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FORM 'B'

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Indian
M-311/2A, Saket Nagar,
Bhopal (M.P.)

Publisher's Name, Nationality and address : Dr. Virendra Pal Singh
Indian
M-311/2A, Saket Nagar,
Bhopal (M.P.)

Periodicity : Half Yearly

Place of Publication : M-311/2A, Saket Nagar,
Bhopal (M.P.)

Owner's Name, Nationality and address : Dr. Virendra Pal Singh
Indian
M-311/2A, Saket Nagar,
Bhopal (M.P.)

Laser Typeset at : Pace, B-27, Chhatrasal Nagar,
Bhopal
Efficient Computer Graphics,
B-3/65, Janak Puri, New Delhi.

Printed at : Ravindra Offset Press,
A-26, Naraina-II, New Delhi.

EMERGING TRENDS IN DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH

Vol. 2, No. 1 & 2, January - July 1995

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CULTURAL ROLE OF SOCIOLOGY IN MEETING THE CHALLENGES OF ECOLOGICAL DETERMINATION - A POSER FROM INDIA

BRIJ RAJ CHAUHAN

Rural societies have been associated with agricultural activities that made the use of defined territories on a small scale over generations a necessary condition of life, especially in the agricultural stages of production. Relations with nature were close and each source of water, be it a well or a pond, or a stream got associated with some deity and potency for men, animals and plants. The care of animals also acquired a routine of its own, their reproduction, growth and preservation were looked after through well-defined division of labour and magical rituals. Sowing of seeds, the protection of plants and harvesting activities revolved around groups, elaborate dance and music accompanied them investing them with the supernatural. Appropriate deities provided the need for careful attention. The calender of festivals revolved around seasonal changes, connected with the cropping patterns. Life of the peasantry thus provided a rhythm of its own combining the social, economic and ritual dimensions into defined patterns which sedentary mode of settlement facilitated to be carried from generation to generation.

The peasant groups developed similarities in their ways of life over large territories and a few scholars like Durkheim suggested an explanation of these similarities in the atomistic nature of these communities based on the principle of likeness (Durkheim 1985). When the British administrators took charge of the Indian sub-continent, they were impressed by the non-changing character of rural communities and their imperviousness to political processes operating in the sub-continent. Basing his conclusion on such evidence, Marx in his dispatch to the New York Daily Tribune (1953) opined that the lack of mass scale economic activities and continuation of same pattern of life over generations suggested a corresponding absence of history. In general his description of the peasants as a sack of potatoes further confirmed the nature of similarity of rural communities marked by non-interaction among them. This explanation of similarities among widespread rural communities in India received a serious challenge from Robert Redfield (1955) and other social scientists who worked on the nature of cultural forces operating in the sub-continent. A second stream of scholars in the traditions of the British anthropology too had a fresh look at the ritual structure of various castes living in rural areas, and even in towns. A.R. Radcliffe Brown had studied the Andaman Islanders at a time when forces of change had not altered their traditional mode of life in isolated islands. The field work was carried on before the first World War and published after it had
ended. When one his eminent students, M.N. Srinivas worked on the study of religion on the mainland of India, Radcliffe Brown wrote the preface and pointed out the need for the study of links of religious practices with the philosophy and rituals of Hinduism in a wider sense, and Srinivas operationalized it by classifying village rituals along local, peninsular (regional) and national dimensions, thereby opening the question of inter-relationship among the communities (1952). Redfield and Marriot posed the problem of inter connections among the indigenous communities and the Great Tradition of Hinduism (1955) Marriot posited two processes at work: (1) Parochialization involving the local version of classical tradition and (2) Universalization of a ritual marking the upgrading and greater spread of a local ritual to the regional and national level and becoming a part of the neo-classical (1955: 199-200). Milton Singer’s attempt at studying the orthogenetic growth of Madras city heightened the cultural role of cities in stylizing the regional traditions (1956). Earlier Radha Kamal Mukherjee had characterized the city as a symbol of religious consciousness. The question has been elaborated upon by Chauhan (1979) and Doshi (1968). These studies support the interactional perspective on rural societies and demonstrate the channels of communication at work including those among the classical and the local oral traditions as well as rural-urban interactions.

Further evidence on the conduct of pilgrimages has been pooled together for the villagers, as they go for the second bath of the holy dip in the Ganga, or other pilgrim centres (Chauhan 1967). The stories of epics get enacted on a large scale on appropriate days, draw large crowds from neighbouring villages and interactions as well as the message keeps on being relayed periodically to various villages. Thus traditions keep on being strengthened; at times a few regional inputs are added on to the festivities, and invitation extended to well known parties from urban areas. At the cultural level, the village is a part of the wider world conscious of the great tradition, the classics, the gods and dieties; and has its own mediators between the local and the regional and national centres. These channels of communication are fortified through the media, the television, religious magazines, and rendering of classics through short stories and comic strips. The village today possesses set of literati that can keep the interaction along modern channels going together with the traditional oral performer.

Inter-village connections at regional level are mediated through the caste. In a village there may be twenty to forty such groups, each endogamous and in the major part of India practising local exogamy. Members of a caste are thus encouraged to get married in other villages and the kinship relations from one village may extend to a hundred others in the neighbourhood. Among various scholars of kinship studies, Adrian Mayer’s work Caste and Kinship in Central India (1960) devotes full attention to a caste and its region. These regional ties are within the caste, and provide a horizontal grouping for its members. In their traditional setting, castes at the regional level were grouped in their indigenous courts to which disputes relating to marriage and remarriage and other caste codes could be referred to (Chauhan 1967). Srinivas referred to the village community as a vertical unity of many castes, and a caste having its alliances cutting across several villages (1955). Thus within the village, people got used to the institutionalized pattern of hierarchical relations shaped largely according to tenets of Brahmanism spread all over the country; and at the regional level got conscious of the horizontal spread of their own caste. Some political arrangements also made the hierarchical pattern quite visible on significant occasions in the elite families. The elements of the traditional social structure according to the view being advanced here, contained the seeds and channels of a village interacting with the other villages and towns. Hence a proper understanding of rural societies in India, even in the traditional setting, has to be anchored not on the delimitation of these societies along atomistic symmetries, but on living communities interacting with others along defined channels and processes of communication. The village societies would then appear as repositories of such institutions as could sustain social and cultural patterns for generations, and could interact with other units. This nature of these societies enabled them to define their relations with other men, plants and animals, as well as other natural forces that provided a harmony of their own.

Analysts of the Indian society within the Marxist frame have made use of cultural history to trace what they view as internal contradictions in the rural society by drawing attention to the challenges to the governing classes thrown up during the devotional (Bhakti) movements. The lower classes produced their own saints who considerably simplified the classical ritual order using regional dialects as the medium to be heard by the omnipotent Everpresent Spirit. These movements covering the period of 11th to 16th centuries in different regions of India articulated the protests of the lower groups at the only level of knowledge admissible for communication of ideas viz. the religious. Even earlier, the rise of Buddhism and Jainism had been B.C. (Chauhan 1989). For purpose of the current discussion, the significance of these allusions lies in the primacy of the cultural idiom in expressing even other contradictions of the society. They further strengthen the proposition that cultural processes have their own history and influence over the rural societies that continued to be in interaction with the major religious trends of different periods.

The modern period of the Indian history prior to the independence of the country(1947) was marked by a few revivalistic movements like the Arya Samaj, the Prarthana Samaj and the use of the religious symbols in the struggle for freedom against the British rulers, The nation itself was defined into mother goddess, given the appellation ‘Mother-India’(Bharat Mata) and the seriousness of this was reflected in the formulation of ‘Bande Mataram’(Salute to the Motherland ) as the battle cry. Quite a few meetings and processions adopted the saffron as the starting point for attaining of heightened energy of the group, as a few freedom fighters when condemned to the gallows, they tied a saffron as a symbol of their protest to the noose as their last act of defiance. This, in fact, was the other way to express the self attitudes of the society at that time. A new line of social, cultural and political forces were making their appearance and were at least to be noticed.
Brij Raj Chauhan

do something more for them periodically, the connecting channels between
the rural settlements and political centres acquire a new significance. The
villagers then come into contact with wider processes at work in the areas
of poverty - alleviation; provision of irrigation, better tools and fertilizers, and
the marketing process. The state too becomes conscious of spreading
education, health facilities, and other welfare programmes including those
relating to family limitation. The exploitation of natural resources for industrial
or commercial use on a large scale and the consequent pollution now come
into question, as the rural people on their own through their old age institutions
try to protect and preserve their natural resources. The conflict is a real and
the resources unevenly distributed. Even political control over them does not
go along the one person one vote pattern. This appears to be the case both
within a nation and among the nations in the world community.

Man’s relations with nature in the rural setting have been negotiated
over thousands of years and sustained through cultural traditions that got
highly stylized in the classical written form rendering which cities played
significant roles. Within the rural structure, elements for initiating interaction
with other rural and urban communities have been active. The rural society
in India provides a setting in which collective action along cultural lines has
been organized for religious as well as secular goals. The reservoir of such
cultural and social practices in the context of sustainable ecological develop-
ment, needs to be researched into and then mobilized for action. At the
research level, different practices relating to use of water, soil, cycles of
festivals, pilgrimages and worship that affects the regulation of natural
resources need continuous study. Human experience under varying condi-
tions can be compared both nationally and internationally, and at the current
speed of communication exchanged among nations. Just as plants and
species of animals need preservation through the growth of gene banks,
social and cultural varieties of organization and communication too need to
be noted, observed and rendered in a form where in they could be studied
again and again. This paper advocates the extension of ‘gene bank’ of natural
resources to the social cultural dimensions for recording the varied human
responses to the preservation, growth and use of natural sources.

The paper further argues that similarities among village communities
that flow from inter-communication among the rural social units, and among
the rural-urban dimensions have to be identified properly, and the earlier idea
of the rural societies depicting similarities based on likeness of atomistic
nature needs revision. The over-whelming evidence on the nature of
interaction among the rural social units on the one hand, and with the urban
sectors on the other provide the basis for the study of interacting channels.
These exercises will further lead to the study of mobilizing those societies for
common tasks. There is some hopeful history to rely on at least within the
national and on the cultural front across the nations. The traditional
experiences now need to be converted into global interaction which can be
find a fertile climate and resource base in rural communities in various

Caste and religious affiliations have provided ready made channels
of conducting group activities, especially on the cultural front for over the
millenia, interest groups are comparatively new formations, political parties
are recent phenomenon marked by divisions, breakups, disappearance and
re-emergence under various names. The Indian National Congress became
a mother for several parties which every now and then come together (or give
rise to splinter groups) but still a ‘Congress Culture’ appears to be pervading
them all the time; as much as the various likes of the socialist and the
communist parties tend to talk of ‘progressive democratic forces’, adding the
word ‘Secular’. Even regional parties tend to produce their variations by
adding a word signifying ‘the real’ before the party to provide splinter groups;
or to add a regional prefix to suggest that the group does not accept the
national leaders, but retains the ideology. Such illustrations, besides the more
professed connections between culture and policy in some of the parties,
point out the significance of the culture idioms in the conduct of the affairs
of the state and political parties all of which need the use of ready made
communication channels to mobilize and seek support of various sections of
the people. In the process rural areas are approached through the regional
languages, and success gained in one part advertised in the other part to seek
greater support. The radio and television have provided still speedier
access, and under difficult situations foreign broadcasts, specially of the
British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) are looked upon to check the
nationally broadcast or published news, and at times given greater credence.
Our own studies revealed how a farm labourer could leave the company of
a group in the rural areas to retire home for tuning in the BBC programme
at he allocated hour (Chauhan 1990). Hence an interest in rural-urban
interactions is on the rise. As the rural dwellers become conscious of the
potency of ballot, and the continuing ‘civic participation’ in making the state
countries. For Rural Sociology it will be a new task and adequate tools, man
power and institutional arrangements will have to be worked out at the global
level. The argument of the paper is that the cultural traditions have to be
studied and varieties noted, that channels of communication exists within the
communities and nations, and they provide the base on which global
interaction has to be mobilized.

Note - The paper was contributed to World Congress of Rural
Sociology(1992) ,U.S.A.

