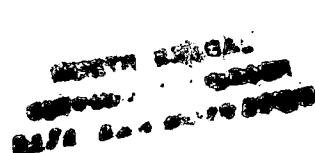


**OFFICIAL-NON-OFFICIAL RELATIONSHIP IN THE PANCHAYATI
RAJ INSTITUTIONS—A STUDY OF THE EMERGING
RELATIONSHIP-PATTERNS UNDER THE NEW
PANCHAYAT SYSTEM IN THE DISTRICT OF MALDA**

**THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (ARTS)
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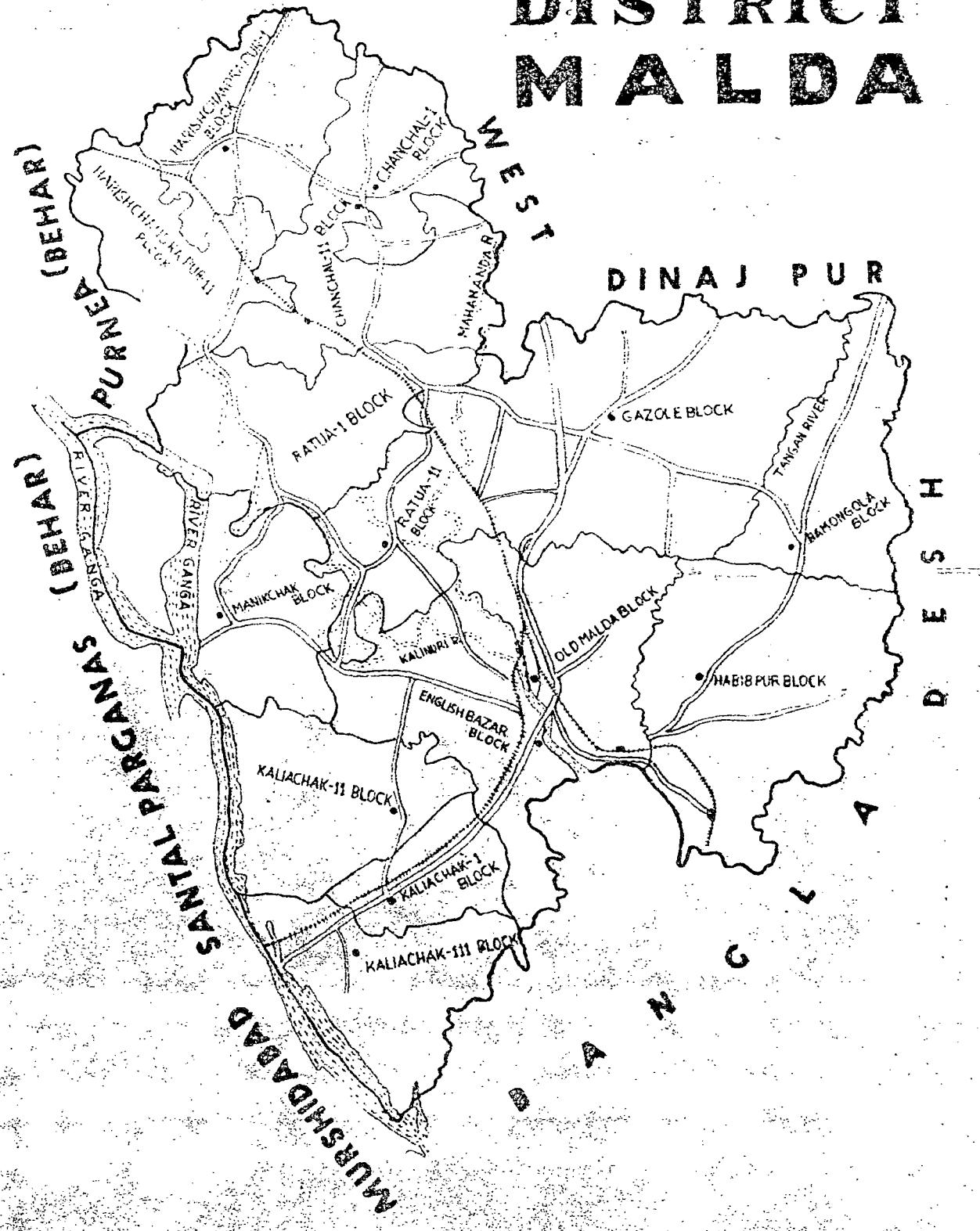
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DISTRICT MALDA



Preface and Acknowledgement

India's main problem, in the immediate post-independence era, was to bring about rural development and to improve the socio-economic conditions of the rural people since she inherited from the British an economy crippled in all respects at the time of independence. But the formulation and implementation of the various programmes of development, pursued during the last three decades, had been without any significant representation of the people and hence the Asoka Mehta Committee recommended the three-tier Panchayati Raj institutions consisting of the elected representatives of the people and entrusted with comprehensive developmental activities. The new Panchayati Raj institutions which were adopted and made functional in West Bengal in 1978 brought about a significant and qualitative change in the scheme of democratic decentralization in the rural areas. As a result of the reorganisation of the Panchayati Raj institutions in West Bengal, several issues, most persistent of which centred round the pattern of relationship between the officials and the non-officials, have cropped up.

Rural development is a vast and variegated phenomenon and the Panchayat institutions are the most effective instruments for carrying out the multipurpose and multiprocessed programmes of rural development. The institutions are characterised by (a) the philosophy of serving the rural people, and (b) the philosophy of rejuvenating their elans and ethos. These characteristics require a new spirit, a new outlook and a new attitude on the part of both the officials and the non-officials. Officials are expected to sharply break away from their traditional concern of maintenance of law and order, strict adherence to rules paternalistic orientations and impatience. They must be responsive, flexible, dynamic and development-oriented. On the other hand, the non-officials are expected to change their attitudes towards the legitimate political authority and the officials. They must be guided by the consideration of general interest and not by any parochial and sectoral outlook.

Malda, in comparison with other districts in North and South Bengal, is an underdeveloped region. Agriculture, where the traditional techniques are used till today, constitutes the key sector of the economy of the Malda district. Low per capita income is one of the important characteristics of the backwardness of this district. The industrial scene of this district is also deplorable and also lacks infrastructural facilities. Backwardness has also been manifested in its poor literacy rate in comparison with other districts of West Bengal.

To improve the socio-economic conditions of the people of the Malda district and also to alleviate their poverty, the Panchayati Raj institutions at the three levels have been assigned the primary responsibility of policy formulation and implementation of rural development programmes.

The Panchayati Raj institutions are the hubs of rural developmental activities in Malda district. They are considered to be the instruments for expressing popular aspirations and for translating these aspirations into reality. Besides implementation of policies, the officials give advice and provide information to non-officials. The non-officials also guide and supervise the officials in the implementation procedures, in addition to their normal functions of policy formulation. Therefore, the two sets of actors, viz., the officials and the non-officials in the Panchayati Raj institutions, will have to change their attitudes, normative orientations and behavioural patterns.

All these factors emphasize the importance of studying the emerging relationship-pattern between the officials and the non-officials at the three tiers of Panchayati Raj institutions in the Malda district. In this context, the study seeks to explore the normative orientations and image-perceptions of both groups of actors, which have an important bearing upon their mutual relationship. Finally, an attempt has also been made to identify

the tension areas as well as to find out the emerging pattern of relationship between the officials and the non-officials at the three levels.

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List of Abbreviations

G.P.	: Gram Panchayat.
P.S.	: Panchayat Samiti.
Z.P.	: Zilla Parishad.
IRDP	: Integrated Rural Development Programme.
NREP	: National Rural Employment Programme.
RLEGPs	: Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme.
RWS	: Rural Water Supply
DRDA	: District Rural Development Agency.
SFDA	: Small Farmers Development Agency.
S.C	: Scheduled Caste.
S.T	: Scheduled Tribe.
CADC	: Comprehensive Area Development Corporation.
N.A	: Not Available.
E.W	: Earth Work.
B.S	: Brick Soling.
J.C	: Jhama Consolidation.
C.W	: Construction Work.
N.B.D.F	: North Bengal Development Fund.

CHAPTER-I

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER-I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Panchayati Raj institutions symbolise an important vehicle for the dynamics of development at the rural level. It is now generally admitted and recognised that the entire panorama of local administration and local self-government, including district administration and Panchayati Raj administration, has undergone a sea-change with the attainment of independence, emergence of planning for economic development and the introduction of development administration. Prior to independence, the system was essentially bureaucratic, built up to fulfil system-maintenance goals. Now the focus has shifted from a regulatory-cum-revenue administration in a basically feudal society and stagnant economy to a welfare and development administration in a democratic society. Attention is now directed to nation-building activities and the centre of gravity has moved to the rural areas. While district administration continues to be basically hierarchical in its structural pattern and functional orientation, the new Panchayati Raj institutions in West Bengal, introduced after the Panchayat election of 1978 with a revitalised and reoriented programme for integrated rural development and social change through direct popular participation in programme planning, policy

formulation and implementation, have been organically integrated into a neat pattern, with emphasis on coordination, communication and integration. This new Panchayati Raj has assumed the role of socio-economic transformation of the rural people through 'Land Reforms', 'Operation Barga', IRDP, NREP, RLEGP, etc. The idea of participatory democracy emerged in the field of Panchayati Raj with the active involvement of the people in the decision-making process in the formulation and implementation of development programmes. Democratic decentralisation - both political and administrative - is now crystallizing into a living reality.

1.2 Objectives of the study :

The primary objective of this dissertation is to study the interaction and emerging relationship patterns between the 'Officials' (District Magistrate or Collector, Senior West Bengal Civil Service Officer, B.D.O., Extension Officer Panchayat, Secretaries of Gram Panchayats) and the 'Non-Officials' (Sabha-dhipati, Sahakari Sabhadhipati, Elected Members of the Zilla Parishad, Sabhapati, Sahakari Sabhapati, Elected Members of the Panchayat Samitis, Prodhan, Upa Prodhan, Elected Members of the Gram Panchayats) at the three levels of Panchayati Raj institutions in the Malda district. A secondary objective is to assess the role and performance of the elected Panchayat members and the officials in implementing rural development plans and programmes at the three levels, to locate the deficiencies and shortfalls in performance and to find out a linkage, if at all.

between the relationship patterns and the performance-gaps.

Another objective of this study is to make a historical survey of the structure and functions of the Panchayati Raj institutions to understand the nature of relationship that prevailed before the introduction of the new system of Panchayati Raj institutions.

1.3 Significance of the Study :

In order to assess the working of the Panchayati Raj institutions, it is necessary to study the opposite sets of actors at the three-levels as a whole.

Since the authority, power and responsibility have now been shifted from the officials to elected representatives of the people, it is of great significance and interest now to study the relations between them in a changing socio-economic and political -ideological climate. Results obtained from such micro-level empirical research might help the concerned authorities to bring about the desired improvement in the working of the Panchayats.

Panchayats are entrusted with comprehensive developmental activities. It is here that the policies end, actions begin, facts for policy formulation are collected, and law and order maintained. It is at this stage the officials and the non-officials have to come into direct contact with one another. Moreover, there is every possibility of overlapping of functions by both sets of actors. The officials are obliged to give advice

and supply information for policy formulation. The non-officials intend to supervise and guide the implementation procedure. It is, therefore, of interest to examine the relation between the officials and the non-officials in the Panchayati Raj institutions.

1.4 Theoretical Considerations

.4.1 Concept of Development :

Public administration has been assigned the responsibility of bringing about change in the entire process of rural development. Public administration has now gradually changed its goal from regulatory-cum-revenue administration to committed developmental functions. The word 'development' is a comprehensive concept. Different authors have viewed the word 'development' in different ways. Some refer to it as 'change', some as 'growth' and others as 'change' and 'growth'.¹

Development is above all a human process and not just a mechanical or technological change. Development does not mean merely the construction of physical structures. It does not mean the mere adoption of latest technology. Development either immediately improves the living conditions - social, economic, political, cultural, environmental, etc., or increases the potential for future living, or both.²

In the narrower sense, development is a planned-economic -change. In a much broader sense, it embraces all kinds of social,

economic and political change. Development is a dynamic process directed towards transforming the entire society enmeshing together its economic, social, political and administrative aspects for an all-round, balanced, and upward change.³

It is essentially conceived as the process of allowing and encouraging people to meet their own aspirations.⁴ It is a desired or directed change. It is usually conceived as the exploitation and management of the resources of nature in such a way that they are put under the control of man and are harnessed to serve his purpose.⁵ It is a tendency, a direction, a role of change in a particular direction.⁶

The twin goals of development administration are nation-building and socio-economic progress. The goals of development consist in the enrichment of total quality of life and its availability to all sections of the population.⁷

Development is not merely the achievement of goals it is also an element of stability and resilience to meet the requirements of future developmental challenges. The main functions of development administration are planning, policies, programmes, projects and other activities in respect of goals and objectives.⁸

1.4.2 Rural Development : its nature

India is basically rural-India. More than eighty percent of the population live in the rural areas. Indian economy is

mostly agrarian economy. So the thrust for rural development lies in effort towards national development. The goals, values and strategies of development may vary but there is a common process to all kinds of development. India's development specifically signifies the diversification of rural development programmes.

Rural development implies the all round development of the village that culminates in the socio-economic transformation of the rural people. Rural development is considered a process leading to maximizing production in (1) agriculture and allied activities (2) rural income, (3) rural welfare in terms of health nutrition, education, equality, employment and rural-urban differential⁹ and (4) development of rural industries with emphasis on village and cottage industries, generating maximum possible employment opportunities in rural areas specifically for the weaker sections of the community so as to enable them to improve their standard of living, providing basic services like drinking water, communication facilities etc.¹⁰

Most of the rural people are illiterate and ignorant and, moreover, economically they are not well off. So, the problem is not only that the rural areas were not developed due to lack of transportation and communication but also there is the problem of the development of the rural communities to eradicate poverty and ignorance and to assist in the process of creating self-employment opportunities. To increase the Gross National Product is not to think that the socio-economic position of the rural communities

is raised. The G.N.P. of a country can be raised without affecting the socio-economic conditions of the rural communities. The G.N.P. should be distributed properly so that the socio-economic status of the rural people can be uplifted.¹¹

Integrated Rural Development embraces development of all sectors of the rural economy and all sections of the rural society. The rationale of development of all sectors of the rural economy is that they are inextricably linked with each other. Thus agriculture is linked with allied activities like dairy, poultry, fishing, and piggery, sericulture, sheep farming, forestry etc. and with rural industry.¹²

The economists and other social scientists consider integrated rural development concept as involving a multipronged attack on the problems of rural development. Integration can only mean a process of planning and management which includes all the governmental activities related to the economic and social well being of the rural areas. These are : (1) the concept of overall development of all with a focus on specified target groups; (2) the elaboration of the first concept e.g. spreading of H.Y.V., of dairy cooperatives and special area or target group programmes such as Command Areas, Drought Prone Areas Programme, Small Farmers Development Agency and the like; (3) the economic activities which are inherent in rural development must be integrated for balanced growth. This implies the integration of

Agricultural programmes with village, Cottage and Small Scale Industries Programmes in rural areas for creating organised marketing facilities. Moreover, it is sought to create larger employment opportunities so as to absorb the rural population in the allied activities. The last dimension is the integration of credit disbursing activities under the multi-agency approach : SFDA, DPAP, HYV, etc. Based on these lines integrated development aims at assisting the rural poor.¹³

With a view to implementing Integrated Rural Development Programme the institutions have a significant role to play. Without the effective organisations of rural institutions for implementing the Integrated Rural Development Programme, this will merely remain a paper formula. The Programme for integrated rural development includes wide range of developmental activities related to the economic and social welfare of the people at the rural level. Panchayati Raj institutions are the means to reach that end. So the institutions are inextricably linked with the rural development programme.

