratic Polity. **Sociological Bulletin, Vol, XVII,No.1.**

Cohen, Bernard S.1955 *The Changing Status of a Depressed Caste.* Marriott, MacKim (Ed.), **Village India.** Chicago : The University of Chicago Press.

Dayal, R. 1967 *Leadership in Panchayat Election of U.P.* Vidyarthi, L.P. (Ed.), **Leadership in India**. Bombay : Asia Publishing House.

Dube, S.C. 1955 **Indian Village.** London : Rachna Publications. Dube, S.C. 1955 **Indian Village.** London : Rachna Publications.

Gangrade, K.D. 1974 **Emerging Patterns of Leadership.** Delhi : Rachna Publications.

Ganguly, B. 1967 T*he Emerging Leadership Pattern u nder Planning in Rural Bihar.* Vidyarthi, L.P. (Ed.), **Leadership in India.** New Delhi : Asia Publishing House.

Government of India 1965 **Emerging Pattern of Rural Leadership in Southern Asia.** Hyderabad : NICD.

Government of Maharashtra 1971 **Report of Evaluation Committee on Panchayati Raj, Maharashtra**. Bombay: Rural Development Department.

Government of Rajasthan 1961 **Report of the Evalutions in Rajasthan.** Jaipur : Evaluation organization.

Gupta, R.(Ed.)1977 **Planning for Tribal Development.** New Delhi : Ankur.

Hitchcok, John T. 1959 **Leadership in a North Indian Village: Two Case Studies.** Madras

IPO 1964 *Opinion Servey of Rural Leaders.***Monthly Public Opinion Survey of Indian Institute of Public Opinion,**Vol. 10(182). New Delhi..

Jain, S.P. 1976 **Panchayat Raj in Assam.** Hyderabad : NIRD.

Jha,Nagesh 1972 **Leadership and Local Politics.** Bombay.

Khan, Iltiza 1969 **Government in Rural India.** New Delhi : Asia Publishing House.

Krishna, Kamal 1967 *Leadership in Panchayat Elections of U.P*. Vidyarthi, L.P. (Ed.), **Leadership in India.** Bombay : Asia Publishing House.

Kumar B.B. 1965 *Local Leadership and Rural Development.* **Kuruhshetra**, June.

Lakshminarayan, H.D. 1976 **India's Villages at Cross Roads.** New Delhi : National Publishing House.

Lakshminarayan, H.D. 1985 **Rural Legislators in an Indian State.** New Delhi : Inter-India Publications.

Lewis, Oscar 1954 **Group Dynamics in North Indian village.** Delhi.

Mann, R.S.1978 *Bhills in Historical Perspective and in Relationship with Non-tribals.* **Tribe**, Vol. X, Special No.

Marriot, Mckim 1955 **Village India.** London : University of Chicago Press.

Mehta, S.R.1972 **Emerging Patterns of Rural Leadership.** New Delhi : Wiley.

Muthayya,B.C. and Raju, K.N. 1973*Personal and Social Background of Elected Leaders.* **Community Development and Panchayat Raj Digest,** Vol. IV, No 3.

Nagla, B.K 1984 **Factionalism, Politics and Social Structure.** Jaipur: Rawat Publications.

Narain, Iqbal, et.al. 1966 **Panchayati Raj In Rajasthan : A CaseStudy in Jaipur District.**New Delhi : Impex India.

Narain, Iqbal, et.al. 1967 *Panchayati Raj in Rajasthan.***Jacob, George (Ed.), Readings in Panchayat Raj.**Hyderabad : NIRD.

Opler, E. Morris1959 **Factors of Tradition and Change in Local Elections in Rural India.**Oxford University Press.

Orenstein1959 *Leadership and Caste in Bombay Village.*

Pamecha, Renuka 1985 **Elite in a Tribal Society.** Laipur : Printwell Publishers.

Park, R.L. and Tinker, I (Eds.)1959 **Leadership and Political Institutions in India.** Madras : Oxford University Press.

Prasad, V. 1981 **Panchayats and Development.** Sivalinga New Delhi : Light and Life.

Ranganath 1967 *Rural Leadership : Old and New.* in Vidyarthi, L.P.(Ed.), **Leadership in India.** Bombay : Asia Publishing House.

Rao, K. Ranga 1968 *Rural Leadership in Conflict : Study of An Adhra Village.* **EPW**, Vol III, No. 17.