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SATELLITE TELEVISION AND
MIDDLE CLASS YOUTH
IN AN INDIAN CITY
VIRENDRA PAL SINGH

Mass media communication has acquired an important place in
modern industrial societies. These societies are now highly dependent on
mass communication. Mass communication comprises "the institutions and
techniques by which a specialized social group employ technological devices
to disseminate symbolic content to large heterogeneous and widely spread
audiences" ( Janowitz, 1980 : 41 ) The social conditions for the development
of mass communication in a given society are created by the forces of
urbanization, industrialization and modernization. Mass media not only
disseminate information in such societies but are also important resources of
leisure time activities although sports, games, tourism also constitute other
important leisure activities in modern societies. The scholars like Mayersohn
(1968) initiated an interesting discussion on the media use particularly on the
common view that mass media provide a leisure resource appropriate mainly
for the poor and culturally deprived. But his re-analysis of the data collected
by Steiner (1963) showed that poor people do not watch television because
they have no other leisure resources and that they actually use mass media
(particularly television) less than might be expected precisely because they
lack the stimulus to do so which is supplied to the majority by their wider range
of interest and activities including attention to the media. It suggests that the
leisure interests are mutually reinforcing and television viewing is in itself a
major leisure activity and is comparable to other more active leisure pursuits.
The studies conducted on the use of media indicate that leisure activities are
grounded in the personality or character of individuals and are formed in the
early childhood during the process of socialization ( Kamphorst, 1986 ). In
a nation-wide study conducted in Czechoslovakia Radicova (1989) identified
three patterns of leisure time activities. The most frequent responses
foicussed on activities possible at home such as household chores, viewing
television and reading news papers and magazines. The second pattern was
found among those who were involved in a higher energy level activities like
visiting friends and neighbours. In the third group individuals left their
immediate neighbourhood for club, cinema and sports activities. It suggests
that different media of mass communication are associated with different
patterns of leisure. Therefore, choice of the mass media for leisure may
depend on a number of variables like social class, educational level, age
group, occupation etc. Simultaneously different media may compete with
each other in order to attract the masses in a given society.

The urban middle class in Indiq has been highly receptive to new
media of mass communication. The advent of television set in Indian middle
class home in 1970’s provided them an opportunity to enjoy audio-visual programmes particularly films and film based programmes on the silver screen in a homely environment. The ownership of a television set became a status symbol and radio set lost its attraction in the middle class families. In recent years, the advent of ‘Satellite Television in Asian Region’ popularly known are STAR TV, has attracted the urban middle class to watch a wide and varied range of programmes on their colour and/or black and white television sets connected to dish antenna directly at roof of their houses or through a cable connection linked to a big dish antenna operated by a cable operator on rental basis. The advent of this innovation has affected the Indian middle class in two ways. On the one hand it has changed the habits of using other media of mass communication in the middle class. On the other hand it has an impact on their value-orientation (Singh 1993).

The present paper examines the impact of satellite television on urban middle class youth in terms of a shift in their relative exposure to other media of mass communication like radio, newspapers, magazines, cinema, V.C.R and national television network. The study was conducted in Bhopal city in January-February, 1993. The data were collected through an interview schedule administered on a sample of hundred youth in an urban middle class locality.

The paper is divided into three sections. In the first section the impact of satellite television on middle class youth in terms of a shift in their habits of using other media of mass communication like broadcast and print media is analysed. In the second section the impact of satellite T.V. network on audio-visual media is analysed. In the last section specific impact of the channels of Star T.V. network on the urban middle class youth and implications of the study are discussed.

1. Broadcast media

Radio is one among various broadcast media attained a great importance during the World War and thereafter. Although its expansion was mainly motivated to achieve political ends but gradually it became a major resource of leisure activity among the masses of modern industrial societies. With the improvement of technology portable radio and transistor sets also became popular resources of entertainment and recreation for the rural masses even in the developing countries like India.

Virendra Pal Singh

The impact of satellite television may be analysed on radio listening pattern of urban middle class youth in terms of the frequency of radio listening in a week. It is categorized as high, if one listens radio almost daily or 4-6 days in a week, medium if one listens radio 2-3 days and low, if one tunes his radio set occasionally or only once in a week and non-listeners who do not listen radio at all.

The empirical evidence indicates that the frequency of radio listening was relatively high among the female respondents (65%) in comparison to their male counterpart parts (47.5%). A good number of respondents (12%) were non-listeners and only about half of the respondents were used to tune their radio sets almost daily. Remaining respondents were either medium level (9%) or a low level of radio listeners. It suggests that the frequency of radio listening has been significantly declined among the Indian urban middle class youth as a result of their exposure to satellite television and the tendency of radio-listening is relatively high among the females in comparison to their male counterpart parts.

The pattern of radio listening activity emerged more clearly when the respondents were distributed in terms of the various programmes they usually listen on their radio sets. The evidence suggests that the number of the respondents who prefer to listen songs from films was very high (86%). The listening of news was another programme for which as many as 65% respondents tune their radio. Interestingly, running commentaries of sports emerged as another important programme to which a good number of respondents (41%) tuned their radio sets. Here it may be noted that both Indian television-Doodarshan and STAR Television cover a number of sports and games in their programmes. Recreational programmes (Sponsored by different commercial agencies) also have an attraction among about one fourth of the respondents.

It suggests that although there is a decline in radio listening as leisure activity but it still fulfils some specific media needs of like listening of film songs, news, and running commentaries of sports.

The choice of programmes varies with the sex of the respondent. The male respondents were relatively more interested in news and sports activities (67.5% and 47.5% respectively) in comparison to the female respondents (who scored 55% and 15% respectively) for these activities. On the other hand in case of film songs the female respondents slightly over scored on their male counterparts (85% against 80%).

2. Print media

The print media include printed matter such as news papers, magazines, pamphlets, posters etc. which are circulated among the masses for the purpose of disseminating information. The print media has been relatively a major resource of leisure in today’s modern societies. The impact
of satellite television on print media is analysed in terms of examining its effect on two major media, namely, newspapers and magazines. The frequency of newspaper reading and their type are selected as variables for analytical purpose.

(a) Newspapers.

Newspaper is one of the important media of mass communication in modern society. The reading of newspaper has now become a part of life as it disseminate information among the masses. One of its principal functions is to process description of events into printed form.

The frequency of newspaper reading was highest (97%) among the urban middle class youth as all of them read at least one newspaper daily. It suggests that newspaper readings has not been affected at all by the advent of satellite television in urban middle class homes. People still depend heavily on newspaper to know what is happening around and in the world. However, great variations were observed in the type of newspaper read by the respondent. Most of the respondents who read only a national newspaper was lowest (8%) while those who read both local and national newspapers were in a sizable number (16%). On linguistic basis the respondents also vary in their interests. About two third (67%) of the respondents read only Hindi newspapers. The number of readers who read only English newspaper is relatively low (15%) while a little less than one sixth (18%) of the respondents read newspapers of both Hindi and English languages. Surprisingly, no respondent read a national Hindi newspaper. It suggests that most of the people now read newspapers mainly to know local news as newspapers are the best source of what is happening around. For national and international news they depend more on broadcast and audio-visual media.

(b) Magazines

Magazine reading is mainly a leisure time activity. The advantage of this medium is that one can read a magazine not only in the house but also outside for example, in train, bus, shop, office or in library. It not only provides detailed information about important events but also provides entertainment. The subject matter of a magazine covers a wide range of topics. Some magazines cover the topics of general interest while the others are devoted to specific subjects like sports, films, science and so on. The most of the respondents under study read magazines (93%). The number of magazines read by a person and their nature varies from person to person. In all 64 magazines were reported by the respondents which shows that magazine reading is still a major leisure time activity for the people who also have a connection to the satellite television. The distribution of the respondents in relation to the number of magazines read suggests that most of the people read at least two magazines regularly. The number of the respondents who read four or more magazines was as high as 61%. It suggests that most of the youth prefer to read a variety of magazines. Females were also as much interested in magazine reading as their male counterpart.

Thus it can be said that there is no impact on print media of the satellite television. The print media retained its importance as a leisure time activity both among males and females. It is because of the different nature of this media. These two media are complementary of each other rather than competitive. A person who reads something in newspaper or magazine, also likes to see that on audio-visual media and what we see occasionally on television, also like to know about it in some more detail. The newspapers, magazines and book provide detailed information about the subjects of one’s interest.

II

Audio-visual media

The audio-visual media include cinema, television, V.C.R. and recently innovated cable television and satellite television. These media are relatively more effective than broadcast and print media. This section is devoted to analyse the impact of newly innovated satellite television on urban middle class youth in terms of frequency of using other audio-visual media particularly cinema, V.C.R. and television.

(a) Cinema

The cinema is a very attractive medium for Indian masses. The main reason for its popularity is that it does not require any initial money to invest in comparison to other audio-visual media like television and V.C.R. Indian masses are not in a position to invest a huge amount of money on these items. Naturally, cinema going is relatively cheaper.

The frequency of cinema going is relatively declined in urban middle class families. It was observed that little more than one third of the respondents had not seen any movie in cinema hall for last one month. While another one third of the respondents had gone to cinema only once. Only three out of every ten went to see two or more films in last one month. It indicates that the frequency of cinema going is negatively correlated with the exposure to television, V.C.R. and satellite television programme. The middle class youth prefer to see films on V.C.R., cable T.V. and channels of Doordarshan and satellite television.

(b) V.C.R.

Video cassette Recorder which is popularly known as V.C.R. is another audio-visual electronic medium which attracted Indian urban middle class in 1980s. In particular they purchase a V.C.R. or V.C.P. to watch films
shows its programmes by hiring a transponder from STAR T.V.

The advent of satellite television was a boon for cable operators. It motivated them to receive the programmes of STAR T.V., CNN, ATN, Pakistan T.V. etc. through dish antennas and linking to neighbourhood homes after paying installation charges and monthly rent. Apart from linking satellite channels, cable operators also show their own programmes on one channel (mainly films, popular serials, and film based programmes). It provided an alternative of the ‘Doordarshan’ to Indian middle class families. The popularity of satellite television was not confined only to metropolitan centres but it also became popular in small towns and villages of India. The growing popularity of satellite television first compelled Doordarshan to improve the quality of its programme on its metro channel with an assumption that the phenomenon of satellite T.V. shall be confined to metropolitan centres. But after receiving reports about its popularity in small towns the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India decided to launch some more channels through Satellite INSAT 2B.

The impact of satellite television on Doordarshan may be analysed in terms of the time spent by the respondents in watching the programmes of these two media. All the respondents watch the programmes of Doordarshan and satellite television. The respondents watch more regularly the programmes of satellite television rather than of Doordarshan (see table 1) as far as the weekly frequency of watching the programmes is concerned.

The total time spent per day on these media is also compared in table 2. The data show very clearly the impact of satellite television on Doordarshan watching in terms of the time spent. More than two-third of the respondents watch Doordarshan’s programmes not more than one hour a day. As many as 40% of the respondents watch Doordarshan only for half an hour (perhaps to watch news bulletins). On the other hand, the time spent by majority of the respondents on satellite television programmes is on average two to three hours per day. More than about one fourth (28%) of the respondents spend more than four hours a day to watch Satellite television. It suggests that the advent of satellite television has affected the Doordarshan to a great extent. The main competitor of the Doordarshan seems Zee T.V. (see table 3). A little less than half (43%) of the respondents preferred Zee T.V. programmes out of the five channels of STAR T.V. The Star plus channel is at second place with 22% and MTV at third place with 15%. Surprisingly, B.B.C. and Prime sports are not much preferred by the respondents. It suggests that Indian urban middle class viewers prefer entertainment oriented programmes.