In 1960, the Government of India acting on the Congress Party's resolution on Agrarian Organisation adopted at its Nagpur Session in 1959, decided to assign responsibility on two local institutions, namely - Panchayati Raj and Cooperatives for the implementation of rural development programmes. One such institution is 'Panchayati Raj' or 'Rule by Panchayat' which would

serve to raise resources for public works and community development projects as well as assisting extension officers in the spread of new agricultural techniques, health practices and other improvements within the village.¹⁴

The Fifth Five Year Plan stated that "integrated development would be possible only through cooperation and participation of the people. This could be secured by strengthening the Panchayati Raj institutions at various levels. The Block Development Officer was entrusted with the coordination of all the rural development programmes at the block level. The Block Development Officer was assisted by various technical officers and grass root level workers. As a result, a viable infrastructure has been established in the rural areas right from the village level to the district and state levels with a mix of governmental machinery and elected representatives of the people in the form of Panchayati Raj institutions".¹⁵

Rural development is not possible without the effective coordination among the Panchayat bodies. The whole scheme of Panchayati Raj is an integrated concept. One level of operation can not be separated from the other. Sometimes Panchayat Samiti acts as an intermediate linkage between the Gram Panchayats and the Zilla Parishad. The Zilla Parishad supervises and even directs the Gram Panchayats and the Panchayat Samitis and coordinate their activities in implementing rural development

programmes. The Panchayat institutions as a whole remain responsible for the success or failure of the rural programmes.

1.4.3 The meaning of Panchayati Raj :

The term 'Panchayati Raj' indicates a wide range of meaning. Some regard it as an administrative agency for rural development; others as an extension of democracy at the grass-roots level; and still others as a charter of rural local government. The most interesting thing is that these views are more or less synonymous with one another and imply the same significance.¹⁵

The word 'Panchayat' possibly implies the 'council of five'. But there is no such evidence that this number has strictly been followed in future in the composition of Panchayat. The Panchayat is an organisation of people for performing administrative activities and settling judicial disputes.¹⁷ It is the operational unit for popular representation as well as planned development.¹⁸

By Panchayati Raj we mean a statutory multilayer institutional structure endowed with a corporate status by a competent legislature performing functions pertaining to local self government as determined from time to time by the legislature and/or the Executive at the State or Union levels.¹⁹

Article 40 of the constitution of India is the only reference to village panchayats, "The Panchayat refers to an integrated, interlocking institutions for rural development. It is a closely

knit three tier structures consisting of Gram Panchayat at the village level, Panchayat Samiti at the block level and Zilla Parishad at the district level".

1.4.4 Panchayats and Rural Development :

Since independence, several plans and programmes like Community Development Programme were launched through Panchayati Raj institutions to elevate the socio-economic status of the rural people. But inspite of the successive efforts made by the government little could be achieved. In ancient India the Panchayats did not consist of the rural people and these were set up mainly to collect cess and to serve the interests of rulers. Panchayat members were so long placed at the disposal of the officials. There was a lack of meaningful cooperation between the Panchayat members and the officials.

Now, the Panchayati Raj institutions have appeared at the rural level with a new outlook and objectives to bring about all round development of the village. Now, it is an integrated agency as mentioned earlier.

The organisational structure of Panchayati Raj institutions has undergone a fundamental change with the implementation of Panchayat Act, 1973, the 4th June, 1978 in West Bengal. This structural change has been accompanied by a corresponding change in the functional content and role performance of the Panchayati

Raj institutions. The Asoka Mehta Committee envisaged two types of committed participants for socio-economic transformation of the rural people at the district, block and village levels. Now the Government officials are subordinate to the non-official personnel of the Panchayati Raj institutions. Thus, the powers traditionally enjoyed by the officials were given a jolt and the political development is achieved through the democratic decentralisation of power.

With the introduction of this new set up of Panchayati Raj institutions two different sets of actors - 'officials' and 'non-officials' emerged and the relationship between the officials and the non-officials assumed a recurring theme in the literature on Panchayati Raj. The officials and the non-officials who create two parallel lines of an organisation must cooperate with each other in implementing different plans and programmes. The officials who are expected to be sensitive to the needs of the people, and the non officials who are in close touch with the people, must function in complete harmony with one another. In practice, it is noticeable that an undercurrent of tension exists between them and this impedes the realisation of the developmental goals. It is assumed then that the relationship between them is significant if the wheels of rural development have to move on.

Some scholars considered that the popularly elected representatives would advise the officials and the officials would undertake the responsibility of executing policy. It is

generally accepted that the politicians cannot remain aloof from policy implementation and on the contrary, officials interfere on policy proposals by raising the question of so many alternatives and consequences.²⁰

One should keep in mind that the framework of minister-civil-servant relationship is not wholly applicable to Panchayati Raj situations. The civil-servants at the Central and State levels perform their duties from a place which is remote from the area of activity. But this is not the case exactly with the officials of the Panchayati Raj institution. Here the officials are persons on the spot. So the relationship between the officials and the non officials at the Panchayat level is face-to-face, direct and open. The actions and attitudes of the officials are conditioned by the political pulls and pressures of the elected non-officials. The officials are obliged to follow the advice of the non-officials. If the officials are not obliging, they will be exposed to the public at the district, block and village levels. So the officials have perforce to become less neutral. They try to make themselves align with a particular group or a Prodhān or a Sabhapati or Sabhadhipati. Only officials of strong nerves can play an important role.²¹

1.4.5 Bureaucracy and Development :

In any system of government, socialist or non-socialist, it is generally accepted that the bureaucrats are assigned

responsibility for implementing developmental plans and programmes. In the developing countries like India bureaucrats are inextricably linked with the implementation of developmental plans and programmes. So it is necessary to explain at the outset what we mean by bureaucracy, what its characteristics and role are, whether the bureaucrats are able to change their attitudes to respond to the new needs and demands of the society.

Peter M. Blau and W. Meyer. Marshall defined bureaucracy as "the type of organisation designed to accomplish large scale administrative tasks by systematically coordinating the work of many individuals".²² Max Weber's classical ideal type of bureaucracy possesses certain characteristics; like hierarchy, differentiation, written rules, rationality, impartiality, closed career system with no lateral entry.²³

From the structural point of view bureaucracy can be defined as rule-oriented, hierarchic and systematic differentiation. These structural characteristics of bureaucracy bring forth certain behavioural characteristics. These are objectivity, discretion and formalism for the achievement of certain determined goal.²⁴

The bureaucrat must be neutral and the behaviour of bureaucrat may be hindered by 'pathological' and 'dysfunctional' factors.²⁵ Indian bureaucracy possesses certain dysfunctional characteristics. These are - impersonality and frustration, communication gap between higher and lower levels of bureaucracy,

lack of initiative, responsibility and challenge; reluctance to delegate authority, sycophancy towards superiors, hostility among different professions, insistence on status and prestige symbols, a tendency to overstaff, politicisation, non-responsive to public grievances.

The Weberian model of bureaucracy has been criticised because the bureaucrats are not development-oriented. The 'ideal type of bureaucrats' being a product of particular historical, political and social environment, do not take any risk and initiative even when the situation and environment so demands. They remain passive and neutral.²⁶

In order to be an agent of change, a bureaucratic system must have the capacity to (a) forecast, project and understand direction and tempo of major or significant changes in the environment, (b) to plan for necessary or desirable changes, (c) to adapt itself to changes demanded or planned by the political system, or to other unforeseen changes, (d) and innovate on its own.²⁷

1.4.6 Interacting Situations Under Panchayati Raj :

During the colonial period, the administrators were bound by colonial rules and performed their functions in order to safeguard the interests of the colonial regime. There was a near-total absence of a tradition of accountability to indigenous political representatives. The ideas, attitudes and values of the administrators were paternalistic. The philosophy was to rule rather

than to serve. All these characteristics have affected the administrative system. The administrators belonged to the establishment category and political leaders to the hostile group. None of them allowed each other to work together, appreciate each others' role and understand constraints under which each of them functioned.²⁸

During the British period, the tension between the administrators and the political leaders could be accounted for on the following grounds. The political leaders thought that the administrators served the interest of the British-rulers as if they were the representatives of the same. On the other hand, the administrators should perform those activities which would help them to secure the support of the people in the election. Even after independence, the relations between administrators and political leaders were based on mutuality of distrust and hostility.²⁹ The coming of independence required that both the officials and the non-officials should change their attitudes, orientations and behaviours. The officials should abandon their earlier attitudes towards the people and the non-officials. On the other hand, the non officials should abandon the idea of agitation, demonstration and hostility towards the officials and play the role as the gurdian of political authority and authoritatively allocate the democratic values.³⁰

Under the parliamentary system of government the elected representatives set the goals of administration. So the decisions

for implementing developmental plans and programmes are made within the political context. The process of administrative activities is conditioned by these broad parameters. In the matter of policy formulation, the supreme power rests in the hands of the political leaders. Administrators should cooperate with the political leaders not only for implementing developmental schemes but also in the matter of policy formulation. But, what is noticed actually is that the civil servants do not like to forsake their powers which they had so long enjoyed lavishly. They had always been the superior boss and had directed their subordinates.

The interaction between the administrators and the political leaders can be characterised by position-centric considerations, that is, when the administrators think that they are more important and political leaders should not interfere in the activities of the administration. This prevents them from evolving certain conventions which will allow them to find their relationship on functional considerations and permit them to collaborate in nation building activities. Efforts at better cooperation and coordination are considered essential for the successful implementation of developmental plans and programmes. Dominance on the part of any of the groups destroys both the objectives and goals of the organisation. Balanced relations require that decision making authority as well as the responsibility for policy implementation be shared.³¹ Many authors have suggested that the roles should be clearly defined.³² If the

roles are clearly demarcated the possibility of anonymity and interference either by administrators or by political leaders will not arise. Others have suggested that personal attitudes and behaviour of the administrators and political leaders have to be adjusted and moulded with the changing structures and environment.³³ It is also considered necessary to create an atmosphere to show mutual regard and mutual respect for each other. Both the officials and the non-officials are complementary and supplementary to each other and one can not do without the other. The cultivation of this spirit and atmosphere is sine-qu-a-non for the success of the programme of Panchayati Raj.³⁴ Writing on 'Non-official-Official Relationships in Panchayati Raj', one would suggest the following guidelines for the maintenance of harmonious relationship between the officials and the non-officials. These are -

- (1) The non-officials are supreme in respect of policy formulation and policy implementation directives.
- (2) The chief executive should represent a parallel to the political chief executive.
- (3) Actual implementation of policy should remain exclusively to the chief executive.
- (4) Both technical and non-technical staff should be exclusively controlled by the chief executive.

- (5) The service-condition of the chief executive should be properly safeguarded.
- (6) The Panchayati Raj institutions should have the power to seek transfer of the chief executive in case he fails to oblige.
- (7) The chief executive should be recruited from the Central or State Administrative cadres.³⁵

The Committee on Plan Projects pointed out that imbalances in the relations between the officials and the non-officials are bound to arise in the transitional period. It further mentioned that "the administrative difficulties between officials and non officials might arise if personal motivations, lust for power, individual local interests, notion of false prestige, absence of clear cut demarcation of duties and responsibilities among various components of administrative organisation are introduced in the working of the Panchayati Raj". The Committee mentioned that in Rajasthan strenuous relation between the B.D.O and the Prodhan of the Panchayat Samiti existed. Again, it observed that in other states also there might be such tensions at different levels.³⁶

The Ram Murti Committee, the Darji Committee and the Narisimham Committee observed that involvement of elected representatives with selections, postings, transfers, promotion or disciplinary action over the officials is one of the main causes

of friction between the officials and the non-officials at the block level".³⁷

One would classify the sources of tension between the officials and the non officials into three categories :- Group situation - instability among the majority groups, dissonance between power groups, sharp differences among the local leaders, higher tiers and state administration heterogeneity in the official team.

Decisional Sources - raising and allocation of resources or other amenities or administrative matters.

Personality and Value Orientation of the Actors - previous experience of successful working, ambiguous political situation gave rise to confidence and security, officials' adherence to rules and rights of supra-local bodies might be difficult to reconcile.³⁸

Tension between the officials and the non officials is created by factionalism and the poor quality of Panchayat members.³⁹ Factional fights within the non officials and other groups often blame the officials for siding with a group. Besides this, the official wants to utilise this factional fights among the non -officials and often excoriates the national objectives.⁴⁰

Since the officials are educated, experienced, possess knowledge and tact in administrative affairs, they do not want to submit themselves to the political leaders who even till yesterday

led agitation and demonstration against him. On the contrary, non officials feel that they are superior boss because they are representatives of the people. When the non-officials take decisions rapidly and accomplish many functions the officials view it as hasty. Moreover, when the non-officials do something for the benefit of the people the officials react by saying that these are done for the benefit of their partymen. When the officials claim superior to non-officials, the non-officials put their argument by saying that they are superior because the streets, ponds, buildings of village and also the men who reside in the village are wellknown to them.⁴¹

It is difficult for the officials to change their attitudes overnight. With the emergence of non officials as the real powerholder in the matter of policy formulation the officials behave with a sense of injured pride or loss of power, status and prestige. Moreover, the officials consider all these political changes as a threat to their identity and look upon the role of the non-officials as their strong opponent. It is obvious that this will raise more and more tension between the two wings of Panchayati Raj institutions and resultantly noticed lack of meaningful cooperation between them.⁴²

There are so many areas where the administrators and political leaders interact on and influence the behaviour of each other. The political leaders have the power to make policies and programmes and the administrators for implementing and executing

policies. But, in some cases it is found that the administrators are to come forward to assist political leaders in framing policies. The political leaders, in turn, also become interested in policy implementation. In implementing policies the behaviour of bureaucrat is very much influenced by the political leaders and sometimes the bureaucrats are to submit to the pressures created by the political leaders and modify or change programmatic strategy. On the other hand, in the matter of policy formulation the bureaucrats influence the behaviour of political leader by providing information and pinpointing programmatic restraints associated with each of the policy alternatives.⁴³

Again, tension may arise between the officials and the non-officials in the operative field regarding the distribution of cement, fertilisers, seeds, loans etc., appointments, transfers, promotions of staff working under the Zilla Parishad, Panchayat Samiti, Gram Panchayat, suggestions given by office bearers to make adjustments in existing policies for expediting the development work.