Retzlaff., Ralph H. 1962 **Village Government India.** New Delhi : Asia Publishing House.

Roy-Burmon, B.K.1968 *Some Dimensions of Transformation of Tribal Societiesin India.* **Journal of Social Research,** Vol. II, No.1.

Roy, Prodipto 1951 **The Characteristics of Emergent Leaders (Memeographed)** Mussoorie : NICD.

Sachidananda and Lal, A.K. 1973 *Power Resources of Village Leadership: A Case Study,* **Journal of Social and Economic Studies**, **Vol. 1, No.1**.

Sarkar, R.M. 1971 *Faction Situation in a Bengal Village.* **Eastern Anthropologist**, Vol. XXIV, No. 3.

Shah, B.L.1986 *Panchayati Raj : Its Functioning and Difficulties.* **Kurukshetra,** Vol. XXXIV, No. 6.

Sharma, R. 1974 **Village Panchayats in Rajasthan.** Jaipur : Aalekh Publisher.

Sharma, S. S. 1979 **Rural Elites in India.** New Delhi : Sterling Publishers.

Sheth, Parvin N. 1969 **Panchayat Leadership : Politics of Participation (Memeo.)** Ahmedabad : Gujarat University.Sheth.

Shiviah, M., et.al 1978 **Panchayati Raj Elections in West Bengal.** Hyderabad : NIRD.

Shiviah, M., et.al 1968 **Panchayati Raj Elections in Andhra Pradesh 1981 : A Study in Institution Building for Rural Development**, Hyderabad : NIRD.

Singh, Hargian 1985 **Panchayati Raj Administration In Haryana.** Gurgaon : Indira Publication.

Singh, Harjinder 1968 **Village Leadership : A Case Study of Village Mohali of Punjab** Delhi : Sterling Publishers Pvt. Ltd.

Singh, Heera 1968 *Strains in Leadership Structure : From Status Groups to Pluralism in Eastern U.P. Village.* **EPW**, Vol. IV, No.18.

Singh, R.A.P. 1967 **Decision Making and Rural Elites.** Delhi : Research Publication.

Singh, Yogendra 1968 *A Note on Integration of Tribal Society in India*,**Tribe**, Vol.II.

Singh, Yogendra 1987 *The Changing Power Structure of Village Community : A Case Study of Six Villages in Eastern U.P.* Desai, A.R. (Ed.), **Rural Sociology in India.** Bombay : Popular Prakashan.

Singh, Surjit 1962 *State Formation and Rajput Myth in Tribal Central India,* **Man in India**, 42 (1).

Singh, Surjit 1965 *Tribe-caste and Tribe-peasant Continua in Tribal Central India.* **Man in India**, 45 (1).

Singh, Surjit 1980 *Tribes and Indian Civilization : Perspective,* **Man in India**, 60 (1-2).

Singh, Surjit1981*Tribes and Indian Civilization : Transformation Process in Modern India.* **Man in India**, June 1881

Sisson, R.1972 **The Congress Party in Rajasthan.** Delhi : Oxford University Press.

Somjee. A.H. 1971 **Democracy and Political Change in Village India.** Srinivas, M.N.(Ed.) 1955: **India's Villages** New Delhi : Asia Publishing House.

Srivastava, S.K. 1965 Directed Social Change and Rural Leadership in India. in Dube, S.C. (Ed.), **Emerging Patterns of Rural Leadership in South Asia.**

Sudhansu, L.N. 1967 **Leadership in India.** Bombay : Asia Publishing House.

Srinivas, M.N.1966 **Social Change in Modern India.** Los Angeles : California Press.

Vidyarathi, L. P.(ed.) 1967 **Leadership in India.** Bombay : Asia Publishing House.

Vidyarthi, L.P. 1974 *Tribal Development in Independent India and Its Future* **Man in India**, **54 : 1.**

EMERGING TRENDS IN DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH

Vol. 5 No. 1 & 2 Jan.-July 1998

HIGHLIGHTS OF FORTH COMING VOLUME

ARTICLES

Social Networks in Legal Profession : A Case of Indian Lawyers
VIRENDRA PAL SINGH

State intervention Peasantry : Thee Case of British Rule in Indian History
ARVIND CHAUHAN

Discourses on Elites : An Integrated Approach
S.N. CHAUDHARY

Christianity and Marxism
PARVEZ A. ABBASI

Inter-ethnic Relation of the Bhil
G. RAM

Migration and Caste Mobility in an Indian Village

HARI PRAKASH SRIVASTAVA

The present paper is based on the survey conducted in Makhadumpur village of Fatehpur district of Uttar Pradesh. It has been carried out through participant observation and the interviews with the heads of the families of various castes, with the help of a schedule.