Thus, the advent of satellite television has affected cinema and Doordarshan and radio in a significant manner. It has no adverse impact on V.C.R. watching. The print media has no significant impact of satellite television among the middle class families. It is still a routine affair in middle class families to read a newspaper in the morning. People depend on newspaper very heavily, particularly to know about local news. The magazines are
another major resource of leisure time activities among the middle class youth.

| Table 1: Frequency of watching Doordarshan and Satellite T.V. programmes (weekly) |
|----------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|---------|--------|-------|
| S. No. | Medium | High | Medium | Low | Total |
| 1. | Doordarshan | 86 | 10 | 4 | 100 |
| 2. | Satellite Television | 90 | 3 | 7 | 100 |

| Table 2: Time spent in a day on watching Doordarshan and STAR T.V. |
|-------------------------|-------------|-----------|
| S. NO. | Time spent (in hours) | Medium Doordarshan | STAR T.V. |
| 1. | Occasionally | 5 | - |
| 2. | 1/2 hour | 40 | - |
| 3. | 1 hour | 28 | 9 |
| 4. | 2-3 hours | 7 | 63 |
| 5. | 4-5 hours | - | 17 |
| 6. | More than 5 hours | - | 11 |
| 7. | No certainty | 20 | - |
| Total | 100 | 100 |

| Table 3: Preference to Channels on Satellite Television |
|---------------------------------|----------|----------------|
| S. NO. | Name of the channel | No of respondents preferred at first place |
| 1. | Zee T.V. (Hindi) | 43 |
| 2. | Star plus | 22 |
| 3. | Music television (M.T.V.) | 15 |
| 4. | B.B.C. | 12 |
| 5. | Prime sports | 7 |
| 6. | No response | 1 |
| Total | 100 |

Virendra Pal Singh

III

The impact of the Satellite television on urban middle class youth can also be examined by analysing the nature of the programmes regularly watched by them on different channels of Star T.V. networks. It would be more appropriate to discuss the nature of the programmes of each channel separately. The channels on Star T.V. network are: Zee T.V. Star plus, B.B.C., Prime sports and M.T.V. (replaced by "V" Channel recently).

Zee T.V.

Zee T.V. is a Hindi channel beamed through Star T.V. network. The channel is owned by an Indian businessman. The channel telecasts its programmes from 2 p.m. to 1.10 p.m. daily. On Sunday the programmes are telecasted throughout the day. The most popular programmes as reported by the respondents of the present study have been Chakravyuh, Gane Anjane, Sa Re Ga Na, Ghumta Aaina, Snakes and Ladder, Commander, Films and Bole Tare. The rating of these programmes in terms of their viewership percentage is shown in table 4.

| Table 4: The rating of some popular programmes of Zee T.V. |
|--------------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| S. NO. | Name of the programme | Viewership percentage |
| 1. | Chakravyuh | 78 |
| 2. | Gane Anjane | 75 |
| 3. | Sa Re Ga Na | 73 |
| 4. | Ghumta Aaina | 68 |
| 5. | Snakes and Ladder | 68 |
| 6. | Commander | 65 |
| 7. | Films | 65 |
| 8. | Bole Tare | 61 |

The Chakravyuh was rated as the most popular programme by the respondents. In this programme every week a social issue is discussed by a cross section of invited experts and viewers who are also invited by the organisers of the programme. Gane Anjane and Sa Re Ga Na are the programmes based on film songs mainly from newly released films. The attraction of youth towards this type of programmes is quite natural. Ghumta Aaina is a weekly news feature video magazine. The coverage of the programme is South Asia.
The reporting and presentation of Zee T.V. programmes are very impressive and attract the viewers. It suggests that the viewers are interested more in such programmes which are better in their quality and presentation. The Snakes & Ladder is another programme which has gained popularity among the youth. Commander, an investigative serial attained a good amount of popularity among the viewers. In Bole Tare a famous astrologer predicts future of persons on the basis of astrological calculations and symbols.

Some other programmes introduced after the study are Apki Adalat, Parampara, Insight, Hum Honge Kamyaab. In fact, Zee T.V. offers a variety of programmes to its viewers which are not only informative but also full of entertainment. This channel is now posing a real challenge to national television-Doordarshan.

Star plus

The Star plus channel of Star T.V. network is broadly based on western oriented programmes. The viewership of this channel is also very high (56 %). A number of programmes of this channel are liked by the respondents. Although these are not as popular as Zee T.V.s programmes but even though the rating of some of its programmes is very impressive. The programmes which have more than 30 % viewership are shown in table 5 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.NO.</th>
<th>Name of the programme</th>
<th>Viewership percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>The Spectacular world of Guiness records</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>The bold and the beautiful</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Life style of the famous</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Hollywood stars</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Video fashion</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Beyond tomorrow</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Movies</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Crime Story</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Remington Steel</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The popularity of the above mentioned programmes among the youth is an indicator of their attraction towards western style of life. The regular watching of such programmes may create elite aspiration among the youth. Moreover, it may also give rise to consumerism. The exposure of the youth to this channel may also bring a change in their value-orientation. The traditional values may be replaced by the western values. Thus it may initiate the process of westernization in a new form.

B.B.C.

The B.B.C. World Service also beams its programmes through the transponder of Star television networks. The B.B.C. radio has been very popular in India. During the emergency period in 1976 and Gulf War in 1990 the people trusted to a great extent on it. With the advent of Satellite television, B.B.C. channel was readily adopted by Indian viewers as an authentic news channel. It was observed that 95 % of the respondents were watching World news of B.B.C. The rating of other programmes of the B.B.C. such as ZOO (33 %), Wild Life Safari (21 %), The Travel show (20 %) was relatively low. Thus, the Indian viewers, now have an access to news and views through the specialised services of B.B.C. The regular exposure to this channel will provide a world view to the viewers thereby modernizing their values.

MTV

MTV was most controversial channel of Star Television network. This was a music channel offering western style of music to the viewers. The channel was being viewed by 95 % of the respondents. The most popular programme on this channel was MTV Top 20 Video count Down Asia (53 %) followed by MTV Most wanted (50 %). The other programmes being liked by the youth were V.J. Nonie (45 %), V.J. Sophia (44 %), MTV Power pack (41 %) and MTV weekend special (36 %). Despite the objections raised by the social workers, politicians and other sections of the society, MTV became popular among the middle class youth. This Channel was dropped by Star television network after the visit of its owner Rupert Murdoch to India in 1994. A new music channel- 'Channel V' has been started by Star T.V. which is more or less similar to MTV. Now efforts are being made to popularise this channel among the Indian viewers by introducing programmes based on Hindi film songs like 'BPL OYE', Videocon etc. But most of the time songs based on western music are telecast by this channel. The impact of this channel on the Indian viewers particularly on middle class may be in the form of westernization.

Prime Sports

The Prime Sports channel is basically a sports channel which is devoted to telecast live a number of sports events from different parts of the world. The channel is viewed by 92 % of the viewers but only when current sports events are telecast live (79 %). Cricket, Tennis and Hockey are among the most popular games being watched by the respondents.

The popularity of a channel can be measured on the basis of its viewership. On this account, no much differences were found between
different channels: Zee T.V. (99 %), Star plus (96 %), B.B.C. and MTV (95 % each). The viewership of Prime Sports channel was however, 92 %. In all, the viewership was above 90.5 for all the channels of satellite television network.

The popularity of a channel may also be measured on the basis of relative preferences of the programmes of a channel. For this purpose, the respondents were asked to rank different channels in a preferential order. Different score values were assigned to a channel according to order of preference given by a respondent. A score value of 5 was given if a channel was ranked in first order of preference, 4 to second order of preference, 3 to third order of preference, 2 to fourth order of preference and 1 to fifth order of preference. The distribution of the respondents according to their relative preference to different channels of STV and their score on five points ranking scale described above is shown in table 6 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Channel</th>
<th>Order of preference</th>
<th>Total score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>I   II  III IV</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Zee T.V</td>
<td>43  15  16 13 10  99</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(215)</td>
<td>(60) (48) (26) (10) (359)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Star Plus</td>
<td>22  30 29 12 03 96</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(110)</td>
<td>(120) (87) (24) (06) (344)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>B.B.C.</td>
<td>12  28 22 22 11 95</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(60)</td>
<td>(112) (66) (44) (11) (293)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>MTV</td>
<td>15  14 14 20 32 95</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(75)</td>
<td>(56) (42) (40) (32) (245)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Prime Sports</td>
<td>7   10 13 26 36 92</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(35)</td>
<td>(40) (39) (52) (36) (102)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Score value in parenthesis)

The relative preference to the programmes of a channel as shown in table 6 above gives a more clear picture. The Zee TV channel emerges as the most popular channel with highest score of 359, followed by the Star plus channel with a total score of 344. The B.B.C. attained third place (score 293). MTV and Prime Sports were not preferred much by the respondents.

Thus, satellite television has affected the middle class youth in the

following ways: (a) A significant decrease in the frequency of radio listening and cinema going is an indicator of change in their media use habits. However, radio now fulfils very specific needs of the urban middle class families. (b) The exposure of urban middle class to the print media is not affected by satellite television. (c) The exposure of the urban middle class to audio-visual media has been tremendously increased in the recent past. But the advent of satellite television provided the scope of selecting a channel of one’s own choice on his T.V. set. A free choice of channels of foreign and indigenous origin may have its own impact on the urban middle class in India. It is evident from the findings of the present study that the programmes of foreign origin have an edge over the indigenous programmes of Doordarshan. A content analysis of the programmes popular among the urban middle class youth suggests that the continuous exposure to the Star T.V. channels may bring about a change in their value-orientation. It may initiate the process of diffusion of western values among the urban middle class of India. Simultaneously, a new consumer culture may also emerged on the scene. The psychic mobility of these urban middle class youth in the form of the rise in their expectations without proper social and occupational mobility may pose certain problems before Indian society. If the Indian leadership fails in fulfilling these rising expectations of the youth it may create the demand of changing leadership in coming years.

**Note:** This paper was presented at XXII All India Sociological Conference held at New Delhi in December 1994.

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Steiner, G. 1963 The People Look at Television, New York: Alfred Knopf.
STRUCTURAL CONSEQUENCES OF OCCUPATIONAL AND SPATIAL MOBILITY IN A SCHEDULED CASTE

VIJAY SISODIA

The social structure of Indian society is differentiated and graded hierarchically. The caste system, as the religio-social instrument, has provided the fundamental base upon which the rubric of this hierarchy has been devised. Any analysis of Indian society without taking caste into consideration is not complete as almost all the activities of society-economic, political, educational and socio-cultural-revolve around the notion of caste (Parvathamma, 1984). The caste system has divided the whole population of the society into many hierarchically arranged categories, which are not only segregated from each other by many rules of commensality and social intercourse but are based on the notion of superiority and subordination. Individuals belonging to the lowest category of this caste hierarchy have been treated as ‘untouchables’. Being deprived economically, discriminated socially and disabled politically, these caste groups at the lowest level of hierarchy have been victim of constant oppression and perennial humiliation. From time to time these caste groups have been designated with a number of euphemisms such as ‘untouchables’, ‘Dalits’ or ‘Harijans’ etc. the latest being the ‘scheduled Castes’ as these groups have been included in the ‘Fourteenth Schedule’ of the Constitution of India. These scheduled castes account for about 15 per cent of the total population of the country. They are scattered all over the country and include hundreds of caste at various levels of socio-economic development. The only thing they share in common is abject and social disabilities.

The Indian caste system is a typical example of closed stratification system. Traditionally caste system has been usually rigid, birth ascribed and permitting no individual social mobility but nevertheless of the ‘ranked aggregate of people’. Apart for determining the social status of individuals and the patterns of their interpersonal behavior, the caste system has also been instrumental in determining the occupation of its members. Like the caste system, the traditional structure of occupation have not been very common. This was reinforced by the hereditary nature of the occupational specialization within the caste system (Pande 1986). Every one of the large number of castes had an occupation which was its own. ‘The search for an occupation other than that of one’s own caste was not considered proper if not actually sinful’ (Kroeber, 1930). In this context, it is believed that the caste system operated as a kind of transmission belt over which occupations of parents used to directly pass on to their sons, An individual in such a system, therefore, has no choice as far as the selection of occupation is
they form the largest chunk of Scheduled Castes population in the city and live in certain well defined localities forming what may be termed as an ethnic community having well assessed system of reciprocity and mutuality, and secondly, most of them have left their traditional caste occupation i.e. working in leather and are engaged in a variety of other occupations such as Government services, lime and construction industry and petty trading etc. A sample of 300 respondents, has been randomly drawn from the migrant Jatav population of Dehradun. For the selection of respondents, the voter list of the area has been used as sampling frame because all the individuals included in the universe reside in certain well defined localities.