The officials refuse to offer any cooperation with the non-officials in framing programme also for the reason is that the officials are now kept aloof from their contact with the masses which was earlier the regular functions of the officials.

"The problem of harmonious relation between the officials and the non-officials of Panchayati Raj institutions is not

peculiar to Indian situation only even in America this problem is not uncommon. The major sources of conflict between the Councilmen and the Manager could be grouped under six categories (1) power prerogatives (2) personality clashes (3) political setting (4) adherence to policy versus expenditure (5) Manager's inflexibility and rectitude and communication and cognition."⁴⁴

The role of officials and non-officials at the three levels of Panchayati Raj is important for implementing rural development plans and programmes. Since this is a relationship study, our main thrust will be to analyse those functions and roles - officials' and non-officials' : norms and role, reciprocal role-perception, their behaviours at the three levels which will help us to identify the relationship between them. It is generally admitted that the official adheres to rules and regulations in all cases and the non-officials are democratic oriented. Since the individual's commitment to orientations differ due to value preferences and the environmental settings it may happen that some leaders have undemocratic orientations. In that case officials are bound to be pressurized to do certain act which they do not want to do and thus emerges tension between them. On the other hand, officials do not want to sacrifice their rules even when greater interest can be fulfilled. Images and reciprocal role-perception of both the officials and the non-officials are important to determine the relation between them. If there arises a wide gap of the image officials have of the non-officials and

vice-versa, conflict and tension will emerge between them. A certain set of standards of behaviour is also considered important to analyse the pattern of relationship between the officials and the non-officials at the three levels of Panchayati Raj institutions. That is both interact in concrete situations and their relationship is also influenced by the kinds of problems and demands non-officials put on officials, the pressures and the way officials respond and react to non-officials' demands and pressures.

1.5 Research Questions

Viewing in the above perspective, the present study seeks to find answers to the following research questions.

- (1) What was the relation between the officials and the non-officials before the introduction and implementation of the Panchayat Act, 1973 at all levels ?
- (2) What is the present pattern of relationship between the officials and the non-officials at each of the three tiers of Panchayati Raj in West Bengal after the implementation of the Panchayat Act, 1973 ?
- (3) How far have the Panchayati Raj institutions succeeded in implementing rural development programmes ?
- (4) How far have the activities of other agencies for rural development, apart from Panchayati Raj institutions, affected the socio-economic life of the rural people ?

- (5) Do the officials strictly adhere to administrative rules and regulations in the matter of implementing any programme ?
- (6) Are the officials concerned with merely improving their own prospects, even by neglecting the developmental programmes ?
- (7) How far do the officials feel obliged to carry out decision made by elected bodies ?
- (8) To what extent are the officials responsive to the expectations and demands of the non-officials ?
- (9) Do the values of the non-officials conform to the values of Panchayat organizational set up ?
- (10) Are the non-officials oriented towards general interest or parochial, particularistic or partisan interest ?
- (11) Do the non-officials feel obliged to implement the demands and expectations of their constituents ?
- (12) How far do the non-officials cooperate with officials in carrying out government programmes ?
- (13) What is the extent of agreement or differences of opinion between the officials and the non-officials ?
- (14) What kind of images do the officials have of the non-officials, and vice-versa ?

- (15) How much of agreement or disagreement is discernible between the officials and non-officials on the distribution of decisional areas concerning both ?
- (16) How often do officials seek cooperation of the non-officials ?
- (17) How often do non-officials consult officials ?
- (18) How often do non-officials create pressures upon the officials for furthering parochial interests ?
- (19) How often do officials submit to the pressures created by the non-officials ?
- (20) Do the bureaucrats behave with a sense of injured pride or loss of power, status and prestige on account of increasing participation and domination of political leaders in the decision-making process ?

.6 An Overview of Literature

5.1 Introduction :

It must be pointed out at the outset that the literature probing the present subject of study, available in India, is rather scanty. An attempt has been made in the States other than West Bengal to investigate the problems of relationship-pattern between the officials and the non-officials in the Panchayati Raj

institutions. In North Bengal, the remotest part of West Bengal, no study has been undertaken so far on the specific issue. Barring a few articles in the journal and some manuals and guide-books and committee reports at the All India Level, no literature on the subject under considerations available to find out the relationship pattern at the three levels of Panchayati Raj institutions in the Malda district. There are, of course, good many standard books and papers on the historical evolution and theoretical concepts as well as on the problems of structure, functions, control and supervision of the Panchayati Raj institutions in India and in the States like Andhra Pradesh, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Rajasthan, Bihar. Very few studies made so far, have thrown light on the origin, development, nature, structure and functions of West Bengal Panchayati Raj institutions. Hence, the present author had to depend heavily upon fresh and updated official data and field-data gathered from interviews with selected respondents, and these had to be fitted into the conceptual frame work and the available Indian and State-models. While the theoretical and Indian literature were of immense help, the absence of any substantive material on the specific problems of investigation proved to be a great handicap. It is, therefore, reasonably clear that the present work has been in a realistic sense a new, and original enterprise in an uncharted field. A perusal of the literature scanned for the purpose of this research will establish this point.

For the sake of convenience, the available literature can be classified into five categories, namely, Overview of literature relating to (1) Development Administration Theory; (2) Rural Development Theory; (3) Panchayati Raj in India (in the historical perspective); (4) Panchayati Raj in West Bengal (both historical and contemporary perspective); (5) Official-Non-Official Relationship in the Panchayati Raj institution (India & West Bengal).

6.2 Overview of literature relating to Development Administration - Theory :

Birkeshwar Prasad Singh and Sakendra Prasad Singh in their paper, "Development Administration in India : Some Essential Pre-requisites", Subhas Chandra Misra in his article, "Development Administration in India"; and Dr. G.Hargopal in his article entitled, "Development Administration : The Need for a New Conceptual Framework", in the book entitled Dimensions of Development Administration in India⁴⁵ explain the meaning, context, crisis, agencies of change as well as emphasize that non-western views are more relevant for the developing nations.

J.N.Khosla in his article, "Development Administration : New Dimensions", V.A.Pai Panandikar in his paper, "Development Administration : An Approach", W.Wood in his article, "Development Administration : An Objection" in the volume : Development Administration⁴⁶ interpret the meaning, concept, problems, distinction between the traditional public administration and

development administration. Moreover W. Wood objects to make any distinction between the traditional and development administration. Bata, K.Dey in the article entitled, "Bureaucracy and Development : Some Reflections", R.N.Haldipur in his article, "Bureaucracy's Response to New Challenges", in the same volume,⁴⁷ point out the structural characteristics of bureaucrats and emphasize the need to change the attitudes of bureaucrats to bring about development. A.Y.Darshankar in his paper, "Bureaucracy and Development Administration", in the book, "Dimensions of Development Administration in India",⁴⁸ already referred to, takes the similar view.

1.6.3 Overview of literature relating to Rural Development Theory :

M.G.Shah under the heading, "Restructuring of Rural Development Administration"; Iqbal Narain and P.C.Mathur in their article, "Urban Development and Re-vitalisation of Local Self-Government Institutions : A Conceptual Analysis in the context of Some Lessons from Anti-Poverty Rural Development Programmes and Policies in India", Ashok Subramanian in the article, "Issues in Managing Republication in Development Programmes", Madhukar Gupta in his paper, "Integrated Rural Development Programme - A Dilemma" in the volume Rural Development : Some Themes and Dimensions⁴⁹ discuss the issues relating to administrative, organisational and managerial aspects of rural development in our country. Their contention is that restructuring, changes and

improvements are necessary for the administration of rural development programmes and also for horizontal and vertical coordination. H.K.Asmaram in the article, "Development Administration and Rural Development Strategy in Kenya : A Review of its Special Rural Development Programmes", Madhab Prasad Poudyal in his article, "Administrative Hurdles to poverty Eradication : Nepal's experiences with Integrated Rural Development Projects" in the volume Rural Development : Some Themes and Dimensions,⁵⁰ present a comparative insight into the operationalisation of rural development policy and strategy in the light of the experience of two other developing countries. S.R.Maheswari in his article, "Rural Development and Bureaucracy in India", in the volume "Rural Development : Some Themes and Dimensions",⁵¹ pleads for administrative decentralisation for effective implementation of India's rural development programmes. Dr. Bindeswari Jha in the article entitled, "Rural Development Administration in India : A Case for People's Participation", Biswanath Singh in his paper, "Development Administration in India : The Rural Perspective" in the book Dimensions of Development Administration in India,⁵² pleads for effective popular participation of the people in the implementation of rural development programmes.

.6.4 Overview of literature relating to Panchayati Raj in India (in the historical perspective) :

A.S.Altekar in his book State and Govt. in Ancient India,⁵³ has discussed the evolution of village council which gradually

appeared in the Gupta Period. Prof. H.D.Malavia in his book Village Panchayats in India⁵⁴ has indicated that Union Panchayat in Madras and Bengal had been set up in 1884. The Congress in its Lahore Session in 1909 had urged the govt. to make rural local bodies elective with elected non-official chairman.

The Volume VI of Cambridge History of India⁵⁵ presents a description of the functionaries of the villagepanchayat and their functions. The Chief functionaries had been the headman, the accountant, the watchman, the priest and the schoolmaster. The village council or village panchayat had been empowered to deal with the internal affairs of the village. Moreover, it had also the functions of relief-work. This volume also describes Lord Ripon's Resolution of May 18, 1882.

The book on The Struggle For Empire⁵⁶ edited by R.C.Mazumder and A.D.Pusalkar has discussed the nature, structure, functions, eligibility and disqualification of the members of the village assembly.

Prof. M.Shiviah, K.V.Narayana Rao, L.S.N.Murty, G.Mallikarjun-iah, in their book, Panchayati Raj - An Analytical Survey⁵⁷ have described in detail the nature, structure, powers and functions of the Panchayati Raj institutions in India since the period of Rig Veda to the enactment of the Report of Balvantray Mehta in Independent India. They point out that Panchayati Raj institution is an important contribution for bridging the gap between the modern political super structure and a traditional social base.

Iqbal Narain, Sushil Kumar, P.C.Mathur and Associates in their book Panchayati Raj Administration - Old Controls and New Challenges⁵³ have attempted to make a comparative study of the pattern and supervision of control over the Panchayati Raj institutions of Madras, Maharashtra and Rajasthan.

In the book Patterns of Panchayati Raj in India⁵⁹ edited by G.Ram.Reddy, Mohit Bhattacharjee has discussed in brief the structures, powers and functions of the West Bengal Panchayati Raj institutions before the 1973 Act. S.Bhatnagar's Rural Local Government in India⁶⁰ is an historical account of the nature, structure and diverse patterns of Panchayati Raj institutions in India. He also pointed out structural inadequacy as one of the important reason for the failure of the panchayat institutions.

In an article entitled, "Some Recent Trends in Panchayati Raj in India" Balvantray Mehta in The Indian Journal of Public Administration⁶¹ has pointed out the number of difficulties faced by the Panchayati Raj institutions. He has suggested that the "ideas of directing Panchayati Raj institutions must be replaced by the ideas of guidance and assistance". He has further mentioned that the system of election has an adverse effect on the healthy growth of Panchayats and of public life in this country.

Prof. Henry Maddick in his article on "Control, Supervision and Guidance on Panchayati Raj institutions" in The Indian Journal of Public Administration⁶² has suggested that a system

of education, encouragement and guidance must be evolved to do general development of the system on the one hand and to supervise the technical performance in the fulfilment of various programmes.

Prof. Ensminger in his article, "Democratic Decentralisation: A New Administrative Challenge", in The Indian Journal of Public Administration⁶³ has emphasized that democratic decentralisation is a challenge principally to administrator but to political leaders as well. Myron Weiner in his article, "Political Parties and Panchayati Raj in The Indian Journal of Public Administration"⁶⁴ has pointed out that active involvement of political parties is inevitable to local body. R.N.Haldipur in his article entitled "On Re-Modelling Panchayati Raj" in The Indian Journal of Public Administration⁶⁵ points out the super-imposition of the modern concepts of democracy, socialism and secularism on traditional society as the major weakness of Panchayati Raj system. P.C.Mathur in his article, "Re-Modelling Panchayati Raj institutions in India" in The Indian Journal of Public Administration⁶⁶ has emphasized that restructuring of Panchayati Raj systems must start from below and village shall be the primary unit.

The Programme Evaluation Organisation⁶⁷ conducted in 15 evaluation blocks of different states in India has assessed the workings of the Panchayats and their impact on the villages. The Committee on Plan Projects⁶⁸ has explained the role of

panchayat in rural development, recommendations of the Mehta Study Team, preparation and implementation of plan in the Panchayati Raj legislation etc. It also suggests certain remedial measures.

1.6.5 Overview of literature relating to Panchayati Raj institutions in West Bengal (both historical and contemporary perspective) :

Dr. Ashok Mukhopadhyay, in his book, Panchayat Administration in West Bengal⁶⁹ has discussed in detail the theoretical and applied aspects of West Bengal Panchayats. He has mentioned that West Bengal Panchayat Administration has suffered to some extent from structural inadequacies. He has also pointed out that due to lack of financial resources general welfare activities of the rural people have not been carried out.