The objectives of the paper are :

(i) to discuss the emerging trends in caste structure and migration in an Indian village;

(ii) to study the factors of migration of dominant landowning caste from the village; and

(iii) to throw light on the factors of selling and buying of land by the rural people;

A study of an Indian village can be made by a survey of its caste structure as it actually functions in the village[1] and one of the main features of the village community is the existence of the dominant landowing castes. In Makhadumpur, the Kayastha has been a dominant caste, for, the Kayasthas held a major part of the land and the majority among various castes.

In the village, a hierarchy of the castes existed in which the Brahmins, the Thakurs and the Kayasthas were treated as higher castes (which are deprived of the Reservation, Policy of the government) and the Nai (Barber), the Kahar (water-carrier) the Kumar (pot-maker), the Lohar (Blacksmith), the Teli (oil-man), the Pasi, the Kori and the Chamar as lower castes among which first five are treated as Backward and the rest three as Scheduled Castes under the Reservation Policy of the State.

Daniel Thorner [2] identified three prominent categories in the countryside : Malik------, Kisan-------, and Majdoors. In Makhdumpur there are people

(i) who cultivate their own land (Kumar, Chamar and Pasi);

(ii) who do not cultivate their own land wholly depend on labourers (Kayastha).

(iii) who partially cultivate their own land and partially depend on the labourers (Brahmins and Thakurs);

(iv) who cultivate their own land as well as rented land (Kumar, Chamar and Pasi);

(v) who cultivate others land on contract;

(vi) who work as agricultural labourers (Kumar, Chamar, Pasi and Koro);
(vii) whose services are required by the landholders permanently on wages (Kumhar, Chamar, Pasi and Kori);
(viii) who are paid for special kinds of services at the time of the harvests (Nai, Kahar, Kumar and Blacksmith);
(ix) who are paid for special kind of services at the moment (Bharbhooja);
(x) who are partially dependent on agriculture (Kayastha);
(xi) who go to the city daily for earning cash wages;
(xii) who do not dwell in the village but come to serve the people for special kind of services from surrounding villages (Mali and Bhangi);

In the changing society, everyone desires to lead a decent life and the processes like modernization have given the way in this regard. "It is common sense to assume that people do not like to move downward, preferring to keep their rank or to improve it." [3]

The ideas of pollution and purity are the main factors which cause the distance between the higher and the lower castes. The lowers could not eat food or marry with the higher, they could not enter into the holy places, they could not take water from the wells or ponds, they could not study or sing sacred literature related to Hindu religion. But the society is never stable. Srinivas says:

"A low caste was able, in a generation or two, to rise to a higher position in the hierarchy by adopting vegetarianism and teetotalism, and by sanskritising its ritual and rites and beliefs of the Brahmins and the adoption of the Brahmanic way of lie by a low caste seems to have frequently though theoretically forbidden".[4]

The present study also confirms the above statement. The families as a whole or the majority of the members of the families of the two out of four Kahar, two out of six Kumhar and the only Nai family among the Backward castes and four out of fifteen Pasi and three out of six families among the Scheduled castes have totally left to take non-vegetarian food and liquor.

The caste discipline is also changing. In the past, the higher castes were united against the lower castes. Due to dominance in land, they forced the lower castes to follow their orders but, at present, the Backward and the Scheduled Castes are being more united, they are using their constitutional rights. They are also keenly interested in depriving the higher castes from their traditional right." There are imperatives which prompt men to resist and to reject an inferior status and these imperatives persist regardless of the way in which any given society has legitimated inequality. Srinivas even suggests that the stronger the norms against social mobility, the greater desire for it: "It is possible that the very ban on the lower castes adoption of Brahmanical way of life had an exactly opposite effect" [5]. This is also a reason due to which the higher castes are bound to change their attitude and all the families of the Brahmins, the Thakurs and the Kayasthas have been coming into contact with the lower caste people for last two decades or so. They have been interdining in various social functions though the females do not want to change themselves. It is noteworthy that though the attitudes of higher castes are changing but the nineteen family heads of

various lower castes out of twenty four told that they and family-members are not ready to interdine with the people of the parallel castes even in the functions though they were ready to interdine with the higher castes.