The data were collected on the various aspects of migration, occupational mobility and intra-caste relations with the help of a self-administered questionnaire. To provide depth to inquiry of informal group discussion and quasi-participant observation techniques were used.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Migration from rural to urban areas is the result of a number of interrelated factors. Some economists and demographers have tried to explain the process of rural-urban migration in terms of push and pull on the basis of higher land-men ratio, unemployment or the under-unemployment at the place of origin and the pull of higher wages and the opportunity for education and training at the place of destination (Rao 1988). The pull and push approach like the economic one assumes that it is only the poor and low paid in the rural areas that move out (Bose, 1965). Dehradun being the largest city in the region the educational and employment opportunities available here has been attracting people from far off places since long. The lime industry of Dehradun (now on the verge of closure as a result of ‘ban on Quarrying’ by the Supreme Court of India) has attracted a large number of Jatav population from the nearby districts of Bijnore. In pre-independence days this lime industry was solely owned and operated by the Jatav migrants from Bijnore as they had developed the technical knowledge and expertise in the field. Even today a large number of Jatav population is engaged in lime industry as skilled and unskilled workers.

Level of Education

The ample educational facilities available in the town and the facilities given to all Scheduled Castes in the field of education in the name of ‘Protective Discrimination’ motivated the Jatav population in Dehradun to acquire higher education. They have come to realise the importance of education as a pre-condition for higher level caste neutral jobs. The distribution of respondents according to their duration of migration to Dehradun and educational level is presented in Table NO.1. there is very high percentage of literacy among the respondents as only 11.00 % of the respondents are illiterate and 89.00 % are literate. Among the literate respondents 11.34% have studied only upto class fifth, 18.34% have passed
Table NO. 1: Distribution of Respondents according to their Education and Duration of Migration.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Duration of Migration (in Years)</th>
<th>Illiterate</th>
<th>Primary</th>
<th>Middle</th>
<th>Inter</th>
<th>Graduate</th>
<th>P.G.</th>
<th>Prof. Total Deg.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0 - 5</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 - 10</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 - 15</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 - 20</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 - 25</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 - 30</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 +</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

middle i.e. class 8th; 15.00% have attained education upto intermediate level; 11.67% are graduates and about one fifth of the total literate respondents i.e. 20.67% have received education upto postgraduate level. The remaining 6.00% have one or the other professional qualification as LLB or Diploma in engineering. When the respondent's educational level is analysed on the basis of duration of their migration, the earlier migrants show a lesser inclination towards education. Most of them migrated to work as labourers in lime industry so neither they had the time nor desire to obtain education. The later migrants or the next generations of earlier migrants seems to be more interested in attaining higher education.

Urban areas provides new occupational outlets for individuals in contrast to the rural areas which have only a few occupations. Thus the process of migration or spatial mobility in general and from rural to urban migration in particular leads to occupational mobility. Traditionally the Jatavs have been working in leather from skinning to making and repairing of shoes. Along with their traditional caste occupation they have been working as landless agricultural labourers, sometimes even as bonded labour. The mechanization of agricultural operations has substantially reduced the demand of manual labour in the fields. This made the life of agricultural labourers difficult in the rural areas and pushed them towards urban areas in search of alternative employment. M.S.A. Rao (1986) has also observed that migration is considered to be a function of labour reallocation in response to market demands, so that demand and supply of labour are always in equilibrium. labour mobility occurs in direct response to expected wage differentials between rural and urban areas.

Table NO. 2 Distribution of the respondents according to their Present Occupation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.NO</th>
<th>Present Occupation</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Professionals and Administrative</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>7.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Inspectinal/Supervisory</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>5.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>15.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Skilled Workers</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>20.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Self employed</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>23.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Un-skilled Workers</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>22.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Traditional caste occupation</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>5.67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table shows that only 17 (5.67 %) respondents are still engaged in their traditional caste occupation of making and repairing shoes. From the sample of 300 respondents there are 7.34 percent engaged in various professional and administrative type of jobs, 5.67 % are engaged in inspectional and supervisory jobs; there are 15.00 % respondents who are engaged in clerical jobs in various government, semi-government and private organizations. There are 20.67 percent respondents who are skilled workers engaged in various industries especially lime and construction; 23.34 % of the respondents are self employed and engaged in petty trade and business, the remaining 22.34 % respondents are earning their livelihood by working as unskilled labourers in lime and construction industry. From this data on occupational background of the respondents it is clear that percentage of those who are engaged in unskilled type of jobs is still comparatively higher (22.34 %) than in other occupations.

Income and Class Position

The distribution of the respondents according to their monthly income is presented in Table No.3
Table NO. 3 Distribution of respondents according to their Monthly Income

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.NO.</th>
<th>Income Groups</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>0-500</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>15.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>500-1000</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>36.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>1000-1500</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>14.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>1500-2000</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>21.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>2000-2500</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>6.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>2500-3000</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>3000-Above</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>All groups</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the above data the average monthly income of the respondents comes out to be Rs. 1104/- which means that more than 51.00 per cent respondents have income lower than the average income.

For the purpose of analysis and determination of class position of the respondents the above mentioned income groups have been further clustered into four different economic classes. The distribution of respondents according to their class position have been presented in Table NO. 4.

Table NO. 4 Distribution of respondents according to their Class Position

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.NO.</th>
<th>Class position (monthly income)</th>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Upper class (Rs. 3000/- and above)</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>2.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Upper-middle (Rs. 2000/- to Rs. 3000/-)</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>10.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Lower-middle (Rs. 1000/- to Rs. 2000/-)</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>35.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Lower class (0 - Rs. 1000/-)</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>51.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>All classes</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Inter-generational Occupational Mobility

The shift from traditional caste based occupations has become a common phenomenon in the modern industrialized urban areas. The modern forces of change have made the entry of individuals possible in different occupations irrespective of their caste affiliations. The occupational structure of society has become open and meritocratic. An analysis of inter-generational occupational mobility in the present study clearly reveals the fact that the respondents have been constantly moving away from their traditionally caste based ritualistic occupations to new occupations based on secular sanctions. (c.f. Table NO. 5)

Table NO. 5: Inter-generational Occupational Mobility among the respondents.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Grand Father (n=500)</th>
<th>Father (n=300)</th>
<th>Self (n=300)</th>
<th>Sons (n=47)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Professional / Administrative</td>
<td>00.34</td>
<td>02.34</td>
<td>07.34</td>
<td>17.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inspectional / Supervisory</td>
<td>01.00</td>
<td>03.00</td>
<td>05.67</td>
<td>29.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>05.00</td>
<td>15.00</td>
<td>14.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled Workers</td>
<td>00.67</td>
<td>06.00</td>
<td>20.67</td>
<td>19.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self Employed</td>
<td>06.00</td>
<td>11.00</td>
<td>23.34</td>
<td>06.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled Worker</td>
<td>18.00</td>
<td>14.00</td>
<td>22.34</td>
<td>12.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agri. Labourer</td>
<td>62.00</td>
<td>51.34</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional Caste Occupation</td>
<td>12.00</td>
<td>07.34</td>
<td>05.67</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the above table it is clear that only 0.34% grand fathers and 2.34% fathers were in professions or administrative jobs. 1.00% grand fathers and 3.00% fathers were in inspectional or supervisory jobs; 6.00% grand fathers and 11.00% fathers were self employed in petty trade and business. The highest percentage of grand fathers and fathers i.e. 62.00% grand fathers and 51.34% fathers were landless agricultural labourers in their native villages. 12.00% grand fathers and 7.74% fathers were engaged in their traditional caste occupation. In the generation of respondents and their sons no one of them is engaged as agricultural labourers; only 5.6% of the respondents earn their livelihood by working in leather while no individual in
son’s generation is engaged in their traditional caste occupation.

The occupational mobility and the resultant improvement in the economic status induces element of class system within the same caste. In the traditional Indian society class stratification used to synchronize with caste stratification. The upper classes of society were the upper castes and low caste shudras and out castes constituted the lower classes (Tara Bhai, 1987). The fast developing occupational mobility among the migrants has disturbed this traditional equilibrium and now the class stratification no more synchronizes with caste stratification. When caste and class cease to synchronize inter class relations tend to prevail over intra caste relations.

Class orientation tends to replace caste orientation in social, educational and political interaction. In the present study the development or emergence of these class elements among the Jatav caste has been analysed on the basis of residential segregation and inter and intra caste friendship relations.

Friendship Patterns

As far as the friendship patterns are concerned visits to friends place has been taken as one of the indicators. Table No. 6 shows the frequency of visits by respondents to their friends of other and their own caste. As far as the friends of other castes are concerned they are visited more by the respondents who are engaged in higher secular jobs with comparatively better economic status while the respondents engaged in unskilled and traditional caste occupation visit only the houses of friends belonging to their own caste. Out of 103 respondents who regularly visit the houses of friends belonging to other castes 19.42% are professionals or engaged in administrative jobs; 14.57% are in inspectional and supervisory jobs; 29.13% each are engaged in clerical jobs and skilled jobs. The remaining 7.77% are self employed as petty traders and businessmen. On the other hand out of 174 respondents who visits regularly to their friends of their own caste only 2.30% are professionals and engaged in administrative jobs; 2.88% are in inspectional and supervisory jobs; 7.48% are in clerical jobs; 10.35% are skilled workers while 28.74% are self employed; 38.51% are unskilled workers and the remaining 9.72% are engaged in their traditional caste occupation. Almost all the respondents who are un skilled workers and engaged in their traditional caste occupation most regularly visit the friends of their own caste while 35.82% unskilled workers and 82.36% engaged in their traditional caste occupation don’t have friendship circle outside their own caste. This clearly depicts that the social distance practices which used to characterise the inter-caste relations in traditional society tend to persist in the interclass relations within the same caste group.

Residential clustering or segregation in terms of race, caste, religion, language etc. has been a universal features of urban social structure. It is a reflection of ethnic solidarity. Jatavs in Dehradun represent a well defined social group residing in certain well demarcated localities. But the important phenomenon observed during the field works is that those respondents who

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Friends of other castes</th>
<th>Friends of their own Castes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>R</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional / Administrative</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inspectional Supervisory</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled Workers</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self Employed</td>
<td>08</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled Worker</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traditional Caste Occupation</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>142</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

R=Regular          O=Occasional
N=Never             T=Total

are engaged in higher level secular occupations and are engaged in higher level secular occupations and are economically well off have been moving out of these localities and are trying to settle down in different localities inhabited by the mixed population and not exclusively by their own caste. This clearly indicates that the respondents who are vertically moved up in the occupational hierarchy and are economically more prosperous then other members of their own caste, tend to maintain a distance from them and want to identify themselves with the persons of similar economic status irrespective of their castes. This reveals that when caste and class cease to synchronize class background tend to be the basis for neighbourhood relations in place of caste affiliations.

CONCLUSIONS

In the light of foregoing analysis and discussion the following conclusions have emerged from the present study:
1. Spatial mobility or migration is one of the most important factors of occupational mobility. This is particularly true in the case of rural to urban migration as the urban areas provide new occupational outlets for individuals in contrast to the rural areas which have only few occupations.

2. The occupational mobility among scheduled castes leads to improvement in economic status.

3. The economic disparities thus created within a caste group results in the emergence of elements of class system as the loyalties of these people shift their caste to their class. These tendencies are reflected in the social interaction among the members of the same caste.

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EDUCATION AND CULTURAL TRANSFORMATION

R. SHANKAR
A. LALITHA

Education is an important institution in any modern or modernizing society. It has been studied from the perspectives of many different disciplines and the variations in its form and functioning have been described in the context of many countries and culture. With the view to bring about lasting improvement of a society it is felt imperative to develop its human resources at first. In this context education is regarded as the potential instrument for national development. It is through education that a nation transmits its heritage, recreates its culture, strengthens its economy and conserves its values. Education is a social instrument which functions as a vital agent of socio-cultural change. The entire culture including its values, norms, ideas, beliefs, skills and techniques in a word non-material and material both are transmitted through education from generation to generation. (Pandey 1988). The main function of the education has been to act as a caretaker and dispenser of certain cultural resources of society. Education communicates knowledge and shapes its values and acts as an agent for socialization. There are few studies, focusing the relationship between educational and cultural dimensions of social change. T.B. Naik (1969) pointed out that, education is in no doubt introducing cultural change in the Bhils of Madhya Pradesh. He concludes that there occurred changes in their dressing pattern, modes of living and economy. Similarly Suman Chandra (1989) in her study on education on the Munda Tribal community revealed that Christian Missionaries, by starting many schools, hospitals etc., brought changes among the people. She has concluded that the changes in material life due to education have been quite apparent. The use of furniture, umbrellas, bicycles has been found among the educated people. She also observed that the school going Mundas tribal boys use modern dresses even if their parents wear traditional dresses. Vaikuntham (1982), found that, education exerted a favourable influence in changing the attitudes of both the rural and urban respondents of Muslim backward classes, non-Muslim backward classes and scheduled castes towards social institutions like family, religion, marriage, caste, education, status of women and family planning.