Dr. Asit Kr. Basu in his book, The West Bengal Panchayat System⁷⁰ (in Bengali) presents an historical account of the evolution of Panchayati Raj since its inception and also lays down the nature, pattern, structures and powers of Panchayati Raj institutions in West Bengal upto 1979. He has pointed out that party basis election in the new Panchayati Raj institutions has increased the political consciousness among the rural masses. He has also indicated the reasons for the failure of the Panchayati Raj system. He has suggested intensive training of the non-officials along with the officials. Again, he has discouraged making the District Magistrate and District

Collector the Chief Executive Officer of the Zilla Parishad.

M.Shiviah, K.B.Srivastava, A.C.Jena in their book, Panchayati Raj Elections in West Bengal (1978) : A Case Study in Institution Building for Rural Development⁷¹ have discussed the nomination process, election campaign, perceptions about the role of Panchayati Raj institutions in rural development, voting behaviour, sense of political efficacy, the issue of party based contest, aspects of political recruitment and the emerging elite. They have indicated that election has increased the political consciousness among the masses. Again they have mentioned that the effectiveness of Panchayati Raj institutions has been seriously affected on account of financial and other constraints.

Prof. S.N.Ray, in his article, "The New Panchayati Raj Experiment in West Bengal" in the book, New Local Centers in Centralised States,⁷² has presented nicely the emerging pattern, structure and functions of West Bengal Panchayats upto 1981. Prof. Ray has also pointed out that the Left Front Govt. has introduced the party based election and the mechanism of participatory democracy in the new panchayat system even before the Asok Mehta Committee Report. He has also expressed his conviction that this new panchayat system could be a model for the rest of India. Panchayati Raj according to him has achieved success in implementing the assigned programmes, and particularly, in coping with the problems of natural calamities like flood. The author has also pointed out that the new leaders are

capable enough to meet challenges and has indicated positive measures to that end.

1.6.6 Overview of literature relating to Official-Non-Official Relationship in the Panchayati Raj institutions (India & West Bengal) :

Shanti Kothari and Ramashray Roy⁷³ have made an empirical study in the Meerut district of Uttar Pradesh. They have discussed the normative referents and role, reciprocal images and role-perception and behavioural dimensions and interactions of both the politicians and administrators. They have indicated that strenuous relationships between the administrators and political leaders are due to psychological factors. Both the administrators and the political leaders have shown a very low degree of awareness of systematic goals as their behaviour is characterised by 'position-centred' considerations.

V.Gaikwad⁷⁴ has conducted an empirical study on one Zilla Parishad in Maharashtra. It is an anthropologically oriented study. The study identifies the broad tension areas and the nature of conflicting attitude between the officials and the non-officials. He has made a comparative understanding of the officials and the non-officials. Again he has suggested certain remedial measures for avoiding conflict.

B.S.Bhargava in his book, Politico-Administrative dynamics in Panchayati Raj system⁷⁵ has made an attempt to discuss the

official-non-official relationship at all levels of Panchayati Raj system in one of the district of Rajasthan. He has also mentioned that psychological factors lead to tension between the officials and the non-officials. He considers that both the groups are equally responsible responsible for the prevalence of 'rampant corruption' in the entire system.

James Warner Bjorkman in the book, Politics of Administrative Alienation in India's Rural Development Programmes⁷⁶ has discussed the social characteristics, self images, mutual outlooks of the administrators and political leaders as rural change agents. He has made a comparative study of the administrators and political leaders of Andhra Pradesh and Rajasthan at the district and block level.

Kuldeep Mathur⁷⁷ has studied the bureaucratic attitude and behaviour towards development. He has conducted an empirical study and gathered information from 39 B.D.Os. The most interesting aspect of this work is that this is a comparative study. He mentions that B.D.O's commitment to development is weak.

T.N.Chaturvedi, in his paper, "Tensions in Panchayati Raj : Relations between Officials and Non-Officials" in The Economic Weekly⁷⁸ points out that there exists tension and to remove this tension educational and psychological techniques are to be applied. A.Bhatt has made an attack against T.N.Chaturvedi

through his article, "Tensions in Panchayati Raj" in the same journal⁷⁹ and points out certain reasons for the conflicting relation between the officials and the non-officials in the Panchayati Raj institutions. He indicates that the traditional base of society, lack of essential prerequisites of democracy such as literacy, secularism, political education and democratic experience, are the root cause for the imbalance in relationship between the two wings.

In his reply, T.N.Chaturvedi⁸⁰ points out that apart from 'politics-administration problem', the 'far reaching social changes are also responsible for the tension-based relationship between the officials and the non-officials.

In the, Readings on Panchayati Raj,⁸¹ edited by George Jacob, Iqbal Narain and P.C.Mathur in their article entitled, "Panchayati Raj in Rajasthan - A Case Study in Jaipur district", have mentioned that the balanced relationship has not been developed between the officials and the non-officials and suggests that it depends upon personal equation between Pradhans and Vikas Adhikari.

Dan Fritz in his article, "Evolution of Official and Non-Official roles in Mysore States Panchayati Raj",⁸² has noted certain tension areas between the two sets of actors.

C.P.Bhambri in his article, "Official-Non-Official-Relationship in Panchayati Raj",⁸³ has stressed the need for the proper

role of the officials and the non-officials in the Panchayati Raj institutions.

Dr. C.M.Jain under the heading, "Dynamics of Development Administration : An Enquiry into the Office of Vikas Adhikari",⁸⁴ has indicated that the conflicting relation between Vikas Adhikari and Prodhan is changing slowly through the process of socialisation.

C.P.Bhambri has conducted an empirical survey on, "Officials and Non-Officials in Panchayati Raj : No Short Cut to Harmony",⁸⁵ in Rajasthan at the block level and identified tension areas between the B.D.O and the Prodhan.

Haripad R.Subramoniam Iyer in his article, "Panchayati Raj Administration : Role of Officials and Non-Officials",⁸⁶ has presented the emerging relationship pattern between the officials and the non-officials in Panchayati Raj institution.

Dr. S.C.Jain in his article, "Officials and non-Officials in Panchayati Raj",⁸⁷ has identified the sources of tension areas between the two actors.

Y.B.Damle in his paper, "Bureaucracy and Non-Officials : A Study of Mutual Assessment",⁸⁸ has indicated the nature of interrelationship between the two wings at the block level in the Poona district.

Iqbal Narain in his article, "Democratic Decentralisation :

The Idea, Image and the Reality", in the volume Selected Articles on Panchayati Raj⁸⁹ has explained the term 'Democratic Decentralisation' and points out the weaknesses of the Panchayati Raj system. He has indicated for two main types of reform - 'the need of political self control and administrative innovations'. Shrivihir in the article, "Decentralisation and Panchayati Raj",⁹⁰ pleads for autonomous status of both the administrators and political leaders as a necessary component of democratic decentralisation. He points out that decentralisation has a more complex dimension - 'political-cum-administrative'.

S.N.Dubey in his article, "Organisational analysis of Panchayati Raj", in the volume Panchayati Raj⁹¹ points out that the organisational dilemmas of the Panchayati Raj system arise from the nature of relationship among the personnel working at the block level and the Panchayat Samiti. He has also indicated the reasons for the conflicting situations.

H.C.Pande in his article, "Collector and Panchayati Raj", in the volume Panchayati Raj,⁹² has pointed out the reasons for the disharmonious relationship between the officials and the non-officials in the Panchayati Raj institutions. He has further indicated that no amount of statutory rules and regulations are sufficient to create an atmosphere or tension-free relationship between the officials and the non-officials.

Puranik in his empirical study on, "Administration and Politics in the context of Panchayati Raj", at the Taluk level in the State of Maharashtra in the volume Panchayati Raj⁹³ has considered that the relation between the administrators and the political leaders is a major administrative problems. He points out that administrator's concern with rules and regulations and the political-leaders' linkage with political parties adversely affect the over-all tone of administration.

B.Sivaraman in his article, "The Collector and Panchayati Raj", in Kurukshestra⁹⁴ has pointed out that the functions of the collector is to implement the instruction or decisions taken by the non-officials.

From the foregoing discussion it is thus evident that literature on the subject of the present study is not easily available in the context of West Bengal Panchayat system, and virtually non-existent in the specific context of Panchayati Raj institutions of the Malda district. Very few writings on the specific subject of study are available in the all India level as well as in the context of the State other than West Bengal. Therefore, as already pointed out the study had to depend heavily on the officials data and information gathered through interviews of the officials and the non-officials at the three levels of Panchayati Raj institutions in the Malda district and the available all India and other State-models.

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CHAPTER TWO

METHODS OF ENQUIRY

CHAPTER-II

METHODS OF ENQUIRY

2.1 Methods of Enquiry :

The primary purpose of this study is to examine the interrelationship-patterns between the officials and the non-officials at the three levels of Panchayati Raj institutions in the district of Malda. The Third Five Year Plan¹ emphasized that the planning for rural development must be from below and not from above. Again, different authors² on Panchayati Raj institutions and the Fifth Five Year Plan³ pointed out that the successful implementation of rural development plans and programmes could be achieved through the Panchayati Raj institutions. In the structure of Panchayati Raj institutions there are two sets of actors, officials and non-officials, who hold the key position in implementing rural development plans and programmes. District, Block and Village are the basic units of administration as well as of organisation. The non-officials can build up their political status and support at the Panchayat level. This Institution also provides some lessons to non-officials to build up their political career in future. It is here that policies are given practical shape, plans are implemented to cater to the needs of the people and facts and information for policy formulation collected. Since officials

play an important role in executing decisions of the Panchayati Raj institutions it is, therefore, most appropriate to study the officials' behaviour relating to rural development. On the other hand, it is an important area also for the non-officials to mobilise public support and organise public opinion in their favour on issues of current interest.

Given the theoretical perceptions developed in the previous chapter, an attempt is made here :

- (1) to find out the norms and the role of both the officials and the non-officials at the three levels of Panchayati Raj institutions in the district of Malda;
- (2) to find out the images and roles perceived by both the officials and the non-officials about each other;
- (3) to determine the tension-areas that prevail in the realm of interaction between the officials and the non-officials;
- (4) to study the distribution of functions enjoyed by each other and a few behavioural dimensions of interaction between the officials and the non-officials.

To depict an integrated picture of the emerging official -non-official relationship pattern of Panchayati Raj institutions in the district of Malda, the study is based on survey technique as well as a careful scrutiny of Central and State Acts, Government Reports, Committee Reports, Rules, Circulars, Standing

Orders, Census and Gazetteers of the District of Malda.

Interview Schedules were prepared after going through the relevant literature.

In order to make the study more meaningful and realistic, it was decided to discuss a few cases, if available at any of the three levels, to locate the tension areas between the two sets actors.

2.2 The Setting :

Malda is the southernmost of the Northern West Bengal districts.⁴ In 1963, Malda was included in the Jalpaiguri divisions.⁵ It is the only district which has only one subdivision, namely, Englishbazar. It is the chief town of the district and the seat for administrative headquarters of the district and the subdivision. The district is located between the latitudes "25°33,08" and "24.40'20" in the Northern hemisphere. The easternmost extremity is marked by "89°23.10" and the western extremity by "81.45'.50" of longitude.⁶ According to the Surveyor General of India, the area of the district is 3713 square kilometers of which 3,705.2 square kilometers and 78 square kilometers are for rural and urban areas respectively. The Southern-West boundary of the Malda district faces the river Padma. On the North, it is bounded by the districts of West Dinajpur in West Bengal and Purnea in Bihar. Santhal Paraganas district in Bihar and Murshidabad district in

West Bengal are situated in the South-West boundaries of this district. On the East, this district is bounded by the districts of West Dinajpur in West Bengal and Rajshahi in Bangladesh.⁷

There are ten Police Stations, namely, Englishbazar, Old Malda, Kaliachak, Habibpur, Manikchak, Ratua, Kharba, Bamongola, Gajole and Harischandrapur and 15 development blocks, namely, Englishbazar, Old Malda, Kaliachak-I, Kaliachak-II, Kaliachak-III, Manikchak, Ratua-I, Ratua-II, Habibpur, Bamongola, Gajole, Chanchal-I, Chanchal-II, Harischandrapur-I, Harischandrapur-II. There are two Municipalities in the district, namely, Englishbazar and Old Malda. The district has 1611 Villages and 1794 Mouzas. One Zilla Parishad, 15 Panchayat Samitis, 147 Gram Panchayats constitute the Panchayati Raj structure.⁸

The total population of the district according to the 1981 census, is 2031871 of which 1,934,675 people live in the rural areas and 97,196 people live in the urban areas.⁹

2.2.1 Topography Soil and Climate :

The river Mahananda created a division between the Eastern region and the Western region of the district. The Eastern area of the district being commonly known as 'Barind' is relatively alluvial and unfertile soil. The river Kalindri flows between the Northern area and the Southern area of the

western region. The Northern area being commonly known as 'Tal' area is a low lying plains sloping towards the South with undulated areas and vulnerable to inundation during the rainy season. The Southern area being commonly known as 'Diara' is relatively fertile soil.

Per-capita income of North Bengal Districts¹⁰ (Base Year, 1960

-61)

<u>District</u>		<u>Per-capita income (1970-71)</u>
Darjeeling	...	268.00
Jalpaiguri	...	370.00
Coochbehar	...	332.00
West Dinajpur	...	304.00
Malda	...	198.00
West Bengal	...	339.00

The economy of the district is basically agrarian. From the above table it is observed that Malda is the most under-developed district in the state. This has been due to low per capita income, low yield per acre, backwardness in industrialisation, shortage of capital and entrepreneurship. The district has no known mineral resources and agriculture is the main occupation of the people. The main agricultural products of the district are Paddy, wheat, Jute and Rabi crops. The district occupies an important place in the map of the State for the production of raw silk-yarn. The annual estimated production of raw silk-yarn in this district is about 85 percent of the total output of the state amounting to Rs. 4 crores. Production of

Mango is another important aspect of Malda's economy. About 45 thousand acres of land are covered by Mango orchard which in normal years, bear fruit to the extent of 3,60,000 tonnes amounting to about Rs. 5.5 crores.

2.2.2 Infrastructure :

Of late, there has been some improvement of infrastructural facilities in the district. Almost all police stations have been covered by the electrification programme of Rural Electrification Corporation. At the end of 1979 a total number of 742 villages were electrified which provided an opportunity to open new industries. With the opening of the Farakka barrage, it has become much more convenient to come to Malda and other parts of North Bengal from Calcutta by rail via Farakka. The National Highway Number 34 also passes through Kaliachak, Englishbazar and Gajole Police Stations.¹¹

2.3 Rationale for selecting the Panchayati Raj Institutions of Malda District :

It was decided to select a district which is most under-developed and backward. It was thought that such a district emphasizes an important role of the officials and non-officials for implementing rural development policies and programmes to improve the socio-economic status of the rural people. The Malda district bears all these characteristics mentioned above.