The investigator also came to know that there are few lower caste people who migrate to the cities and do not like to disclose their caste identities due to inferiority feeling, convert their caste status and behave in the same manner. For example, a Kahar of the village established himself as a priest and 'guru' in Kanpur city who could give the "mantra" of "Ram Nam" to those who were interested in. He also used to guide the rituals. Due to this he was also facilitated by a Brahmin with a quarter free of rent. He also used to wear 'upanayan' (the sacred thread) to show that ha was a true and sacred Brahmin.

A significant change is also visualised in the professions of several castes. No Brahmin has adopted the profession of a priest, no Thakur has ever been a village chief or a leader and none of the families of Kumhars, Pasis, Chamars and Telis are doing their traditional occupations.

In the past, the manual occupations were regarded as degrading but now the dignity of manual work is stressed. "In the absence of a simple interest in manual skills and the intricacies of animals and machines, their concern, as veblen has shown, is with the social prestige and material comfort, and this often overshadows the matter-of-fact aspects of daily living." [6]

There is an inverse, relationship between the ownership of land and the performance of labour in agrarian societies. This belief is substantially corroborated by the behaviour of certain categories of landowners in India, specially those belonging to highest castes-------whenever such inverse relationships between land and labour prevail, the principal economic inequalities would be mainly between those "who own land but do not work and those who work but own no land [7] or own a very little.

The idea of cash income and sale of the land have motivated for the migration from rural to urban pockets. The study shows that one of the three Brahmin and eight out of the thirty Kayastha families have wholly disconnected their relationship with the natal village after selling their all types of landed properties while a majority of them have, though maintained their part of properties and occasionally go to the village but mainly they reside in the nearby cities - particularly in Fatehpur. The sellers have sold their lands to those who used to work in their farms as agricultural labourers or tenants. Since the dominant caste people have either sold their land or do not reside there and are expected to sell within short time, they have lost their control over lower castes and the labourers have started to bargain with the higher castes. The tenants also want to put their conditions and the landowners are bound to agree with them. There are instances, but limited, that if the conditions of one tenant of any caste were not accepted the others also put the same or more conditions against the landowners and sometimes the farms remained unploughed.

Occasionally, the open revolts against the dominant castes took place which sometimes altered the mode of intercaste relationship. So the people started to migrate from the village.

The investigator found, during the course of the study that, the migration is taking place both in the dominant and other castes but the difference between

the two is that, among the Kayasthas, the all members of the families have permanently migrated while among the other castes, only a few members of the families have temporarily migrated. It was also observed that the reasons behind the migration among the various castes vary the following factors were identified during the course of study:

(i) lack of social facilities;
(ii) inavailability of the labours for agricultural purposes;
(iii) dishonesty of the tenants;
(iv) mere agricultural production could not meet their needs;
(v) to live in cities– as a mark of prestige;
(vi) change in social structure and Jajmani system;
(viii) the migration of the youths of the families;
(viii) services or business outside;
(ix) insecurity feeling;
(x) tenant's apathy towards their lands;

The investigator interviewed those people also who had purchased the land how they managed the money. They responded as under :–

(i) income from subsidiary occupations expect main occupations;
(ii) hard manual work by all the family-members, and unity among them;
(iii) savings due to limited expenses;
(iv) cheaper rates of migrant's properties;
(v) support of those family-members who got employment outside;

The Kayastha migrants are not very happy in their news places. Most of them hail from middle class and are in salaried position.

The main findings of the study are :

(i) The traditional structural distance among various castes–based on pollution and purity – is diminishing. The stronger norms against social mobility have generated greater desire for upward rise and there is a constant strive for upward mobility, specially in lower caste people. They are 'sankritising' themselves, becoming aware of the constitutional provisions in their favour and depriving higher caste people from their traditional rights;
(ii) There are two forms of migration :–
  (a) Migration of the family as a whole (among Kayasthas)
  (b) Migration of a few members of the family (among other castes);
(iii) Emerging trends (push and pull factors) in caste structure force the people for migration from the village–mainly to non-manual workers and non-workers while those who devote themselves in manual works are gaining its benefits;
(iv) The dominant caste migrants are bound to sell their landed property of the village due to several reasons and the people who do not migrate (mainly the lower caste people) are major purchase who are supported in cash by these family-members

who have got the employment outside.