The present paper is aimed to analyse the relationship between education and cultural transformation in a rural setting. The area chosen for this study is Tiruchirapalli District. According to the 1991 census data, the total rural population in India is 627,146,597. Tamil Nadu constitutes around 36,611,285 of the rural masses; among these the literates are

17,424,520 persons. The rural population of Tiruchirapalli district is around 3,014,698 persons. Among the rural masses the literates are around 1,426,613 persons. The people who are engaged in agricultural work (cultivators and agricultural labourers) are 1,257,756 persons. Hence it is derived that more than 40% of the rural population are still engaged in agricultural operations. Therefore, it is felt necessary to analyse whether formal education has made any change with the rural population in the socio-cultural aspects.

For this attempt, three villages from Tiruchirapalli Districts have been selected to analyse the socio-cultural changes. The socio-cultural indicators taken for this study are religious practices, marital age, beliefs and interaction with other caste people. The changes have been measured between two generation.

The major focus of this study revolves around the following question:

**Does education influence the cultural life of rural people towards change?**

In other words it aims to find out the relationship between formal education and the cultural transformations among rural people. Here, an attempt is made to analyse the relationship between education and religious practices, marital age, superstitious beliefs and interaction with other castes.

**Sample Selection**

The area selected for this study is a set of three villages of Tiruchirapalli District. Tiruchirapalli District is the most centrally located district in Tamil Nadu. The three villages selected are Suriyur, Thirurparai and Uyyakondan Thirumalai and are selected by using purposive sampling technique. That is, to analyse the people with the typical rural situation two remote villages have been purposively selected. One is a dry village Suriyur, and the other is a wet village - Thirurparai. Both are situated 23kms away from Tiruchirapalli town. The third village is Uyyakondan Thirumalai which is semi-urban in nature and is situated 8kms away from Tiruchirapalli town.

Since this study involves cultural transformations, which is a slow process, it includes two generations of rural people. Hence, to measure the changes, the households having two generations have been considered as the respondents of the study and were interviewed by using interview schedule. Census method of sample selection is followed. This constitutes nearly 20% of the total households of the study area.

R. Shankar, A. Lalitha

**Level of Education**

The level of education of the respondents drawn from three villages under study is shown in Table 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of Education</th>
<th>I Generation</th>
<th>II Generation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Suriyur</td>
<td>Thirurparai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illiterate</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School &amp; below</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PUC/ H.Sc &amp; above</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above table portrays the educational qualification of the respondents of both the generations. A remarkable change is seen in the educational qualification of the rural masses of the study area over a period of 25 years. The number of illiterates have been reduced from 27% to 3%. Similarly at the primary level of education, there is difference between the first and the second generation respondents i.e. from 37% to 24%. Whereas, the percentage of high school educated people has been increased from 32.5% to 42%. Similarly a great difference is found between the generations when their educational qualification reaches to PUC or Higher Secondary and above (i.e. from 3.4% to 31%). It is found that, more than 15% of the second generation people are to be graduates and post graduates.

Thus it is observed that a remarkable change occurred between the two generations of rural people regarding their educational qualification.

**Occupation**

As far as the occupation of the respondents is concerned, it is observed that among the first generation people, the respondents engaged in agriculture work were 76% and only 24% of the respondents were engaged in non-agricultural work such as government, private and quasi-government employees, daily wagers and coolies. Whereas, in case of the second generation people, the number of respondents engaged in agricultural operations have been reduced to 60%, consequently there is an
increase in the percentage of non-agricultural workers. Of the three villages, the people who are engaged in government and private sectors are more in the semi-urban U.T. Malai, followed by Thiruparaithurai-the fertile well irrigated village. This infers that there is an increase in the number of people who are engaged in non-agricultural work, among the second generation people.

**RELIGIOUS PRACTICES**

When we analyse the religious practices of the two generation people, it is observed that though there is a remarkable difference between the two in their educational qualifications, there is no much difference in their involvement in religious practices. Most probably both educated and uneducated people without any difference are willing to participate in the village level religious festivals like Mariyaman Thiruvizha, Maduraisan and Karupannasamy festivals, Perumal temple festival and the like. It is observed that all the members of the family are willing to participate regardless of their age. In a very few households the highly educated and well employed respondents are not so much interested in participating such village level religious festivals. It is found that more than 90% of the first generation people are following and practicing such type of religious functions and festivals. Whereas there is slight difference among the second generation people. That is among the second generation people an average of 65% of the people show much involvement in the village level religious customary functions. Among the rests, the educated people, though the other members of their households (elder & other) follow such things, are reluctant to practice such religious customs.

**MARRIAGE**

In general, it is observed that the rural people mostly do not prefer or encourage inter-caste marriages as well as love marriages. A very few love marriages (3.6%) were occurred in all the three villages among both the generations. Among these marriages, most of the marriages are endogamy in nature (occurred within the same caste). These love marriages were occurred and permitted due to unavoidable situations.

When we compare the two generation people, a very few second generation educated respondents support love and inter-caste marriages.

When we look into the age at the time of marriage of I and II generation respondents, there is a remarkable change occurred between the two. Among the parent generation people, for most of the respondents (more than 65%), the marriage age was below 25 years. But there is an increase in the marital age among the second generation people. Majority of second generation educated respondents (more than 55%) of wet and semi-urban villages have got married at the age group of 25 to 30 yrs. The parents preferred their sons to get educated and employed before marriage.

**BELIEFS**

India is a country where much importance is given to traditional customs, values and beliefs. Much of the beliefs may be superstitious in nature. Such beliefs are prevailing more in villages. Hence, it is analysed here, whether the growth of education has replaced such beliefs through rational and moral values.

The practices of seeing auspicious time, ominous time (rahu kalam), horoscope etc., are prevailing both among the first as well as the second generation respondents. It is also observed that such practices are common among the uneducated as well as the educated people. This is in contradiction with the observation of Islam (1983), where a negative association was found between education and superstitious beliefs, literates were less superstitious than illiterates.

**INTERACTION WITH OTHER CASTE PEOPLE**

Similarly when we observe the rural people’s interaction with other caste people, it is found that, among the first generation people, though their interaction with other religious people are cordial many of the aged parents, especially the dry village people are indifferent in their behavior and interaction with other caste people particularly with lower caste people like scheduled castes.

A sum of 67% subjects of the second generation in wet as well as in semi-urban village, if not cordial, do not show much aversion towards the lower caste people. It is observed that as the level of education increases, their interaction with lower caste people also increases. A similar observation was quoted in the study of Ahmad (1980), that, the educational status helped in the development of the bond of friendship transcending the barriers of caste and colour.

Thus, in general, it may be said that the educated second generation respondents are comparatively modern than the uneducated people.

**CONCLUSION**

It may be concluded that education acts as a factor for the transformation between the two generation people in their cultural aspects like marital age and their interaction with other caste people; but no changes occurred in the practices of religious customs and in their superstitious beliefs.
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HUMAN RESPONSE TO ENVIRONMENT AND SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION IN TRIBAL VILLAGES OF RAJASTHAN

G. RAM

Environment plays an important role in shaping economy, and culture of a society. In order to sustain their lives the people respond to the surrounding environment and develop a reciprocal system of interaction, out of which certain patterns of economic, social and cultural relationships among them come into existence. Extent of the environmental impact on these patterns, as determined by the mode of human response of technology varies from place to place and hence the economic, social and cultural systems of various complexities. In a primitive society where technology is simple and crude, a close impact of the environment on the economy is easily discernible. The technological level of the human response bears capacity to alter the environment and, therefore, the human response has to successively keep on seeking re-adjustments to the sequence of such alterations. This reciprocal system brings occupational differentiation and socio-cultural transformation, as well as holds possibilities for planning the sustainable development in the given environment. What human trials and adjustments, their socio-economic consequences and possibilities, therefrom, for future development are emerging in the wake of the environmental alterations in the rural areas specially in tribal villages of Rajasthan? The question is being attempted with reference to the three Bhil Villages of Udaipur district, namely, Pai, Alisgarh and Aad, constituting a gram panchayat- the lowest tier- of the three tier system of panchayati Raj in the State. An understanding of the traditional situation is derived from historical sources and a few interviews, with the persons in the situations. The data about the present situation are gathered through observations and interviews during the years 1993 and 1994 in the three villages under study.

THE TRADITIONAL SITUATION

The three villages located in the south of Udaipur city constitute a unit of the Griwa Block of the district. The physiography of the area is characterized by hilly terrain, ridges and undulating land. There the Bil habitations with widely dispersed hamlets form a peculiar settlement pattern. The majority of houses is built on hill tops or slopes and the land around the house is cultivated. The houses are built with the nearest available material, i.e., wood, earth and stone. Forest and agriculture have been the two major sources of livelihood of the Bhils since the distant past. There have been, however, changes in the mode and extent of their exploitation of the
natural resources. At present they are settled agriculturists, but not long ago shifting cultivation was very common among the Bhils (Erskine 1908: 42-43). Besides, they enjoyed greater freedom in the exploitation of the forests. About 150 years ago the forests of this region were beautiful and thickly wooded, but injudicious felling of trees by forest contractors and burning of the forest for cultivation by the Bhils damaged forests predominantly (Ibid: 52).

The Bhils - forest - dwellers since ancient times - had been undoubtedly, the masters of the forests in which they lived; free from any external intervention in their affairs. When their authority was questioned by the Rajput kings, out of the three Bhil inhabited districts (Girwa, Magra and Kolda) of Mewar, the last could not be won. Even in Girwa and Magra, there were upsurges against the contemporary rulers and the Bhils continued to realize taxes from the people passing through their territories. The Bhils concern regarding the forest can be well appreciated in the light of the fact that in the past, owing to simple and crude agricultural operations, their dependence on the forest for livelihood was very great. In pre-independence period Bhumia and Girasia Chiefmandans granted leases to contractors from Gujarat (1908: 52). After independence the Forest Department of the State Government auctioned the forests to the contractors who ruthlessly cut down trees of all kinds. In 1962 the contractors received contracts related to No. 1 and No. 2 forests of pai, but they cleared even No. 3 forests sparing no tree-green or dry. The pai people had earlier, evolved a code regarding the exploitation of the forests: the green and not-full-grown trees will not be cut, and a certain portion of the forests would not be touched at all. But the villagers too, who used to go to the distant places to join the labour camps of the forest contractors, happily joined their hands with the contractors against the forests ignoring their own code. This impelled them to a situation of scarcity of even fuel wood, building material and grass (Doshi 1974: 38-39).

THE HUMAN DYNAMICS OF THE ENVIRONMENT

Obviously in the traditional situation the Bhils of the region not only received shelter, security, freedom, livelihood and life style but also fulfilled almost all their needs. With the increase in their population and gradual coming of the settled agriculture, burning of the forests under the mode of shifting cultivation and overgrazing of the forests by increasing number of animals respectively, kept on widening the scope of the damage to the forests. Cutting of the trees for cash by the townsmen of Udaipur further accentuated the problem. When all such internal factors of the Bhils were cumulatively mounting pressure against the forests, even then the existing community codes regarding the exploitation of the forests functioned for a sustaining and regenerative eco-system. But it was the contractors and the government of both pre-independence and post-independence driven by commercial and revenue motives respectively and the people themselves, with their whetted lust for cash, who at last jointly brought the forests to the brink of extinction. Today, even the unapproachable and the higher reaches have been encroached upon by the people spilling over the brims of the main phalas (Sectors) and up-phalas of these villages. Khiladi, kimir and Dindhwar of pai, and Nala of alsiagh have no communication links with the main phalas and the outer world except long and perilous foot tracks. Forests and agriculture no more remaining the main source of livelihood, they have come to feel the crisis of fuel, fodder, food and land. In pai, the reckless exploitation of the forests has brought the villagers and the state Government, both in an interesting situation of inter- and intra-conflicts. The Forest Department of the State Government and the Pai villagers are embroiled in a 30 years old conflict over the construction of a boundary wall at the higher reaches to preserve the scant forests. In view of the villagers' resistance, the department has from time to time shifted the wall construction to still higher reaches, but the continuous pouring in of the people still in the higher reaches has further complicated the conflict. About the one-fifth of the population settled by encroachment on the land and a sufficient section of their sympathizers from the main phalas adamantly resist any move to uproot them from the lands. But a significant section of the village itself which, due to the encroachments, has been deprived of their approach to the forest produces and foresees employment opportunities in the wall construction, is in conflict with the co-villagers settled in the forests. A third section of the villagers is in favour of demarcation of the plots of land with their responsibility to protect the trees afforested in the plots and their rights to utilize fodder, fuel and other produce. Then, the Lok Vikas Samiti a cooperative society formed by the villagers to be affected by construction of boundary wall took up the matter to the High Court of Judicature, Rajasthan at Jodhpur and got the construction stayed in 1987.

THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES

The dynamics of the environmental alterations and the series of human adjustments have brought a significant socio-economic transformation in the villages. The solely primary sector-based traditional tribal economy is now replaced by an economy differentiated into the occupations from all the three sectors - primary, secondary and tertiary.

The primary sector has differentiated into the two occupations: agriculture and sericulture. The agriculture still practised almost by all the families (99%) of the villages, is now the sole occupation only of a meagre number of the families (3%). Therefore, the agriculture, though not the only occupation, is a major occupation supplemented by one or more occupations from all the three sectors. The sericulture the cash crop initiated by the Tribal Development Department - has significantly come to stay as the allied occupation of the agriculture among a small number of the families (4%) with water facility. In the wake of cash incomes, a small size of the families (3%), has combined shop-keeping and trading in local agricultural products with agriculture and other occupations from all the sectors.
G. Ram

developed in a modern way just by creating supportive structures. All the four occupations and possibilities-agriculture, sericulture, afforestation and poultry farming represent only the different combinations and permutations of the same three factors, i.e., man, plant and animal. If these are carried out through suitable supportive structures in the villages they will prove to be mutually sustaining and regenerative and compatible with tribal culture, economy and identity in the villages. Moreover, the supportive structures managed by their own people are more effective in disseminating and sustaining the innovations. In Pai, the local woman in the Adiwas Mahila Sahakari Samiti Limited have gained good level of confidence in making of sericultural implements and reeling of silk yarn, whereas the sericulturists have the assured disposal of the crops through it.

SUMMARY

The socio-economic consequences of the destruction of the forests are visible in the massive enalbourmentization and pauperization of the people in the tribal villages of Rajasthan. However the continuing structures of agriculture holds the key to the possible sustainable development through sericulture, afforestation and poultry farming in the villages. To realize these possibilities the supportive structures are a necessity for the people in the tribal villages of Rajasthan.

NOTE :– The paper was presented at the National Seminar on "Tribal Development and Environment" (Oct 16-17, 1994) organised by Environment Study Centre, MLS University, Udaipur (Raj).

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tertiary sector is the sector massively entered and differentiated enough into a variety of services and labour. Only a few families (3%) have the occupation of service-government or private-combined with the agriculture and/or other occupations. This may be explained in terms of the low rate and level of education in the families of the villages. The labour in construction works, factory or shop, is almost indispensable for the more of the families (92%) and is found combined with the agriculture in a very great number of the families (88%). Except a few, almost all the people from these villages are daily commuters. Owing to scarcity of water and land as well as frequent failure of the rains, they cannot depend on the agriculture only, while there are few other occupations to be relied on. Therefore, they cannot escape engaging in the labour for the most part of a year. In a broad sense, the tribals of these villages, passing through the massive enalbourmentization, are fast joining the class of the poor and exploited in India (Desai 1977 : 20-21). The enalbourmentization bears causes for reduced participation of the members in the family, lineage, clan or village affairs and replacement of the traditional collectivity-orientation by the self-orientation which may be a source of inter-personal tensions and conflicts but with no effective social structures.

THE DEVELOPMENT POSSIBILITIES.

A few possibilities may be derived for sustainable development from the socio-economic analysis of the environmental alterations in the tribal villages. As is evident that the agricultural structure despite all the environmental as well as the socio-economic changes continues to be the major occupation of almost all the families of the villages, it is better to search new potentialities in the occupations allied or analogous to this structure. Agriculture in itself well represents an eco-system in the three dimensional relationship of man, plant and animal. The plant and animal stand in a relationship which the man manipulates to yield the maximum. In managing this relationship in the best possible way, the man has to create some supportive structures of human relations such as the cooperative societies, the government structures and the other. The people of the villages have since long been yielding the crops and rearing the cattle and poultry simultaneously. And it may be due to this that the sericulture has come to stay in the villages as an allied occupation of the agriculture. The supportive structures like the sericulture centers of the Tribal Development Department in each villages and in Pai the Adiwas Mahila Sahakari Samiti Limited are helping the villagers to understand and manage the new three-dimensional relationship. This experience may be extended to a good number of families in the villages if the supportive structures can manage water in a reasonable way. The second possibility is the afforestation which also carries the man-plant-animal relationship. The Pai imbroglio is the pointer to the new mode of management of their relations, that is the villages may be held responsible for protection of trees in the demarcated plots and be given right to have fodder, fuel and other produces. Poultry farming is the third possibility which, too, defines the man-animal-plant relationship. A large number of the families of the village has their poultry also along with the agricultural life. This may be
TRIBAL CULTURE IN A CHANGING ENVIRONMENT

ARUN KUMAR CHATTERJEE
KUMAR CHATTERJEE

One of the difficulties in any scientific discourse is the choice of definition. And more often than not we are forced to circumscribe such difficulties by trying to identify instead of defining the variables. As an example, it is tremendously difficult to define fire or water or light etc., but we can readily recognize these phenomena. Definition of a tribe falls in the same category. Perhaps their ethnicity can possibly be identified through their religious practices and cultures. Cultures are recognized as the sum total of their life and living.

Let us first try to have a look into the spatio-social distribution of the population. According to the 1991 census, India holds almost 65 million of the tribal population. This population contains almost 400 tribal groups. They are distributed throughout the length and breadth of our country. But in terms of proportional concentration we can demarcate certain strips of land that may be termed 'tribal belt'. This covers the states of Gujrat, Maharastra, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Andra Pradesh, Orissa, Bihar and West Bengal. These above named States account for about 79% of tribal population of India (table-1). Besides Himachal region including the terai's also have several typical communities. It is also a known fact that the percentage of tribal population is quite high in North-Eastern States of the union. On the other hand, beyond the Vindvan range, we have relatively lesser concentration of the tribal population and that too scattered over the hill tracts mostly.

It should be mentioned contextually, that although the population is commonly categorised as tribal, such population is not homogeneous in terms of both the spatial distribution and cultural attainments. Over and above, their ever degrading economic conditions degenerated their quality of life.

To ameliorate their deplorable levels of living attempts have been made through plan outlays. But such approaches have not produced the desired result. When we talk about 'alternative approach' it implies by definition that the 'original' attempt did not probably achieve the target to a satisfactory degree.

In this context the case of the tribals of Sundarban region of West Bengal do reflect the situation. The region in question is the fifteen police station of South Twentyfour Parganas known generally as Sundarbans.
Analysis of data (Table-2) as per 1981 Census* show:

a) A differential concentration of tribal population by police station probably reflecting different phases of migration at a certain historical periods;

b) Variation by the percentage of ‘workers’ ranged from 80.01 in Mathurapur to 51.02 in Joynagar;

c) Variation by sexes was also quite noticeable as for the male workers it ranged from 60.28 in Canning to 45.87 in Minakhian while ranges of such percentage for the females were 22.39 in Mathurapur and almost nil in Joynagar;

d) Significant difference in the level of education where percentage of literates among the tribal males ranged from46.94, in Joynagar to 14.54 in Kuitali. And such picture was more gloomy in respect of the women literates among the tribals.

There is no denying that since the first five year plan of the government has been allocating funds for the development of the tribals in increasing order till to date. Moreover, the government has also offered certain safeguards and benefits, mainly economic, for them. Still it is fact that inspite of our commitment for the development and progress of the tribals not much have been achieved even after about half a century of independence. And this properly justifies the necessity for searching an alternative approach towards development of tribal folks.

Let us now switch over to another aspect, the cultural side of the tribal groups. It is known today that tribal societies are not atomistic aggregates, neither they are very much isolated, at least not majority of them, from the surrounding non-tribal and urban centres. Development of communication system has bridge the gap considerably making the tribal villages vulnerable to the influence of urban values. The question is how far such contacts have helped the tribal societies.

According to the knowledgeable circle such contact instead of helping has created a dilemma in the tribal life and living. They are neither being able to pursue their own traditionally rich cultural values, rites and rituals.

It is also fairly well known that appreciable number of cultural attributes connected with the life-cycle events and worships of various nature of them are largely depended on the forest. A quick examination of such dependency shows that the tribal people living within or surrounding the forests depend for food, fuel, shelter and other economic activities on the forests. For example, the Birhors of Purulia in West Bengal and cheros of

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Palamau of Bihar, in large numbers, obtain their protin food supply through hunting and gathering. The Birhor’s rope making, the Mahali’s bamboo busketry, Deswai Majhi’s rearing of Cacoons, gathering of lak by Santal, Munda, Kherwar, Chero etc., of both the neighboring States indicates beyond doubt the role of forests in providing economic benefits. Besides as universally known, many religious rites and rituals starting from Sundra or Desh Sikar to the erection of mandap or canopy for marriage leaves and twigs needed from birth to death unmistakably point towards a binding relationship between the forests and communities concerned.

Implementation of certain official policies in this sphere of tribal life also seems to contradict the spirit of development. One of such measures is the introduction of new forest Bill with its associated paraphernalia. It will be suffice to note that the introduction of such a bill along with the unabated commercial exploitation of our forests both by the public and private sectors are going to disturb tribal cultures sooner or later.

Unfortunately, however, the alternative approach of social forestry may have some bit of forestry but nothing social in it. Plantation of mostly non-indigenous quick growing trees may one day drive out Sarna Buria or the Golden Old Lady of the Oraons as also will displace many gods and goddess of other tribes, and with them a rich heritage of culture.

* 1991 Census information in this level is not yet available. However, the situation, it seems does not differ much.

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Table NO. 1: Distribution of Tribal Population in Different states of India in 1991

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>India / States</th>
<th>Total Tribal Population</th>
<th>% to Country’s Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td>67758380</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>15399034</td>
<td>22.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orissa</td>
<td>7032214</td>
<td>10.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bihar</td>
<td>6616914</td>
<td>9.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujrat</td>
<td>6161775</td>
<td>9.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td>5474881</td>
<td>8.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andhra Pradesh</td>
<td>4199481</td>
<td>6.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Bengal</td>
<td>3808760</td>
<td>5.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maharastra</td>
<td>3718281</td>
<td>5.49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census of India, 1991.
Table NO. 2: Distribution of Tribal Population, Literates and Workers in fifteen P.S. in Sundarban Areas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Police Stations</th>
<th>Population Male</th>
<th>Population Female</th>
<th>Literates Male</th>
<th>Literates Female</th>
<th>Workers Male</th>
<th>Workers Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Harda</td>
<td>5839</td>
<td>5639</td>
<td>1086</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>3075</td>
<td>835</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hingalganj</td>
<td>2180</td>
<td>2130</td>
<td>472</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>11542</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hasnabad</td>
<td>2711</td>
<td>4018</td>
<td>1042</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>1476</td>
<td>359</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minakhan</td>
<td>2590</td>
<td>2463</td>
<td>432</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>1188</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sandeshkhali</td>
<td>24411</td>
<td>24522</td>
<td>5419</td>
<td>1035</td>
<td>13428</td>
<td>3562</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gosaba</td>
<td>8270</td>
<td>8078</td>
<td>1741</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>4906</td>
<td>734</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sagar</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Namkhana</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kakdwip</td>
<td>532</td>
<td>558</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>279</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patharpratima</td>
<td>751</td>
<td>789</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>367</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mathurapur</td>
<td>1317</td>
<td>1264</td>
<td>338</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>772</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jdy Nagar</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kultz</td>
<td>1966</td>
<td>1887</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1096</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basanti</td>
<td>5458</td>
<td>5334</td>
<td>930</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>3081</td>
<td>512</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cannia</td>
<td>4937</td>
<td>4968</td>
<td>874</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>2974</td>
<td>640</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census of India, 1981.