Moreover, the Second Panchayat election, held in Malda and else where in West Bengal on 31st June, 1983, had brought the candidates of different parties into power at the three levels of Panchayati Raj institutions. The Left Front won the majority of seats at the three levels and established its control over almost all the Panchayati Raj institutions excepting the Malda district. It is only in this district the Congress(I) captured majority in the Zilla Parishad and Panchayat Samitis and, therefore, established its control over the Zilla Parishad and a majority of the Panchayat Samitis. In view of the fact that the Congress(I) has different ideological overtones in contrast to the Left Front as well as varying nature of experience it was assumed then that under such circumstances the study of the official and non-official-relationship-pattern would be more relevant. Hence, the Panchayati Raj institutions have been selected for our study.

Again, pragmatic financial constraints militated against studying the other districts of West Bengal. It is in this district that the present author has his permanent residence. So it was assumed that proximity of the unit of observation would bring down the cost of field work to a considerable extent.

2.4 Selection of Zilla Parishad, Panchayat Samitis and Gram Panchayats :

There is one Zilla Parishad in this district and it is

included for the study. There are 15 Panchayat Samitis in the district. Of them eight Panchayat Samitis are controlled by the Congress(I) and seven by the Left Front. The Panchayat Samitis ruled by Congress(I) and the Left Front are separately arranged alphabetically. By simple random method Englishbazar ruled by the Congress(I) and Harischandrapur-II ruled by the Left Front were selected for the study. It was not possible to cover all the Panchayat Samitis due to shortage of time and financial constraints. The constituent Gram Panchayats of these two Panchayat Samitis were selected for our study.

2.5 Selection of Respondents :

To achieve the maximum precision for a given outlay of resources and the desire to avoid any bias in the selection procedure, it was decided to select the respondents from the point of view of the objectives of enquiry. The objectives of enquiry helps us to include all sets of actors involved in the interaction process of the three levels of Panchayati Raj Institutions in the district of Malda.

2.5.1 Rationale for selecting officials and non-officials :

In the present study, officials refer to those who are impartial, permanent, professional experts, deputed on behalf of the Government. Again, the officials like District Magistrate at the Zilla Parishad, B.D.Os at the Panchayat Samitis,

Secretaries at the Gram Panchayats act as executive officers in the respective levels for discharging the duties of Panchayat Raj institution.

Non-officials are temporary and amtures. Non-officials refer to those persons who are associated with the Panchayati Raj institutions either in the capacity of elected members in different tiers of this institution or in the capacity of elected representatives of the people from the Malda district to either the Legislative Assembly or to both Houses of Parliament excluding the Ministers (both Central and State).

It is desired by the Government that the Panchayati Raj institutions will be concerned with rural development. So these officials and non-officials mentioned above have a direct impact upon the rural development plans and programmes and hence, they were selected for the study.

Officials included are :-

- A. District Magistrate and the total number of Sthayee Samiti officials of the Zilla Parishad at the district level;
- B. All the B.D.Os of 15 blocks and total number of Sthayee Samiti officials of Englishbazar and Harischandrapur-II Panchayat Samiti at the block level;
- C. Total number of Secretaries of Gram Panchayats of the constituent Panchayat Samitis of Englishbazar and

Harischandrapur-II at the village level.

Non-officials included are :-

- A. All the elected and coopted members of the Zilla Parishad at the district level;
- B. All the elected and coopted members of the Panchayat Samiti at the block level;
- C. All the Prodhans and Upa-Prodhans of the Gram Panchayats of the constituent Panchayat Samitis of Englishbazar and Harischandrapur-II;

The Table below presents a clear picture of the total number of officials and non-officials interviewed and the total number of officials and non-officials who refused to give interview at the three levels of Panchayati Raj institutions in the district of Malda.

2.6 Sample Plan

Table 2.1

Sample Plan

Malda district	Popu- lation	Total No. of interviews (Sample drawn)	Total No. of Refusal (Sample loss)	Total No. of Respondents (Sam- ple obtained)
At the district level	O F N F	39 30	39 30	13 14 21 16

Contd..

Table 2.1 (Contd..)

Malda district	Popu- lation	Total No. of interviews (Sample drawn)	Total No. of Refusal (Sample loss)	Total No. of Respondents (Sam- ple obtained)
		O	F	O
At the block level	O F	77	77	32 45
	N F	81	81	35 46
At the village level	O F	40	20	5 15
	N F	296	40	18 22
Total	O F	156	136	55 81
	N F	397	151	67 84

OF : Officials; NF : Non-Officials.

In the earlier table it has been shown that the total number of sample obtained is less than the total number of sample drawn. So the table below describes the reasons for the loss.

Table 2.2Reasons for Non-Response

Reasons for dropping	Officials			Non-Officials		
	DL	BL	VL	DL	BL	VL
Not available				12	20	3
Out of Station due to involvement in High Court cases					3	10
Unwilling	18	32	5	2	10	4
Dead				2		1

DL : District Level; BL : Block Level; VL : Village Level.

2.7 Content of the Questionnaire :

Part -I of the questionnaire deals with the background information of officials and non-officials. For gathering information on socio-economic background of officials and non-officials variables included age, religion, caste, etc. The officials interviewed did not agree to respond to the questions relating to their personal socio-economic background.

Part-II of the questionnaire deals with the officials' and non-officials' norms and role-images and role-perceptions and

the interrelationships which are being presented in the table below.

2.8 Content of the Interview Schedule

Table 2.3
Content of Interview Schedule (officials)

Types of questions	Frequency	Questionnumbers
Questions on Normative Referents and role	25	17 - a,b,c,d,e,f,g,h,i,j,k,l; 16 - a,b,c,d; 18 - a,b,c,d,e,f,g,h,i,j
Images and Role-perceptions	19	21 - a,b,c,d,e,f,g,h,i,j,k,l, m,n,o,p,q,r,s;
Interrelationships	51	15 - a,b,c,d; 19 - a,b,c,d,e,f,g,h,i,j,k; 20 - a,b,c,d,e,f,g,h,i,j,k; 4; 9 - a,b,c,d,e,f,g; 10 - a,b,c,d,e; 13 - a,b,c,d,e,f,g; 14 - a,b,c,d,e;

Table 2.4

Content of Interview Schedule (Non-Official)

Types of questions	Frequency	Question Numbers
Questions on normative referents and role	20	12 - a,b,c,d,e,f,g,h,i; 16 - a,b,c,d,e,f,g,h,i,j,k;
Images and Role-perceptions	19	17 - a,b,c,d,e,f,g,h,i,j,k,l, m,n,o,p,q,r,s;
Interrelationships	51	12 - a,b,c,d,e,f,g; 15 - a,b,c,d; 16 - a,b,c,d,e,f,g,h,i,j,k; 17 - a,b,c,d,e,f,g,h,i,j,k; 4; 8 - a,b,c,d,e,f,g; 9 - a,b,c,d,e; 13 - a,b,c,d,e;

2.9 Statistical Treatment of Data :

For analysing data the manual method was followed.

Percentages in all cases were done.

NOTES AND REFERENCES TO CHAPTER-II

1. Third Five Year Plan, Planning Commission, Government of India, 1961, p.333. In the Plan it was observed : "the primary object of Panchayati Raj is to enable the people of each area to achieve intensive and continuous development in the interest of the entire population. The elected representative should be encouraged to value the development of Panchayati Raj as offering new avenues of service to the people rather than opportunities for the exercise of authority. The concept of Panchayati Raj is not limited to the non-official and democratic organisations associated with it. Representing, as it does, a distinct level of responsibility and functions within the general scheme of administration Panchayati Raj comprehends both the democratic institutions and the extension services through which development programmes are executed".
2. B.B.Misra, District Administration and Rural Development - Policy Objectives and Administrative Change in Historical Perspective, Delhi, 1983.
M.G.Shah, "Restructuring of Rural Development Administration", Indian Journal of Public Administration, Vol.XXX, Oct-Dec., 1984 No.4, p.924.
3. Fifth Five Year Plan, Planning Commission, Govt. of India.
4. Glimpses on the district of Malda, 1986.
5. The Jalpaiguri Division was created on March 4, 1963 by a notification no. 948 G.A.

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6. District Plan, 1986-87, Malda.
7. District Credit Plan, 1980-81, Malda.
8. District Plan, 1986-87, Malda.
9. Census of India, West Bengal, Population series, 1981. In the District Plan, 1986-87, Malda, Salient information about the district is discussed in the following way. These are -
 - (1) No. of Agricultural Families 210234
 - (2) No. of Small Farmers 61252
 - (3) No. of Marginal Farmers 124203
 - (4) No. of Agricultural Labourers 190605
 - (5) No. of Regulated Market One
 - (6) No. of Primary Market 112
 - (7) No. of Wholesale Market 12
 - (8) No. of Secondary Market 13
10. Problems & Prospects of North Bengal, C.M.D.A., Report, 1971.
11. District Plan, 1986-87, Malda.

Zilla Parishad

1. Malda Zilla Parishad

Name of the Panchayat Samitis

- | | |
|-----------------------|------------------|
| 1.Harishchandrapur-I | 9. Old Malda |
| 2.Harishchandrapur-II | 10.Gazole |
| 3.Chanchal-I | 11.Habibpur |
| 4.Chanchal-II | 12.Bamangola |
| 5.Ratua-I | 13.Kaliachak-I |
| 6.Ratua-II | 14.Kaliachak-II |
| 7.Manikchak | 15.Kaliachak-III |
| 8.Englishbazar | |

Name of the Gram Panchayats

- | | | |
|--------------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| 1.Kushida | 31.Dhangara- | 60.Gopalpur |
| 2.Boroi | Bisnupur | 61.Sovanagar |
| 3.Rashidabad | 32.Debipur | 62.Milki |
| 4.Tulsihatta | 33.Belaimari | 63.Fulbaria |
| 5.Bhingole | 34.Mahanandatola | 64.Amriti |
| 6.Mohendrapur | 35.Kahala | 65.Benodpur |
| 7.Harishchandrapur | 36.Baharal | 66.Narhatta |
| 8.Sultangar | 37.Ratua | 67.Kotwali |
| 9.Malior-I | 38.Bhado | 68.Kazigram |
| 10.Malior-II | 39.Samshi | 69.Jadupur-I |
| 11.Doulatnagar | 40.Chandmoni-I | 70.Jadupur-II |
| 12.Islampur | 41.Chandmoni-II | 71.Mahadipur |
| 13.Sadlichak | 42.Araiadanga | 72.Mahishabathini |
| 14.Bhaluka | 43.Parapur | 73.Bhabuk |
| 15.Masaldah | 44.Pukhuria | 74.Jatradanga |
| 16.Doulatpur | 45.Pirganj | 75.Mangalbari |
| 17.Chanchal | 46.Maharajpur | 76.Sahapur |
| 18.Kaligram | 47.Sambalpur | 77.Muchia |
| 19.Matiharpur | 48.Sripur-I | 78.Alal |
| 20.Mahanandapur | 49.Sripur-II | 79.Karkach |
| 21.Kharba | 50.Hiranandapur | 80.Deotala |
| 22.Bhagbanpur | 51.Dakshin Chandipur | 81.Balupur |
| 23.Makdampur | 52.Uttar Chandipur | 82.Chaknagar |
| 24.Alihanda | 53.Mathurapur | 83.Salaидanga |
| 25.Chandrapara. | 54.Nazirpur | 84.Sahajadpur |
| 26.Jalalpur | 55.Noorpur | 85.Gazole-I |
| 27.Malatipur | 56.Chowki Mirdadpur | 86.Gazole-II |
| 28.Bhakri | 57.Enayetpur | 87.Bairgachi-I |
| 29.Khempur | 58.Manikchak | 88.Bairgachi-II |
| 30.Gourhand | 59.Dharampur | 89.Pandua |
| | | 90.Majhra |

- 91.Raniganj-I
92.Raniganj-II
93.Habibpur
94.Bulbulchandi
95.Aiho
96.Baidyapur
97.Jajail
98.Kanturka
99.Rishipur
100.Srirampur
101.Dhumpur
102.Aktail
103.Mangalpura
104.Bamongola
105.Jagdalla
106.Chandpur
107.Manabati
108.Pakuahat
109.Gobindapur Maheshpur
110.Silampur-I\$
111.Silampur-II
112.Kaliachak-I
113.Kaliachak-II
114.Alinagar
115.Alipur-I
116.Alipur-II
117.Majumpur
118.Gayeshbari
119.N/Jadupur
120.Jaluabadhal
- 121.Jalalpur
122.B/Masimpur
123.Sujapur
124.Bangitola
125.Gangaprosad
126.Mothabari
127.Laksmipur
128.K.B.Jhowbona
129.U/Panchanandapur-I
130.U/Panchanandapur-II
131.Hamidpur
132.Rajnagar
133.Akandabaria
134.Sahabajpur
135.Golapganj
136.Charianantapur
137.Bhagabanpur
138.Bakhrabad
139.Kumbhira
140.Krishnapur
141.Sahabanchak
142.Laksmipur
143.Bedrabad
144.Birnagar-I
145.Birnagar-II
146.Par-Doonapur
147.Rathbari

CHAPTER THREE

PANCHAYATI RAJ IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

CHAPTER-III

PANCHAYATI RAJ IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

3.1 Panchayati Raj in Historical Perspective :

The Panchayati Raj system originated from the period of Rig-Veda,¹ when the popular institutions consisting of villagers emerged at the village level for the maintenance of law and order, settlement of disputes, collection of revenue, fixation of taxes and other general welfare activities.

Village panchayats in the early Vedic-period consisted of two bodies, namely, Sabha and Samiti². Sabha was under the control of a village headman appointed by the king.³ The Gramani was controlled and regulated by the advice of the Sabha or Samiti or Panchayat. The number of members of this panchayat or panchomondolis varies from 5 to 10. The reference of this village panchayat is also found in the great epics of the Ramayana or the Mahabharata or the Manu Samhita.⁴

In the later period of Rig-Veda, 'Samiti' was abolished and 'Sabha' was converted into a 'royal court' or 'council' or 'panchayat' under the leadership of Gramani.⁵ The village panchayats were independent during those days.

The independence of the village panchayats diminished during

the Mughal period and the Panchayat lost its power to exercise its normal civic, industrial, commercial, social, administrative, legislative and judicial functions. The Mughal rulers did not favour the idea of village republic⁶ and established a centralised form of administration⁷.