REFERENCES

(1) Majoomdar, D.N., Cast and Communication in An Indian Village, p.19;

(2) Thorner. D., The Agrarian Prospects in India, quoted by Betteille, A. in Equality and Inequality, p.144;

(3) Lipset, S.M. and Bendix, R; Social Mobility in Industrial Society, p. 60;

(4) Srinivas, M.N., Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India, p.30;

(5) Lipset, S.M. and Bendix, R.; Social Mobility in Industrial Society, p. 63;

(6) Ibid, p. 167;

(7) Betteille, A., Studies in Agrarian Social Structure, p, 121;

NEW LIFE SUBSCRIBERS

The following persons were admitted as life subscribers of the ETDR by December 31 1996.

18. S.D. Gore	11/A-4, Saritanagari Duttawadi, Pune.411 030
19. Sindhu Jacob	Puthiaparampil Pleasant Villa Nedumkunam P.O. Kottayam, Kerela

The ETDR welcomes the advertisements of companies, industries and institutions in our Journal at the following rates :

Cover page back side	(6"x9")	Rs. 3000	US $ 300
Cover page inside	(6"x9")	Rs. 2000	US $ 200
Full page	(6"x9")	Rs. 1500	US $ 150
Half Page	(6"x4.5)	Rs. 750	US$ 75
Quarter Page	(3"x4.5")	Rs. 400	US $ 40

Subscription for Advertisement should be in favour of the 'Editor, Emerging Trends in Development Research' payable at Silchar.

BOOK REVIEWS

Shiva, Vandna and Maria Mies (1993), Ecofeminism, Kali for Women, New Delhi.
Shiva Vandana, (1989), Staying Alive, Kali for women, New Dehi.

Ecofeminism is a new term which grew out of various social movements like the feminis, peace and the ecology movements in the late 1970's and early 1980's. The term was first used by Fromcoise D' eaubonne. It gained momentum in the context of numerous protests and activities aginst enviromnental distruction and ecological disasters. Sonce such instances in U.S.A. prompted a large number of women to come together in the frist eco-fiminist conference ectitled as " Women and Life on Earth : a conference on ecofeminis in Enghtees" in March 1980 at Miherst. Inthe conference the connections between feminsm, militarization and ecology were explored.

Ecofeminism is about the connectedness and wholeness of theory and practice. It emmphasis on the special strength and integrity of every living thing . The ecofeminists consider the derastation of the earth and her beings by ' corporarte warriors ' and the threat of nuclear annihilation by the 'military warriors'. The corporate and miltarywarriors agression aganist the environment was percieved almost equally as an agression against female body.

The major claim by ecofeminists is that whenever women acted against ecological destruction or/and the threat of atomic annihilation , they immediately become aware of the connection between partiarchal violence against women, other people and nature, and that in defying this patriarchy they are loyal to future generations and to lief and this panet itself.They have a deep understanding of this both through their natures and experiences as women.

Vandana Shiva and Maria Mies discuss ecofeminism with the help of capitalist-patriarchical perspective. According to them, there is a global process creating a new world order based on the control of people and resources for the sake of capital accumulation. At this juncture the search for identity and difference became more significant on the platform for resistance against the dominant global forces of capitalist - patriarchy. Capitalist - patriarchy includes homogeniety and fragmentation of the world
1) That the impact of ecological disasters and deterrioration is harder on women than on men and also that every where the women is the frist to protest against environmental destruction, and ;

2) That Science and technology are not gender neutral in the sense that therelstionship of exploitative dominance between man and nature and the exploitatived oppressive relationship between men and women prevails in mostt patriarchical societies; even in most modern societies.

The auuthors substantiate their points by quoting a number of local struggles against ecologica destruction and derteriration. For example, Women were the driving force aganist atomic power lants in Germany. Although all of them were not committed feminists yet they were clear about the connections between technology and war against order simulteneously. It interprets difference as hierarchical and uniformity as a

per-reqisite in the world structurre there are some inherent inqualities in the world structure which permits the north to dominate South, men to dominate women and capital producing systm to dominate nature. This system maintained itself through colonising women and of nature. When feminists seek women's liberation from male domination, the ecofeminists take up the issues that modernization and development processs are resposible for the degradation of the nature world . Their major claims are :nature, against women and future generation. This connectton was also clearly spellout by the Russian women after the chernoby catastrophe in 1986. 'Man never thinks of life. They only want to conquer nature and the enemy'. Another examples is the movement against Chalk mining in Doon Vally which was carried out by the women under Chipko movement. Similarly the activities of the Green Belt Movement in Kenya; of Japanaese women against food pollution by chemically-stmulated. commercial and profit oriented agriculture ; and the battle of thousands of women in south India for better water manament, soil conservation, land use and maintenance of their survival base i.e. forest, fuel and fodder against industrial world wide felt the same anger and anixiety and the same sense of responsibility to preserve the basis of life.