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FUTURE PROSPECTS OF WEAKER SECTION DEVELOPMENT WITHOUT THE CONSTITUTIONAL SAFEGUARDS AND PROTECTIVE MEASURES

R.D. Maurya

Looking at the socio-economic composition of India's population, one striking feature that unfolds itself is a large measure of disparity in the social status and the ownership of productive assets as well as in the distribution of income among the various sections of the society. The commonly used expression 'weaker sections' refers to that section of the country's population which is placed in a comparatively unfavorable condition in terms of social positions, assets and income distribution and comprises of the urban poor such as slum dwellers in the urban area and the rural poor namely landless labourers, small and marginal farmers, rural artisans, scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, religious minorities and other backwards classes in the rural areas.

For centuries social injustices based on caste, creed, religion, class etc. have been the bane of the Indian society. Of them caste with its ideology of graded inequality and with its package of social disabilities played a role in weakening our social fabric. It is also responsible for keeping a major chunk of population socially and educationally deprived and economically backward for many millennia. Over a period of time, we have developed a system of social stratification in which society is divided into two conflicting groups of people, the advantaged and disadvantaged. The former group had the monopoly of economic, political and social power and the latter denied their rights in all these spheres of life. The hierarchical system of socio-economic power structure of traditional Indian society has placed the higher castes in commanding position of dominance and forced the lower castes in submissive silence. Even after the independence this trend continued and whatever socio-economic transformation took place on limited scale due to the forces of modernization and the policy of the reservation within the framework of positive discrimination have failed in breaking the monopoly of upper castes and upper classes. Hence, even after 45 years of independence the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other backward classes remain to be a most vulnerable means of production and social discrimination is main cause for acute poverty and exploitation of the Scheduled castes, Scheduled Tribes and other weaker sections of society.

According to the 1981, Census 46.6 percent of all workers were cultivators, and 24.9 percent were agricultural labourers. Among Scheduled caste workers, 28.2 percent were cultivators and 46.2 percent were agricultural labourers. According to annual report 1990-91 Ministry of Welfare,
Government of India, most of the Scheduled Castes still suffer from social discrimination and economic deprivation. The stigma of untouchability continues to occupy a central place in all their sufferings. About 78 percent Scheduled Castes are estimated to be below the poverty line. Most of bonded labourers in the country are from the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other backward classes. The percentage of literacy among Scheduled Castes women is only 10.93 as against 24.93 among other women (excluding the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes). The Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes for the year 1987-89, makes a shocking revelation about the fast deteriorating condition of the people in the lower strata of our society known as Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. It sounds a note of caution for the government by pointing out that the entire economic system of our country has been moving in such a way that inequality has increased instead of decreasing and continues to increase.

In this paper an attempt is made to analyse the situation of weaker section development without the support of constitutional safeguards and other protective measures. Although the theme of this paper is futuristic in nature, however with the help of empirical support the issues related to the development of weaker sections would be discussed in a proper perspective.

Historically speaking the principle of positive discrimination and constitutional safeguards had been evolved in specific context of Dalit liberation struggle during the freedom struggle of India. D.N. Sandeshiv an eminent jurist observes that in 1947, Independence of India, Hindus got India. Muslim got Pakistan and the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes got reservations” (1986,3). According to Ghanshyam Shah, there is no exaggeration in this statement. The complementary provisions necessary to reconstruct an egalitarian social order are absent in the constitution. They are at the most relegated to the Directive Principles.

The President, by promulgating ordinances in 1950, identified the SC’s and ST’s. But this was not the case for the backward classes other than the SC’s & ST’s, though the constitution uses the term 'backward classes' or 'weaker sections'. While discussing Draft Article 10(3), several members pointed out that the term 'backward' was vague, loose and indefinite. However, Article 340 provides that the president may by order appoint a commission to investigate the condition of socially and educationally backward classes within the territory of India.

The specific constitutional provisions intended to safeguard the interests of the Scheduled Castes are on the abolition of untouchability and prohibition on its practice in any form (Article 17), prohibition of 'begar' or forced or bonded labour (Article 23), consideration of the claims of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in appointments to services and posts in connection with the affairs of the union or a state (Article 335); and reservation of seats in proportion to their numbers for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the Lok Sabha (Article 330) and in the Vidhan Sabhas (Article 332).

Some of the other provisions are also reinforced the status of the Scheduled Castes as protected weaker section. They include the departures from the anti-discriminatory and formal equality provisions of the constitution, empowering the State to make any provision for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward class of citizens (Article 15 (4) and for the reservation of appointments or posts in favour of any backward class of citizens which in the opinion of the state is not adequately represented (Article 16 (4). They also include the directive in article 46 that the state shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation. For analytical purpose the measures undertaken in pursuance of the various constitutional provisions for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes may be treated under three broad categories, namely, protective, developmental and preferential. Abolition of untouchability and the disabilities arising out of its practice in any form, and prohibition of bonded labour come under the first category. Various educational schemes such as post-matric scholarships and girls hostels under central sector, and premetric stipends, reimbursement of tuition fee, book banks, and hostels under the state sector, special component plans of the centre and states for Scheduled Castes and Tribal sub-plan for Scheduled Tribes, special Centre assistance, and the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Development Corporations are of the second category. Legislative, educational and employment reservations are of the third category. Of these, the effective implementation of the measures of the first two categories is a pre-condition for actualising the measures of the third category (Radhakrishnan :1991).

The policy of reservation and other protective and promotional measures for the development of weaker sections have been under implementation for last four decades. However, the implementation of these measures hitherto has not been too effective to achieve their desired objectives.

According to the Twenty eighth Report 1986-87 of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes the implementation of reservation quota for SC’s and ST’s have not been satisfactory particularly in group A and B services of central Government as shown in the following table

The representation of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in educational profession in general and higher education in particular is not satisfactory...
walls of prejudice blocking their integration with the rest of the work force. Biased and unsympathetic selectors often disqualified them so that the reserved jobs could be declared as unreserved. When this was banned, the prejudice against them has hardened further. Almost in every office a kind of apartheid was practiced. The naked realities of caste are visible in almost all walks of life.

In view of above facts one could draw a conclusion that inspite of constitutional safeguards the socio-economic condition of weaker section is deteriorating, in the absence of these protective measures they will be further marginalised, and whatever little elite formation has taken place among these sections of society will also dried away. Past experiences shows that if there is little ambiguity in guidelines regarding the implementation of job reservations and lack of standardised procedures of recruitment one finds that weaker sections do not get any entry in jobs. For example there is poor reservation of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in central university teaching faculties particular at the level of professors and Readers because there is no reservation available for SC's and ST's in these jobs. It is shocking that even after 45 years of independence without the support of reservation not even a single Schedule Caste person could become a Professor in any Central University though, we have produced hundreds of I.A.S. and I.P.S. from Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes community due to the provision of reservation.

A Question which has been deliberately or inadvertently over looked by many, however, is the root of the evil which is the caste system. A major argument of the anti-reservationists is that the reservation of jobs for the backward castes will perpetuate the caste system. Does this mean that if there is no reservation, the caste system will wither away? (Tharyan:1990)

In recent years the socio-economic climate of country is becoming hostile towards the weaker section of the society. It is dangerous trend for the unity and integrity of the nation. The upper castes and upper classes do not want to share their prosperity and monopoly of power with the deprived sections of society. Steep rise in the cases of atrocities against the weaker sections and social tensions is a result of this repressive social psychic.

NOTE:-The percentage of literacy among the Scheduled Castes is just 21.38 as against All India average of 41.70 percent.
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STRUCTURE AND FUNCTION OF DISTRICT RURAL DEVELOPMENT AGENCY IN ASSAM: A CASE STUDY

C.S. SINGHAL

In the fifties when community development programme was introduced in the country a nation wide organisational network was created in the shape of community development blocks integrating various sectoral departments at the sub-district level. The community development programme, over the years, lost its identity, but the "Block" as an agency for rural development administration at the grass root level continued to function though its original structure had changed considerably.

The subsequent rural development programmes were implemented through various district and area level agencies like Small Farmer Development Agency (SFDA), Hill Area Development Agency (HADA), Command Area Development Agency (CADA), Tribal Development Agency (TDA), etc. The agency approach was a product of an idea that there will be more operational flexibility in the programme implementation.

In order to bring about integration in administrative arrangements at the state and district level and consequent upon the extension of Integrated Rural Development Programme to all the development blocks of the country from October 2, 1990, a new District Rural Development Agency (DRDA), emerged as a distinct administrative body for planning and implementation of rural development programmes. All other programmes such as SFDA, DPAP, wherever in existence, were merged with the DRDAs on the recommendation of the then Ministry of Rural Reconstruction, Government of India. Since then DRDAs have become a nodal agency for the planning and implementation of all rural development activities at the district level.

The present paper is aimed to analyse the structure and functioning of District Rural Development Agency in Assam. The paper is based on a research study conducted by the present author with the following three objectives: (1) To analyse the manpower position and nature of task carried out in DRDA of Assam; (2) to analyse the arrangements for co-ordination between DRDA and other sectoral departments; and (3) to suggest some measures for improvement in the functioning of the DRDA in Assam.

The data were collected through scheduled interviews of DRDA
officials (N=25) working in various districts of Assam. It includes Project Directors (PD), Project Officers (P.O.), and other officials like Executive Engineers, Assistant Project Officers. In addition 10 members of the governing body of the DRDAs were also interviewed through a structured schedule. The study was mainly focussed on DRDA of Kamrup district of Assam. The distribution of the sample is shown in table 1.

Table NO. 1: Respondents of the study.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th>Total NO.</th>
<th>District(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DRDAs Officials</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Project Directors (P.D.)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Barpeta, Dibrugarh, Goalpara, Golaghat, Jorhat, Kamrup, Karimganj, Nagaon, Nalbari, North Lakhimpur, Sibsagar and Sonitpur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Project Officers (P.O.)</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>Darrang, Dhubri, Dibrugarh, Kamrup, Karimganj &amp; Karbi Anglong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Officials (Os)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1) Executive Engineer</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>Kamrup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) Assistant Project Officer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>02</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monitoring</td>
<td>01</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical</td>
<td>02</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inspector of Statistics</td>
<td>01</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Governance body members MLAs & head of different dept. 10 Kamrup

STRUCTURE OF DRDA’s IN ASSAM

The DRDA is a semi autonomous body registered under the societies registration act 1860. The agency has full time Project Director, who is a senior officer of Indian Administrate service Cadre or an equivalent officer of the state civil service. Besides PD, DRDAs in Assam are also have a Project Officer, who is drawn from state civil services. The agency is strengthened with an Executive Engineer and about eight (8) Assistant Project Officers in various disciplines relevant to the requirements of the districts viz. (1) APO Agriculture (2) APO Veterinary (3) APO Credit (4) APO Industries (5) APO Monitoring (6) APO Technical (7) APO Irrigation (8) APO Women Development.

DRDA has a governing body comprising heads of various sectoral departments, elected representatives of people and distinguished social workers. Like in other parts of the country, the Deputy Commissioner is the ex-officio Chairperson of the DRDA. The agency is supposed to meet once in a quarter.

Success of any development programme would depend largely on the efficacy of the administrative staff. Since inception of the DRDA time to time various new programmes have been introduced at the national level which were handed down to DRDA for implementation. As a result both the shape and size of DRDA has also been undergoing change. Started as a small agency mainly for implementation of IRDP, it was loaded with the burden to implement JRY, TRYSEM, DWCRA, BIOGAS, PASMAFP etc. from time to time.

MANPOWER

The majority of officials (56 percentage) felt that staff in DRDAs and blocks are not sufficient. Some of the observations/Suggestions of respondents regarding manpower are as follows:

I) The various posts of Assistant Project Officers and of technical staff in DRDAs and at the block level remains vacant.

II) The existing manpower at DRDAs would be sufficient provided they are used effectively. Very often the appropriate job are not assigned to the officials at DRDAs. The Project Directors should be oriented towards the technical task to be performed by various officials at DRDAs.

III) Professional management personnel should be posted as Project Directors and experience and leadership qualities should be given due weightage in appointment of officials in DRDAs.

IV) One Sectional Assistant at Gaon panchayat level should be posted for proper supervision of construction work under JRY.

V) Secretarial staff do not possess required skill to perform their job. These staff members should be provided opportunity to develop required skill in job.