Like the Mughals, the British-rulers did not deconcentrate on the powers and functions at the provincial, district and village level. They developed the communication and transport facilities for their own interest. The land administration and collection of revenue were put under the charge of a Subedar or Patwari.

The British-rulers made their first attempt to introduce Local Self Government for rural areas with the passing of the Village Chowkidari Act, 1870. The Act was made operative in the provinces of Bombay, Bengal, Punjab and the North Western Province. Lord Mayo's Resolution of 1870 states, "Local interest, supervising and care are necessary to success in the management of funds devoted to education, sanitation, medical relief and local public works". The Resolution indicated the development of rural local self government.

The village panchayat under the Village Chowkidari Act was not an elected body. The members - both the officials and the non-officials - were appointed by the District Magistrate. The

chairman was appointed from the official side.⁹

The main function of this body was to contain criminal activities and to maintain the law and order problems of the village. It was also assigned to assess and collect local taxes for meeting the allowances of the village-police. So it is revealed from this Act that the village panchayats served the interest of the British-rulers.

The most important step for the rural local self government during the British period was Lord Ripon's Resolution of May 18, 1882. The Resolution stated that : (1) there would be elected non-officials' majority and the official members would in no case be more than one third of the whole (para-12); (2) Government's control was to be exercised from without (para-13); (3) Non-official member would be the chairman of the Board as far as possible¹⁰ (para-18).

The resolutions stated above make it clear that an attempt was made to set up a local body which would perform duties for the welfare of the village-people. The provision for elected non-official-majority and the appointment of the chairman from the non-official side indicated a structural change in the local body. Taluk or the Block was considered as the unit of administration.

But the irony of fate was that Lord Curzon, after coming to power, rejected the resolution. He was not in favour of entrusting a large number of duties to local bodies.

The next important step for establishing democratic institutions at the village-level was the Report of the 'Royal Commission on Decentralisation' of 1909. The Commission recommended the establishment of village panchayats consisting of members elected by the villagers assembled in meeting and assigned with police and welfare functions.¹¹

From the recommendations it is observed that it emphasized the importance of village panchayats on the assumption that development begins at the village-level. In practice, the relaxation of bureaucratic control over local bodies could not be implemented properly. The elected members considered local bodies as the training ground for preparation to become state-level or national-level leaders. So both the officials and the non-officials were tradition bound and power based and were not goal-oriented and goal-directed.¹²

The next important step towards the progress of Rural Local Self Government was the Government of India Resolution, 1918.

Following the Resolution, the British-rulers passed the Acts in the following Provinces for the establishment of village-panchayats.

- (1) Bengal Self Government Act, 1919;
- (2) Bihar Self Government Act, 1920;
- (3) Bombay Village Panchayat Act, 1920;
- (4) Central Provinces and Bihar Panchayat Act, 1920;

- (5) Madras Panchayat Act, 1920;
- (6) Uttar Pradesh Village Panchayat Act, 1920;
- (7) Punjab Panchayat Act, 1922;
- (8) Assam Self Government Act, 1925.

Though several Acts were passed in several provinces to accelerate the speed of rural development with the establishment of "Panchayats" it failed to raise the standard of living of the people at the village-level. The reasons for the failure were the meagre source of income of the Union Board and the Zilla Board and the lack of adequate staff.

Independence ushered in a new era of hopes and aspirations to the people and now the people thought that their demands and wishes could be fulfilled from which they were so long deprived. The statutory formation of panchayat was not the creation of independent India but it existed since 1919 during the British period though a concrete shape of the institution as a vehicle for rural development was still a far cry.

Gandhiji always argued in his speeches and writings for establishing "Village-Swaraj" for ameliorating the conditions of the rural-people. He felt that the village-people should not only be self reliant and self-sufficient but also they should fully participate in matters of their own development. He preached the philosophy of 'Sarvodaya' which implies the welfare of all. The main philosophy behind 'Sarvodaya' is the idea of service based

on love. It is an art and science of mobilising the physical, economic and spiritual resources at the disposal of society in the service of the good of all.¹³

Vinoba Bhave extended the idea of Gandhian 'Sarvodaya' and laid the major emphasis on economic transformation and development of rural India.¹⁴ Jay Prakash Narain wanted to reconstruct Indian policy and create necessary conditions for the realization of 'Sarvodaya' - society. He pointed out that the country's problems could not be solved through active politics and parliamentary legislation.¹⁵

Gandhian view of society had never been considered at the time of preparing the Draft-Constitution. Dr. Ambedkar opposed putting the village and the peasant on the Indian stage. He observed that the village-republic was out of existence after independence. He was of the opinion that the village republic would help to generate 'provincialism' and 'communalism'. He was very glad to learn that the Draft of the constitution considered the individual rather than the village as the unit of administration.¹⁶

Mr. Rajendra Prasad, the President of the Constituent Assembly and other members like J.C.Kumarappa and Shriman Narain, advocated "the idea of utilising adult franchise only for the village panchayat".¹⁷ B.N.Rau, the Constitutional Adviser, when requested by the followers of Gandhi to include panchayat, pointed out that

it was too late because it had already been decided by the members of the Constituent Assembly.¹⁸

Several members criticised the view of Ambedkar. H.V.Kamath described the attitude of Ambedkar 'as typical of the Urban-highbrow'. He appreciated the Gandhian teaching of love of the village and for encouraging the people 'to strive for Panchayati Raj'.¹⁹ T.Prakasam condemned the views of Dr. Ambedkar and pointed out that 'the village panchayat should be one which is upto date, which gives real power to rule and to get money and expend it, in the hands of the villagers'. Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar, Prof. N.G.Ranga, Mr. Mahavir Tyagi, Mr. M.Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, Mr. N.Madhava Rau vehemently criticised the attitude of Dr. Ambedkar and expressed their opinion to include village -panchayat in the Draft Constitution.²¹

After a long debate and discussion in the Constituent Assembly, it was suggested to include Panchayats in the 'Directive Principles of State Policy'. Art.40 of the Constitution thus reads, "The state shall take steps to organise village-panchayats and endow them with such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as units of self government"²²

In post-independence India, the Five Year Plans sought to initiate the process of rural development activities through the Community Development as a method and National Extension Service as an agency.²³

"Community Development is identified with almost any form of local betterment which is in some way achieved with the willing cooperation of the people."²⁴ It was 'conceived, planned and initiated as a people's selfhelp programme'.²⁵ The Community Development Programme was launched on Oct. 2, 1952 on a pilot scheme over 55 selected blocks all over India to extend the development of the rural areas²⁶ "not only as units of decentralised administration but almost simultaneously as units of decentralised autonomy".²⁷

The aims of the Community Development Programme and National Extension Service were more or less similar. But the National Extension Service was a permanent organisation and was intended to cover the entire country in a relatively shorter period. The National Extension Service was launched in 1953.²⁸

So far as the organisational pattern of the Community Development was concerned, it was observed that there were three basic units - the Village, the Mandi and the Development Block. On the operational side, there were Project Executive Officers responsible for executing the Community Development Programme in their areas. The Project Executive Officer was to be assisted by a staff of nearly 125 Supervisors and Village Level Workers.²⁹

In the First Five Year Plan, panchayats at the village-level were organised to perform "agency functions" of the higher authorities. It was admitted frankly that it would be difficult

to make a marked impression on rural life, for, only a village organisation representing the community as a whole could provide the necessary leadership.³⁰ During this plan period panchayats were set up in many states. Block Advisory Committees (Block Development Committee) at each block and Adhoc - Committees were also set up. The Second Five Year Plan also emphasized the establishment of appropriate agency at the village-level.³¹ So it was observed that the institutionalisation of people's involvement and participation did not go beyond the creation of adhoc-bodies and some concomitant adjustments.³² The Balvantray Mehta Study Team which was constituted to evaluate the workings of the Community Development Programme and the National Extension Service, and submitted its report on the 24th November, 1957, observed, "Development can not progress without responsibility and power. Community Development can be real only when the community understands its problems, realises its responsibilities, exercises the necessary powers through its chosen representatives and maintains a constant and intelligent vigilance on local administration. With this objective, we recommend an early establishment of statutory elective local bodies and devolution to them of the necessary resources, power and authority."³³

The Committee recommended the three-tier-Panchayat system, namely, the Village Panchayat would consist of members elected directly by the people on the basis of adult franchise. The women members would be coopted and one each from Scheduled Caste

and Scheduled Tribe would be represented. It would perform certain obligatory duties and execute the schemes of Panchayat Samiti.³⁴

Panchayat Samiti, the next tier of the organisation, would be indirectly elected by the Village Panchayat at the block level. On the official side, all the staff-members of the Block would be subordinate to Panchayat Samiti and the Block Development Officer would act as the Executive Officer of the Panchayat Samiti. This body would perform specific types of functions. The Panchayat Samiti members would elect the members of the Zilla Parishad which would approve the annual budget of the Panchayat Samiti, coordinate Block plans, distribute government funds allotted to Panchayat Samiti and guide the activities of the Panchayat Samiti.³⁵

The Mehta Committee-Report was accepted by the Government of India and the proposals were made operative in different States of India according to the structure and pattern suitable to the conditions of each State.

Though the Mehta Committee admitted that democratic decentralisation of power had become urgent, it failed to recommend directly-elected panchayats at the three-levels.⁵⁶

The foregoing discussion points out that the Panchayati Raj seems to have passed through three phases : the phase of ascendancy (1959-64); the phase of stagnation (1965-69); and the phase of decline (1969-77).

Panchayati Raj which was so long operated to perform rural development activities since the period of Community Development to Balvantray Mehta period has achieved a limited success in several States. Gram Panchayats have done well in states like Kerala. In Maharashtra and Gujarat like Panchayati Raj a system as a whole has a record of better performance. In Rajasthan, Panchayati Raj has shown very good results. The second tier has achieved progress both in Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh. In Andhra Pradesh, the Zilla Parishad has become successful in providing leadership. In West Bengal, the Anchal Panchayats had in the past considerably achieved better performance.³⁷

On the other hand, Panchayati Raj has also generally failed to deliver the goods to the rural people. The reasons for the failure are : Structural inadequacy which results into imbalance in relationship between the non-officials and the officials, subsidiary legislation by the State Government to curtail decision-making power of the elected bodies, meagre source of income, role of bureaucracy, etc.

The Community Development Programme with its stress on institutionalisation of people's involvement and participation did not go beyond the creation of adhoc bodies and some concomitant adjustments. During the B.Mehta period the Panchayati Raj institutions were also denied a sound democratic basis and proper administrative nourishment. The genuine devolution of administrative and financial powers to the grass-root institutions

of rural government was a mere slogan and the panchayat institutions were left in a moribund condition. Thus the Asoka Mehta Committee was set up in 1978 by the Janata Government in order to re-build and re-structure the Panchayati Raj institutions. The Committee submitted its report on the 21st august, 1978 after the elections of Panchayati Raj institutions in West Bengal.

The important recommendations of the Committee were -

(1) The structural and functional pattern of Panchayati Raj institutions should be changed in order to ensure effective people's participation in growth - economic, social and political.

The decentralisation of power, planning process and developmental activities below the state level is necessary from the political and socio-developmental perspectives. The first point of decentralisation should be the district below the state level.

A Mandal Panchayat should be constituted next to the district covering a number of villages in order to establish linkages transcending the traditional village. It will be the hub of developmental activities.

A Village Committee could be constituted by the Mandal Panchayat to look after municipal and civic functions and other related welfare activities.

The Zilla Parishad should consist of six categories of members. The Zilla Parishad would function through a number of Committees like Agriculture, Education, Small Industries, Finance and Public Works.

In order to formulate plans and periodic review a Planning Committee at the district level would be constituted with the following members - all the members of the Zilla Parishad and M.L.As and M.Ps from the concerned district.

In order to ensure clearer orientation towards development programme and to facilitate healthier linkages with higher level political process political parties should participate in the Panchayati Raj elections.

All the development functions relating to district would have to be transferred in the hands of the Zilla Parishad. The Panchayati Raj institutions should be empowered to take their own decisions and plan according to their own requirements. The Zilla Parishad should be responsible for planning at the district level. A team of professional experts would assist for the preparation of the plan at the district level. While formulating the plans the expertise of the district level staff should take into account a cross section of all shades of public opinion relevant to the district. The State Government would have to provide continuous assistance in the process of district planning.

All the district level officials should be placed under the Zilla Parishad and lower tiers. In the Zilla Parishad there should be a Chief Executive Officer who should be held responsible for the implementation of the policies and programmes.

Besides allotment of fund by the State Government, the Panchayati Raj institutions should have enough scope for mobilising their own resources. All Panchayati Raj institutions should have the power of imposing taxes. The weaker sections should be exempted from taxes in order to ensure social justice. Separate programmes for training for officials and non-officials should be provided. Moreover, there should be combined courses for both the officials and the elected representatives.

Panchayati Raj institutions should coordinate with the cooperative institutions in order to meet up the economic requirements of the people.

The majority of the State Governments opposed the idea of party-based election and Mandal Panchayat. The Chief Ministers in a meeting held on May, 19, 1979, decided to appoint a Drafting Committee comprising a number of Chief Ministers and Union Minister for Agriculture as its head, to prepare a draft bill. Some of the principles adopted by the Chief Ministers were : the existing three tier structure could be continued, the term of office of these bodies should be five years, supersession may be unavoidable, but elections should be held within 3 to 6 months.

The proposals recommended by the Asoka Mehta Committee were not adequate enough for the complete transfer of power to the local bodies in making decentralisation a living reality. The Panchayati Raj institutions failed to fulfil the characteristics of 'Village-Government' in the real sense of the term.

3.2 Panchayats in West-Bengal : A brief survey from 1957 to the present day.

Panchayats in West Bengal have a long history. West Bengal which has inherited the panchayat system of undivided Bengal, passed through different types of Panchayat system.

At the outset, it is observed that the Local Self Government in Bengal was established with the passing of the Village Chowkidari Act in 1870. The Village Chowkidar was directly controlled and guided by the village body known as Panchayat. The members of the Panchayat were not directly elected by the people and hence it was not a village government in the real sense of the term. The Panchayat consisted of not less than five persons to be appointed by the District Collector or any subordinate officer chosen by him. The only function of this Panchayat was to assess and collect tax.³⁹

This Act became obsolete very soon and hence appeared Lord Ripon's Resolution on May 18, 1882. The important items of this Resolution were: (1) Elected non-official-majority, (2) Non-official - chairman, (3) Government's control over local

bodies to be exercised from without rather than from within,⁴⁰

(4) Sufficient financial resources for the local bodies.