Thus, the concern for the preservation of environment and to stop its destruction brought the women all ovr the world together irrespective of their race, ethnicity, cultural and class background.

Although the fact that women are sensitive to nature and feel responsible for the welfaare of the future generations yet the stand taken by vandana Shive & Maria Mies has serious flaws :

1. The eco feminism is anti-naturastic. While explainition the relationship of man and nature it places man outside nature who is essentially hosite, natagonistic and exploitative.

2. The categoris are created without providing much substantial and precise referent.

3. Trying to adopt Marxian line in formulating their model, capitalism was wequated with patriarchy in which man is always profitt oriented and uses technology at the name of development and exploits nature and therefor women (as in the case of proletariate) organise and protest to preserve environment. But women movement cannot be equated to proletariat e movements because a) They are not organise in the same way in which they can be considered a class-in-itself. b) Women herrself is a part of ecologiccal disaster by consuming what is produced by the so-called exploitative capitalist order.

4. The acttivists in environment movements are not only women. Men's participation is kept in shade for example the contributions by Sunder Lal Behuguna in CHIPKO and Baba Amte in NBA movements are equally important .Thus, any theoriatical construct cannot gain acceptance if it is partial in approach and does not contribute to the task of socoal engineering.

KAMINI TAYAL

ORDER FORM

To

Dr. V. P. Singh
Reader and Head
Department of Sociology
Assam University
Silchar - 788011 (Assam) India

Please enter my subscription to Emerging Trends in Development Research at the Individual / institution rate for ..... / as life member.

I am sending a Bank Draft No. .....Dated .....

PAYMENT WITH ORDER PLEASE

Name : .....

Address : .....

Bank : .....

for (total amount) ..... favouring 'Editor Emerging Trends in Development Research' payable at Silchar (at the address given at the top).

Date : **Signature**

The current subscription rates of the ETDR are as follows:

	1 Year	3Years	5Years
INDIVIDUAL	Rs. 100	Rs.250	Rs.400
	US Dollar15	US Dollar40	USDollar 60
INSTITUTIONS	Rs. 200	Rs.500	Rs.800
	US Dollar 30	USDollar 80	USDollar 120

INDIVIDUAL LIFE SUBSCRIPTION : Rs.1000 ; US Dollar 200

EMERGING TRENDS IN DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH

Editor : Virendra Pal Singh
Associate Editor : Manju Singh

The "Emerging Trends in Development Research" (ETDR) is a half yearly interdisciplinary research journal brought into being with an aim to provide a forum for disseminating of the findings of on-going researches and exchange of views between different scientific disciplines, policy-makers and planners concerned with various dimensions of the development process.

The Emerging Trends in Development Research welcomes articles of academic interest representing original and analytical work based on review of existing literature and fresh empirical research studies conducted on various dimensions of development with special reference to the problems of the "Third World" countries.

Contributors are requested not to submit papers exceeding 10 printed pages (5000 words). If papers are accepted for publication, contributors will be required to send floppy disks containing the full text of the paper including notes, references, tables, charts, and maps, if any. The manuscripts must be in English. The articles are accepted with an understanding that they are not being submitted for publication elsewhere. The contributors are entitled to receive only one copy of the journal free of cost. The editor reserves the right to publish the articles accepted for publication in the ETDR in a separate edited book simultaneously or afterwards.

The current subscription rates of the ETDR are as follows:

	1 Year	3 Years	5 Years
INDIVIDUAL	Rs. 100 US Dollar15	Rs.250 US Dollar40	Rs.400 US Dollar 60
INSTITUTIONS	Rs. 200 US Dollar 30	Rs.500 US Dollar 80	Rs.800 US Dollar 120

INDIVIDUAL LIFE SUBSCRIPTION : Rs.1000 ; US Dollar 200

The subscription should be sent through bank draft in favor of "**Editor, Emerging Trends in Development Research**" payable at Silchar (INDIA). All communications should be addressed to the **Editor, Emerging Trends in Development Research, Assam University P.O. Box No.15, SILCHAR- 788011, INDIA**