Staff Requirement

The officials are posted at the DRDA on deputation basis from various sectoral departments. Table 2 shows responses of respondents about mode of requirements in DRDAs.
Table 2: Respondents' opinion about mode of recruitment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S.No.</th>
<th>Category of Respondent</th>
<th>Opinion about mode of recruitment</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>DIRECT DEPUTATION NO RESPONSE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Project Directors</td>
<td>-- 12 --</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Project officers</td>
<td>5 1 --</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Other officials</td>
<td>4 2 1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>9 15 1</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All Projects Directors were in favour of deputation as mode of selection for DRDAs officials while Project Officers (83.33 percent), Other DRDA Officials (57.15 percent) and members of Governing body were in favour of direct recruitment.

Training

The distribution of DRDA officials according to their exposure to training programmes is shown in table 3.

Table NO. 3: Exposure to training programmes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Training Courses</th>
<th>PD</th>
<th>PO</th>
<th>OS</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Attended</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not attended</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3 shows the detail account of training attended. The majority of officials (88 percent) had undergone training and found it useful to great extent in their day to day job. Some of the suggestions given by the respondents were as periodic training for DRDAs officials, specially separate programme for Assistant Project Officials (APOs) and technical officials working in DRDAs and blocks.

The seminar/workshops on specific programmes with involvement of state, district and block level officials of various development departments should be organised.

Job Satisfaction

The distribution of the respondents according to their opinion about their job satisfaction is shown in table 4.

Table 4: Job satisfaction of the respondent

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>PD</th>
<th>PO</th>
<th>OS</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very satisfied</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some what satisfied</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not satisfied</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4 shows the opinion about satisfaction in the present job in comparison to earlier one. The majority of officials (80 percent) find their job some what satisfactory followed by very satisfactory (16 percent) and unsatisfactory (4 percent).

Coordination

The majority of DRDA officials (64 percent) were not having any problem while 32 percent officials had problems in dealing with other departments. The problems mentioned were harassment of beneficiaries by financial institutions, some bank delayed sanction of loan proposals, block staff do not inform date of disbursement and delay in submission of reports and input supply without coordination from sectoral departments. Some of the operational problems made coordination bitter were as having false certificates with applications were forwarded to bank; viability of scheme forwarded to bank was not seen; no effort was made by DRDA officials to see whether scheme will generate incremental income or not; corruption in sponsoring quite a few applications to bank and DRDAs.

The Governing body members were also not satisfied with the existing coordination between DRDA officials and sectoral departments. The reason behind lack of coordination between bank and DRDA officials were: non-cooperative attitude of local bank branches; corruption and some genuine problems.

The Governing body members were in favour of collective responsibility between banks and DRDA officials and were of the view that Dy. Commissioner as chairman of DRDA should try to achieve coordination, more meeting and personal contact were advocated for better coordination.
Physical Facilities

The physical facilities like vehicle/office building, furniture etc. influence significantly the working of DRDA officials. The majority of DRDA officials (68 percent) felt that required facilities were not available while only 16.67 percent officials reported as available. The office accommodation at DRDA, Kamrup found inadequate and staff quarters were not provided to the officers of DRDA.

Task of DRDA Officials

The Project Directors (PDs) mentioned their main responsibility as to act as Chief Executive and management of financial aspect like release of funds to block (50.30 percent), planning, implementation of IRDP, TRYSEM, JRY, DWCRA etc. (50 percent), administrative task (41.67 percent), coordination with bank and other departments (33.33 percent) and preparation of annual action plan (25 percent).

The majority of POs (83.33 percent) mentioned their main work as to plan, implement, monitoring of work related to IRDP, TRYSEM, JRY, Bio-gas etc. and to provide assistance to PDs as and when required (16.67 percent). Table 5 shows the responses of officials about their association with various programmes/ schemes.

Table NO. 5: Respondents association with programme / scheme in DRDA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Programme</th>
<th>PD</th>
<th>PO</th>
<th>OS</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IRDP</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRYSEM</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DWCRA</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JRY</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIO-GAS</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PASMAFF</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OTHERS</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>--</td>
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<td>02</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The PDs are not able to concentrate properly on rural development task as they have to attend frequently Secretariat/ Directorate, arrangements for dignitaries visit, deployment in flood relief work, election, law and order as part of their duty.

The DRDA staff devote most of their time in routine official work. The paper work is too much. They hardly get time for identification and preparation of innovative projects, visit to sectoral departments and qualitative monitoring which are their main job.

C.S. Singhal

The computer does not work in most of the DRDAs. If it functions properly the paper work can be reduced considerably.

At the block level, the existing technical staff are not able to cope up with the required task of supervision in construction work under JRY because the schemes are scattered and labour intensive.

Suggestions

1) The existing manpower of DRDAs would be sufficient provided that it is used effectively. The Project Directors should be oriented towards the technical tasks to be performed by various officials in DRDAs, so that they can utilise the existing staff in a better way;

2) Professional management personnel should be posted as PD's and experience and leadership qualities should be given due weightage in appointment of the officials in DRDAs;

3) Appointment of a sectoral assistant on the pattern of PWD at Gaon Panchayat level should be considered for proper supervision of employment programmes like Jawahar Rojgar yojna (JRY);

4) The vacant posts of Assistant Project Officers and technical staff at DRDAs and block level should be filled on priority basis and secretarial staff needs to develop required skill in job;

5) Funds should be released in time to DRDAs/ Blocks so that staff may get enough time to implement the programmes;

6) The government should formulate a solid recruitment policy and rules for appointment of officials and administrative staff in DRDAs;

7) The posting of officials at DRDAs should be minimum for a period of three years. The option of officials at the time of posting should be considered for better performance;

8) The service conditions of DRDA officials should be made lucrative to attract talented persons. The DRDA officials should be given deputation allowances as per government rules in place of special pay;

9) The seminar/workshop on specific programmes with involvement of state, district and block level officials of various development departments should be organised by NIRD/SIRD;

10) Periodical training/ refresher courses for DRDA officials specially for Assistant Project Officers, technical personnel of DRDAs & block administration should be organised regularly;
11) The orientation courses/workshops for field staff like Extension Officers, Gram Sevaks / Sevikas should be organised on priority basis in SIRD/ETCs.

12) There is a need to organise intensive training in the operations of computers in different functional areas to reduce the workload and streamline the functioning.

13) The Governing body meeting should be held regularly once in a quarter as envisaged in guideline and there should be detailed discussion on the problems encountered in implementation of various rural development programmes. The active social workers, Academicians and Industrialists should also be involved as members of Governing body to revitalise it.

14) There should be collective responsibility between bank and DRDA officials and deputy Commissioner as Chairman of DRDA should try to achieve coordination.

15) The physical facilities of DRDAs and block administration level need to be improved for better performance of the staff.

16) There should be a government decision not to deploy DRDA functionaries for non DRDAs works so that they can devote more time in implementation of rural development programmes.

NOTE: The present study was sponsored by the Department of Panchayat and Rural Development, Govt. of Assam and conducted by the National Institute of Rural Development, North Eastern Regional Centre, Gauhati. The author is thankful to Dr. B.P. Mallahi, Director. NIRD, NE Regional Centre for his help and guidance in conducting this study.

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BOOK REVIEW

S. N. Chaudhary

The concept of power although attracted the attention of social scientists and philosophers from the very beginning as reflected in their thoughts and writings but a systematic analysis of the notion of power became popular only after Second World War. The book under review claims to take a note of the development in the concept of community power structure in last four decades and as its subtitle suggests, it also makes an attempt to formulate an alternative paradigm for the analysis of community power structure.

The book is divided into eight chapters. In the first chapter, the author introduces the theme of the book and provides a comprehensive picture of the concept of power in historical perspective. Here he also explores the relation of the power with some other concepts like authority, prestige, influence, dominance and force.

In the following chapter, three major perspectives on power - Marxist, Elitist and Pluralist - are discussed and an attempt is made to highlight the strength and weaknesses of these approaches. The author argues that despite of all merits all these theories project only one sided picture of the phenomenon and have certain limitations when employed to the analysis of power structure at the micro-level.

Therefore, in the third chapter, he reviews four models - reputational, decision-making, control and resources - developed for the study of power structure at the micro-level. The author then discusses the contribution of Jacobsen and Cohen in integration of these models for the micro-level analysis. Here, it is argued that the play of power is not always vertical but sometimes power also works in a group at the horizontal level. In the fourth and fifth chapters major dimensions and techniques for the measurement of power are discussed in a comprehensive manner.

In the sixth chapter the author attempted to take a note of the major studies on community power structure in India. Here first he describes two models used for such studies namely, Dominant caste model and Rich Peasant model. Then, he goes further and selects a few sample studies from north and south zone of the country. From the north zone - the Yogendra Singh’s study of eastern Uttar Pradesh and F. R. Frankel’s study of Bihar are taken into consideration while for the south zone ANDRE Beteille’s study of Sriperam is selected by the author.

He first summarises the major findings of these works and
then makes a commentary on merits and de-merits of these works in a typical style.

In the light of his observations, the author makes an attempt to draw his own model of village power structure by integrating all the previous models on power. But the strength and weaknesses of this model may be delineated only after empirical testing. To me, the next task of the author must be to test the model in an empirical setting. The attempt made by the author in this work is appreciable despite of certain limitations. The book may be useful for the students as well as teachers as it provides a comprehensive material on community power structure.

VIRENDRA PAL SINGH
Editor

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17. Rebecca Naomi Oyara - L - 65/3B, Saket Nagar, Bhopal, India.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Dear Editor,

I must congratulate you for two articles published in the Jan-July 1994 issue of the ETDR. It makes a student of Sociology very happy to be able to touch important issues in publishing articles regarding issues of development in two of India's backward regions.

The first article "Tourism: An Alternative Strategy for the Development of Garhwal Himalayas," is that of Prof. Ssaodia of Dehradun, giving us very useful information and also insight into development issues of Garhwal region. Being a frequent visitor to Garhwal Himalayas probably this article has attracted my attention. I do not think that anybody having sufficient knowledge about Geo-Ecological conditions of Garhwal would disagree with Prof. Ssaodia when he brings out that Travel and Tourism is one of the most important activities that will promote economic development of Garhwal with minimum investment of money, labour and other resources. I think that he has very rightly pointed out that development of Garhwal should take place i) without disturbing the existing agro-based economy, ii) without disturbing and further degrading their existing eco-system and iii) without derogating their cultural identity. This approach is highly commendable since it ensures development which will sustain for longer times in future.

The article to which my attention was drawn is contributed by Mrs. Manju Singh and it is also related to future development, of fisheries in Assam. In order to develop aquatic resources and harness fish as a commercial production in Assam, no doubt plans will be made keeping only one target in the mind that is 'tonnage' of fish. Experience of administrators regarding such development plans has not so far shown that they can pay any heed to the traditional ingenuity of the local people. Sitting at Delhi, Bombay or Guwahati they think that local ethnic techniques are worthless since they don't help in achieving calculated 'tonnage' of production. In coastal regions of Western India already a lot of permanent damage has been made because the policy-makers have permitted such fishing practices which destroy the natural reproduction cycle of the oceanic fish species to a great extent.

Mrs. Manju Singh has lucidly described the various fishing gear used by local Assamese people which ensure sustenance of lifecycle of fish species and thereby continuation of fishing as an economic activity for many decades to come. Especially 'Katia' and 'Banas' methods tell us that traditional fishermen also develop new techniques which are suitable to the eco-system. Before taking any concrete step to bring about changes in fishing techniques in Assam, one only hopes that policy makers take note of existing techniques and of local wisdom which is a product of day-to-day experience. No doubt something will be done in near future because the gap between estimated potential (70,000 m3) and actual commercial production (10,000 m3) is wide enough to attract attention of revenue seeking administrators and therefore the importance of such research-work is very high.

Generally Economists and Sociologists are people who take more interest in 'post-event' research. But these articles have given us an impetus for 'pre-development' studies. I think it is time for Social Scientists in India to go to people of backward regions, find out their felt needs and suggest some measures for the uplift of such people. 'Pre-development studies will not only reduce costs of development projects but will also lead to development in the real sense of the term by making development projects a 'shared experience' rather than 'an encroachment trauma' as experienced by most of the people of developing regions.

This should also be seen as an opportunity by Social Scientists to prove their utility to the society which is in doubt today.

Thanks for making room for my reaction.

S. D. Gore