The Bengal Village Self Government Act, 1885, recommended Local Boards at each subdivisional level. This Local Board was out of commission because the Board had to depend upon district for the performance of its activities. The Local Board was an adjunct unit of District Board.⁴¹ The number of members in the Local Board varied from 9 to 30. By this Act, the Village Government was established not from below but from the top.

The Royal Commission on Decentralisation was set up to counter the centralising features of the Village Self Government Act. It recommended that the village should be the basic unit of administration. Panchayat, according to the Commission, "was to be elected by the villagers, assembled in meeting, and be assigned definite functions".⁴² The Commission was in favour of entrusting police and welfare functions in the hands of the local body. The Government of India Act, 1919, accepted the recommendation and consequently set up Union Board for this purpose. The functions included in a Union Board mainly were - police, management of village community affairs, minor roads, water works, public health and sanitation. It had also the powers of taxation necessary for discharging the duties assigned to it.⁴³

It was noticed that the District Board, Local Board and Union Board could not uphold the socio-economic status of the rural people. So the dawn of independence brought an opportunity for the people of the country to stand behind the masses.

The emergence of Panchayati Raj in West Bengal after independence synchronized with the passage of the West Bengal Panchayat Act, 1957, with a view to decentralising the power at the grass-roots-level. Panchayati Raj, with the passing of this Act, consisted of two tiers : Gram Panchayat and Anchal Panchayat.

The second phase of development took place when the West Bengal Zilla Parishad Act, 1963, was passed. This Act abolished the Union Board and the Local Board and established two tiers - Anchalik Parishad and Zilla Parishad. So the Panchayat in West Bengal consisted of four tiers - Gram Panchayat, Anchal Panchayat, Anchalik Parishad and Zilla Parishad.

The four-tier structure of West Bengal Panchayat system was formally inaugurated on Oct. 2, 1964. Soon after its introduction, the State of West Bengal had been seriously afflicted by food crisis in 1965. As a result, agitations, demonstrations, strikes and bandhs were observed in West Bengal. These practically paralysed the Government. In 1967 the United Front Government came to power for the first time defeating the Congress Party. The Panchayat Minister of the U.F. Government proposed to draw a new scheme of Panchayati Raj, but the Ministry was dismissed within a short time. The Coalition Ministry superseded the U.F. Government. But it was also shortlived. The Second U.F. Government came to power in 1969 and took initiative in proceeding with its earlier scheme. Before anything concrete could be

put into effect, the Ministry was dismissed. In 1972, the Congress Party won the election and formed the Government. This Government passed the West Bengal Panchayat Act, 1973, which was implemented only with effect from the 4th June, 1978 by the Left Front Government. According to this Act, the Panchayat system consisted of three tiers - Gram Panchayat at the village level, Panchayat Samiti at the block level, Zilla Parishad at the district level.

3.2.1 Structure and powers of Gram Sabha and Gram Panchayat under the Act of 1957:

According to the Act of 1957, Gram Sabha in West Bengal was a first step towards the formation of the Panchayati Raj structure. The State Government by notification could determine the area, name and jurisdiction of any Gram Sabha. Gram Panchayat was the Executive Committee of the Gram Sabha. Gram Sabha consisted of all persons whose names were included in the electoral roll for the West Bengal Legislative Assembly.⁴⁴

Though the Act assigned certain duties and powers to the Gram Sabha, it was merely a recommending body. It had no administrative powers. Under the Act of 1957, the Gram Sabha could meet at least twice a year. Apart from this, the Adhyaksha of Gram Panchayat could convene extra ordinary general meetings of the Gram Sabha provided one fifth of the total members expressed their consent in writing to convene such a meeting.

The Adhyaksha acted as the President of the meeting. The meeting of the Gram Sabha would consider the annual budget and the annual report of the Gram Panchayat⁴⁵ and give directions to it for future guidance.⁴⁶ This body was empowered to enquire into the working and management of the Gram Panchayat.

The members of the Gram Sabha were to send nine to fifteen representatives from amongst themselves for the constitution of the Gram Panchayat.

These members of the Gram Panchayat, in their first meeting, had to elect one Adhyaksha and Upadhyaksha from amongst themselves.

Gram Sabhas in West Bengal failed to play their role as a General Council of the village and also to make Gram Panchayat responsible to themselves. The reason for their failure was that the Gram Panchayat did not convene the meeting of the Gram Sabha to avoid criticism. Since the meetings of the Gram Panchayat were not regularly held, the Gram Sabha did not find any opportunity to execute the development plans of the village.

3.2.2 Anchal Panchayat under the Act of 1957:

Originally, under the Act of 1957, Anchal-Panchayat consisted of the members to be elected by the Gram-Sabha situated within the jurisdiction of the Anchal Panchayat. But this system was amended in 1965. Every Anchal Panchayat consisted of two types of members - (1) Adhyaksha of all Gram Panchayats falling within the jurisdiction of the Anchal Panchayat; (2) members to

be elected by the members of the Gram Sabha, keeping in view that at least one member was elected for every 500 members of the Gram Sabha.⁴⁷

In this way an organic linkage was created between the two tiers - Gram Panchayat and Anchal Panchayat. The wishes of the Gram Panchayat were represented through the Adhyakshas in the meeting of the Anchal Panchayat. Moreover, the people's wishes also were represented by the members elected by the Gram Panchayat from the constituent Gram Sabha. Anchal Panchayats were to elect one Prodhan and Upa Prodhan from amongst themselves.

The important powers and functions enjoyed by the Anchal Panchayat under the Act of 1957 were the following :

- (1) Management of finance of Anchal Panchayat;
- (2) Collection of tax, fees, toll, etc.;
- (3) Controlling and guiding the Dafadars and Chowkidars of the area of the Anchal Panchayat,
- (4) Constitution and regulation of the Naya Panchayat,
- (5) Performing duties assigned by the State Government.⁴⁸

The Anchal Panchayat was empowered to constitute committees. The committees created certain problems and interfered in the powers and activities of the Anchal Panchayat. Prof. Ashok Mukhopadhyay pointed out that nearly 70 percent of about 300 Prodhangs interviewed gave the impressions that they saw in the

committees a rival body usurping the power and initiative of Anchal Panchayat.⁴⁹

2.3 Anchalik Parishad under the Act of 1963 :

As per the recommendations of the Balvantray Mehta Study Team and with the passing of the West Bengal Zilla Parishad Act, 1963, the Government of West Bengal constituted one Anchalik Parishad at each block level.

It was a corporate body which had its own duties and responsibilities.

Anchalik Parishad consisted of the following members :

- (1) All the Prodhans of Anchal Panchayat within the area of the block.
- (2) One Adhyaksha elected by the Adhyakshas of constituent Gram Panchayat.
- (3) The members of Parliament or the members of State Legislative Assembly and the members of the State Legislative Council, excluding the ministers, within the territorial limits of the block.
- (4) Two women and two persons of the locality belonging to the backward communities to be appointed by the State Government.
- (5) Two persons within the territorial limits of the block

having knowledge of, or experience in social work to be co-opted by the members of the Anchalik Parishad.⁵⁰

The B.D.O was an associate member of the Anchalik Parishad. The President and the Vice-President were elected by the members of the Anchalik Parishad in their first meeting. They were elected for four years.⁵¹

The members of the Anchalik Parishad were required to meet once in three months and the decisions on any issue had to be made by a majority support. The B.D.O was the executive officer of the Anchalik Parishad.

The primary duty of this body was to act as a coordinating agency for implementing plans and programmes of the Anchal Panchayat at the block level. It had also the power to undertake certain projects and offer financial help for the same, for example, the projects relating to agriculture, livestock, cottage industries, cooperative movement, water supply, irrigation, public health, communication, primary adult education, social welfare and other welfare activities etc. and the implementation of projects assigned by the State Government or by any other authorities.

Besides financial inadequacy, there were certain other difficulties which hindered the activities of the body. The main difficulties faced by this body related to the problem of relationship-pattern between the officials and the non-officials.

In a study conducted by Prof. Ashok Mukhopadhyay, it was pointed out that the relative age difference of the young officials from the comparatively aged non-officials was the main reason for the unsatisfactory working of the Anchalik Parishad.⁵²

3.2.4 Zilla Parishad under the Act of 1963 :

According to this Act, district was the administrative unit of Local Self Government. Here administrative control was established from the top.⁵³ For all these reasons mentioned above, the West Bengal Zilla Parishad Act, 1963 superseded the Act of 1885. Under the Act of 1963, the Zilla Parishad consisted of both the members and the associated members. Other than the associated members, the Zilla Parishad consisted of the following members :

- (1) Presidents of the constituent Anchalik Parishads of the district, ex-officio.
- (2) Two Adhyakshas.
- (3) M.Ps, M.L.As and M.L.Cs excluding the Ministers elected from the district or residing in the district.
- (4) Chairman of the Municipality or Mayor of a Municipal Corporation in the district.
- (5) President of the School Board, ex-officio.

(6) Two women residing in the district to be appointed by the State Government provided women had not been represented.⁵⁴

The Zilla Parishad was to elect one Chairman and one Vice-Chairman from amongst the members in its first meeting.

The Zilla Parishad acted as a coordinating machinery between the other tiers. One Executive Officer and one Secretary, both from the category of West Bengal Civil Service, were appointed by the State Government to execute the decisions of the Zilla Parishad. Apart from this, at each Zilla Parishad, there was one District Engineer, one Medical Officer, Higher Technical Staff, etc.

The important functions of the Zilla Parishad were to integrate and coordinate the development plans and programme prepared by the Anchalik Parishad. The Chairman was empowered to examine the records of the Parishad.

Since, under this Act, there was possibility of inducting so many members to be nominated by the State Government in the self-governing bodies, it facilitated the interference by the state in local affairs.

2.5 Gram Panchayats Under the Act of 1973 :

Gram Panchayats, under the Act of 1973, consist only of elected members. The number of elected members for each Gram

Panchayat varies between seven and twenty five.⁵⁵ The Gram Panchayat in its first meeting elects one Prodhan and Upa Prodhan, from among the elected members, who have been made removable by a majority vote of the members of the Gram Panchayat at a meeting specifically convened for the purpose.⁵⁶ Every Gram Panchayat holds office for a period of four years and is required to meet at least once in a month.⁵⁷

On the official side of the Gram Panchayat, the Secretary is appointed by the State Government. The Director of Panchayat appoints Secretary on the basis of the recommendation of the Committee at the block level.⁵⁸ Rules relating to the recruitment, terms of service, salary, allowances and the age of retirement of the Secretary of the Gram Panchayat are determined by the West Bengal Government.⁵⁹ The Gram Panchayats, if they require, may appoint some officers and staff with the prior approval of the State Government.⁶⁰ Again, the State Government may send or depute some officers and staff to act under the Gram Panchayat.⁶¹

Moreover, there is one Job Assistant in each Gram Panchayat. The Prodhan of the Gram Panchayat appoints him on the basis of the recommendation of the Committee at the village level. Rules relating to recruitment, salary, allowances and other conditions of service of the Job Assistant are the same as those of the Secretary of the Gram Panchayat. The main function of the Job Assistant is to assist in implementing plans and policies of the Gram Panchayat.

Like other Government employees, the Secretary of the Gram Panchayat is a whole time employee . He enjoys casual leave and other leave facilities. His casual leave is granted by the Prodhan, but the other leaves are granted by the District Panchayat Officer. Although he enjoys these facilities, he is not treated as a government employee.

The Secretary remains responsible for his acts to the Gram Panchayat through the Prodhan. If the Secretary fails to carry out the decision of the Gram Panchayat, the Prodhan may complain to the District Panchayat Officer for taking disciplinary action against the Secretary. The Prodhan may also appeal to the District Magistrate against the action taken by the District Panchayat Officer. The decision of the District Magistrate is final in this regard. This kind of administrative arrangement may arouse thinking in the minds of the Secretary that D.P.O is his boss. Moreover, the Secretary will try to ignore the Prodhan.

To fulfil the needs and wishes of the people at the rural level, the expansion of the idea of social justice and the enhancement of administrative areas increased the activities at the three levels of the Panchayati Raj institutions in West Bengal. The widest range of duties and powers are entrusted with the Gram Panchayats under the 1973 Act, which can be classified under three heads - Obligatory, Discretionary and Assigned. Obligatory duties are mainly related to civic and

municipal functions of a routine nature. Gram Panchayats are obliged to perform those duties under the law. On the other hand, the discretionary duties are those which they perform at their own discretion when the situation so demands. Assigned duties are those which are assigned to them by the State Governments for execution of developmental programmes with full financial assistance.⁶²

The important obligatory duties are laid down in Section 19 of the West Bengal Panchayat Act, 1973. These are the following :

Sanitation, conservancy and drainage, and the prevention of public nuisances;

curative and preventive measures in respect of malaria, smallpox, cholera or any other epidemic;

supply of drinking water and the cleansing and disinfecting the source of supply and storage of water;

the maintenance, repair and reconstruction of public tanks; common grazing grounds, burning ghats and public graveyards;

organising voluntary labour for community works and works for the improvement of its area;

the control and administration of the Gram Panchayat Fund, the imposition, assessment and collection of the tax - rates or fees;

and the protection and repair of buildings or other property vested in it.

Section 21 has laid down the following discretionary duties :

maintenance of lighting of public streets;

beautification of such streets;

sinking of wells, and excavation of ponds and tanks;

introduction and promotion of cooperative farming, cooperative stores, and other cooperative enterprises;

construction and regulation of markets; fairs and local exhibitions of produce of home industries and local handicrafts;

assistance to agriculturists in the matter of obtaining State-loan and its distribution and repayment;

promotion and encouragement of cottage industries;

regulation of the production and disposal of foodstuffs and other commodities;

establishment and maintenance of libraries and reading rooms;

organisation and establishment of clubs and other recreational centres;

maintenance of records relating to population census, crop census, cattle census and census of unemployed persons and of other statistics;

fire assistance;

burglary and dacoity prevention;

any other local work or service of public utility which is likely to promote the health, comfort, convenience, or material prosperity of the people.

Section - 20 deals with the assigned functions which are listed below.

primary, social, technical or vocational education;

rural dispensaries, health centres and child welfare centres;

irrigation;

Grow-More-Food Campaign;

care of the infirm and the destitute;

rehabilitation of displaced persons;

bringing of waste land into cultivation;

promotion of plantations;

cooperative management of land and other resources of the village;

implementation of land reform measures in the area;

field publicity for developmental work and welfare measures;

3.2.6 Panchayat Samitis under the 1973 Act :

Panchayat Samitis under the Act of 1973 consist of the following categories of members :

- (1) all the Prodhans of the Gram Panchayats within the area of the Block;
- (2) all the elected members of each Panchayat Samiti;
- (3) all the M.L.As, M.Ps (both Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha), excluding the Ministers within the Block area.⁶³

The Samiti in its first meeting elects one Sabhapati and Sahakari Sabhapati from amongst the members. Panchayat Samiti is required to meet at least once in three months.⁶⁴ Block Development Officer is the ex-officio Executive Officer of the Panchayat Samiti. Extension Officer, Panchayats, is the Secretary of the Panchayat Samiti.⁶⁵

The Block Development Officer may be recalled by the State Government if a resolution for his removal is passed by at least "two thirds of the total members" of the Anchalik Parishad : in the proposed Panchayat Samiti such a resolution would require "a majority of the total members". The Executive Officer

exercises general powers of control over all officers and employees of the Panchayat Samiti. He may award punishment and recommend the dismissal, removal or reduction in rank of an officer or employee drawing a monthly salary of Rs. 200/-⁶⁶. Panchayat Samiti is empowered to punish the officers and employees drawing a monthly salary of Rs. 200/- or more. An appeal may lie to the Divisional Commissioner against an order of punishment by the Panchayat Samiti.⁶⁷

The scope of activities of the Panchayat Samiti is widened to such an extent that it is not possible for B.D.Os alone to perform the duties of the Executive Officer of the Panchayat Samiti, Inspector of Gram Panchayats and Chief Executive Officer of the Block simultaneously. To lessen down the burden of the B.D.O one Joint B.D.O is appointed to each block.

Besides this, Extension Officer of Panchayats acts under the direct control of B.D.O. He has been made responsible for his activities to the Panchayat Samiti. He is the Secretary of the Artho O Sanstha Sthayee Samiti of the Panchayat Samiti. He has to visit different Gram Panchayats and instruct the Prodhans on how to carry on their affairs. He also acts as the auditor of the Gram Panchayats. The most important duty of the Extension Officer for Panchayats is to assist the B.D.O in performing his duties.

The Panchayat Samiti with the prior approval of the State

Government may constitute different 'Standing Committees' for the proper functioning of the Samiti. Presently the Panchayat Samiti has the following Standing Committees :

- (1) Artho O Sanstha Sthayee Samiti,
- (2) Janasasthya Sthayee Samiti,
- (3) Purta Karya Sthayee Samiti,
- (4) Krishi Sech O Samabaya Sthayee Samiti,
- (5) Siksha Sthayee Samiti,
- (6) Khudra Silpa, Tran O Janakalyan Sthayee Samiti,
- (7) Unnayan, Parikalpana O Bhumi Sanskar Sthayee Samiti,
- (8) Matsya O Posupalan Sthayee Samiti and
- (9) Khadya O Sarabaraha Sthayee Samiti.

The Sthayee Samitis exercise and perform those powers which are assigned to them by the Panchayat Samiti. The number of members in each Sthayee Samiti varies from four to eight. Sabhapati is the ex-officio member of all Sthayee Samitis. The Panchayat Samiti elects a minimum of three and a maximum of five members from themselves. The State Government may appoint not more than three officers in each Sthayee Samiti. These officers are not entitled to cast vote and cannot be elected as Chairman of the Sthayee Samiti. The members of each Sthayee Samiti elect one Chairman from amongst themselves. But the Sabhapati becomes the Chairman, ex-officio, of the Artho O Sanstha Sthayee Samiti and the Extension Officer for Panchayat its Secretary, ex-officio.⁶⁸

3.2.7 Functions of the Panchayat Samiti under the 1973 Act :

The main functions of the Panchayat Samiti are to coordinate and integrate the activities of the constituent Gram Panchayats. The Samiti has also the general powers of supervision over the activities of the constituent Gram Panchayats and also to examine and approve the annual budgets of the same bodies.⁶⁹

The Panchayat Samiti can -

(I) undertake any schemes or adopt measures including the giving of financial assistance relating to the development of agriculture, livestock, cottage industries, cooperative movement, rural credit, water supply, irrigation, public health and sanitation;⁷⁰

(II) undertake management of any institution or organisation entrusted to it by the State Government or any other authority.

The Panchayat Samitis coordinate and integrate development plans and schemes prepared by Gram Panchayats in the Blocks, if and when necessary.⁷¹

The State Government may place any road, bridge, ferry, channel, buildings or other property under the control of the Panchayat Samiti.⁷²

The Panchayat Samiti may also transfer to the State Government or to the Zilla Parishad any road or part of a road

or any other property which is under its control.⁷³

The Panchayat Samiti may take over the maintenance and control of any road, bridge, tank, ghat, channel or drain belonging to a private owner or any other authority.⁷⁴

3.2.8 Zilla Parishad under the 1973 Act :

According to this Act, the Zilla Parishad consists of the following members :

- (1) Sabhapatis of the Panchayat Samitis within the district as ex-officio members.
- (2) All the elected members of the Zilla Parishad.
- (3) M.Ps and M.L.As excluding the Ministers within the district.
- (4) Members of the Council of States excluding the Ministers within the area of the district.⁷⁵

The Zilla Parishad is headed by the Sabhadhipati and the Sahakari Sabhadhipati. District Magistrate is the Executive Officer of the Zilla Parishad. One Secretary from the category of West Bengal Civil Service is appointed by the State Government for each Zilla Parishad.

The Executive Officer exercises general powers of control and supervision over the officers and other employees of the Parishad. He acts as a coordinator among the Parishad, its

committees and other officers of the district administration. He makes all the correspondence of the Parishad with the State Government. He keeps all the records and accounts of the Parishad in his custody. He keeps Sabhadhipati aware of the different developmental activities of the Parishad. He is obliged to participate in the meeting of the Zilla Parishad. He remains responsible for executing the policies of the Zilla Parishad. Without his signature, no money can be spent from the fund of the Zilla Parishad.

The main function of the Secretary of the Zilla Parishad is to assist the Executive Officer in discharging his duties.

Like the Panchayat Samiti, the Zilla Parishad has nine Standing Committees. The Zilla Parishad may constitute more committees with the prior approval of the State Government. The structure and composition of each Sthayee Samiti is the same as those of the Panchayat Samiti. The Sthayee Samitis perform such functions as are assigned to them by the Parishad or by the State Government.

3.2.9 Functions of the Zilla Parishad under the 1973 Act :

The Zilla Parishad performs certain duties and functions like the Panchayat Samiti. The Zilla Parishad may -

- (1) undertake any schemes or offer financial assistance for

the development of agriculture, livestock, industries, co-operative movement, rural credit, water supply, irrigation, public health and sanitation, primary, secondary and adult education etc.

- (II) Undertake execution of any scheme, performance of any act, or management of any institution or organisation entrusted to it by the State Government or any other authority.
- (III) Manage or maintain any work of public utility or any institution.
- (IV) Make grants in aid of any school, public institution, or public welfare organisation within the district.
- (V) Examine and sanction the budget estimate of the Panchayat Samiti.
- (VI) Adopt measures for the relief of distress.
- (VII) The State Government may, with the consent of the Zilla Parishad, place any road, bridge, ferry, channel, building or any other property under the control and management of the Zilla Parishad.
- (VIII) May take over the maintenance and control of any road, bridge, tank, ghat, well, channel or drain of a private owner or any other authority on specified agreements.

(IX) May divert, discontinue or close temporarily any road, which is under its control and management or is vested in it, and may, with the approval of the State Government, close any such road permanently.⁷⁶

The Zilla Parishad has general powers of supervision over the activities of the constituent Panchayat Samitis and the Gram Panchayats. Gram Panchayats and Panchayat Samitis are obliged to carry out developmental policies and programmes of the Zilla Parishad.

From the above discussion, it follows that all the members at each tier contest the election with party symbols and are elected directly by the voters whose names are on the electoral roll of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly. Now the philosophy of democratic ideals has been achieved at the three levels of Panchayati Raj institutions in West Bengal.

The important feature of the 1973 Act is that two seats for women and the other two seats for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are reserved in each Panchayati Raj institution. The similar provision had also been made in the Anchalik Parishad and the Zilla Parishad under the Zilla Parishad Act, 1963. But there was no such provision under the Panchayat Act, 1957. The power to nominate two representatives each from women and Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe category, provided they are not directly elected at each of the three levels of the Panchayati

Raj institution, is reserved in the hands of the Panchayat.

The next important feature of this Act is that it has established a linkage between the national interest and the local interest. The Prodhan's ex-officio membership in the Panchayat Samiti and the Sabhapati's ex-officio membership in the Zilla Parishad make the Panchayat Raj institutions structurally integrated. Moreover, an attempt has been made to achieve coordination between actions and programmes followed at the village-level and at the district level. On the other hand, the M.Ps and the M.L.As are closely associated with the Panchayati Raj structure to give priority to the rural development policies to be worked out both by the Central and the State Governments.

Unlike the Acts of 1957 and 1963, under the 1973 Act cooperatives have been kept separate from the Panchayati Raj institutions in West Bengal, although cooperative movement has an important role in the rural economy in India. Maharashtra, for example, has found the cooperatives important and provided for such representation in the Panchayat.

The most important feature of this Act is that there is no provision of Gram Sabha, although there was a reference to such a body in the 1957 Act. The reason for excluding the Gram Sabha from the present Act may be that it may not be possible to discuss the problems of the local area with a large number of people in the meeting of the Gram Sabha. An important Government

Order can be cited in this connection. The Department of Panchayat pointed out in the Government Order that the Panchayat institutions must intimate the people the amount of rupees they received for performing a specific job and also the total amount of money allotted to persons. Moreover, the Panchayats will have to make the people aware of their developmental activities and consult with the people.⁷⁷

The State Government controls the Panchayati Raj institutions through the Directorate of Panchayats and the Secretary to the Department of Community Development and Panchayat. The Directorate of Panchayats collects facts relating to panchayat and submits the report to the Department of Panchayat, and in this way, helps the Department to formulate policies. The Director of Panchayats is recruited from the category of Senior Indian Administrative Service Cadre. He is assisted by two Joint Directors and three Assistant Directors. There is one State Panchayat Officer to conduct the election of the Panchayat. To assist the District Magistrate and Divisional Commissioner in implementing the Panchayat ^{/the} Act and Zilla Parishad Acts, three Regional Assistant Directors of Panchayat are posted at Calcutta, Chinsura and Jalpaiguri for the Presidency, Burdwan and Jalpaiguri Divisions. At the district level, the District Panchayat Officer is appointed to keep a close watch on the workings of the Gram Panchayats. At the block level, the Extension Officer for Panchayats acts under the control of the B.D.O.

The foregoing discussion reveals that in the Panchayat Administration there are two sets of actors - Government Officials and the elected representatives. Earlier, the Government Officials played the main role in the matter of policy formulation and its implementation. Now the elected representatives, in the three tier level of Panchayati Raj institutions, formulate policies.

STRUCTURE AND COMPOSITION OF THREE-TIER-PANCHAYATI RAJ INSTITUTIONS ARE INDICATED IN THE DIAGRAM BELOW.

GRAM PANCHAYAT

Elected and Nominated Members

PRODHAN

UPA-PRODHAN

SECRETARY AND OTHER STAFF.

**ANCHAL PANCHAYAT/
PANCHAYAT SAMITI**

Elected, Ex-Officio and Nominated Members.

Sthayee Samitis :

- | | |
|----------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. Artho O Sanstha | Sabhapati |
| 2. Jana Sasthya | Sahakari Sabhapati |
| 3. Purta Karya | Executive Officer |
| 4. Krishi Sech O Samabaya | (B. D. O. as an ex-officio) |
| 5. Siksha | Secretary |
| 6. Khudra Silpa Tran O Janakalyan | (E. O. P. as an ex-officio) |
| 7. Unnayan Parikalpana O Bhumi Sanskar | Other Departments |
| 8. Matsya O Pasupalan | |
| 9. Khadya O Sarabaraha | |
-

ZILLA PARISHAD

Elected, Ex Officio and Nominated Members

Sthayee Samitis :

- | | |
|----------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. Artho O Sanstha | Sabhadhipati |
| 2. Jana Sasthya | Sahakari Sabhadhipati |
| 3. Purta Karya | Executive Officer |
| 4. Krishi Sech O Samabaya | (D. M. as an ex-officio) |
| 5. Siksha | Astt. Executive Officer |
| 6. Khudra Silpa Tran O Janakalyan | (Equivalent to D. M.s status) |
| 7. Unnayan Parikalpana O Bhumi Sanskar | Secretary |
| 8. Matsya O Pasupalan | (Govt. Appointed) |
| 9. Khadya O Sarabaraha | Other Departments |

DIAGRAM OF PANCHAYAT ADMINISTRATION IN WEST BENGAL

MINISTER FOR PANCHAYATS

Department of Panchayats	Directorate of Panchayats
Secretary	Director
Deputy Secretary	Joint Director
Assistant Secretary	Deputy Director
Regional Assistant Directors (Divisional Level)	Assistant Director (Hd. Qr.)
	District Panchayat Officer
	Inspector of Panchayats (B. D. O. as ex-officio)
	Extension Officer for Panchayats
	Gram Panchayat Secretary

NOTES & REFERENCES TO CHAPTER-III

1. R.S.Sharma, Aspects of Political Ideas and Institutions in Ancient India, Delhi, 1962, p.122.
2. U.N.Ghosal, "Political Organisations - The Monarchical States", The Cultural Heritage of India, Vol.II, Calcutta Ramkrishna Mission, p.406.
3. The Cambridge History of India, Vol.VI, S.Chand & Chand & Co., March, 1958.
4. R.K.Mukherjee, Local Government in Ancient India, 2nd Edn., Delhi-1958, p.226.
5. R.S.Sharma, op.cit., p.122.
6. R.V.Jathar, Evolution of Panchayati Raj in India, Institute of Economic Research, Dharwar-4, p.9.
7. H.D.Malaviya, Village Panchayats in India, New Delhi, All India Congress Committee, 1956, p.139.
8. R.V.Jathar, op.cit., p.15.
9. Ibid., p.15.
10. Lord Ripon's Resolution, paras 12,13,14,17,18.
11. Report of the Royal Commission on Decentralisation, 1907, p.240.

The Report contains -

"It is most desirable to constitute and develop village-panchayats for the administration of certain local

affairs within the villages. This system must, however, be gradually and cautiously worked. The headman of the village, should be ex-officio chairman of the Panchayat; other members should be obtained by a system of informal election by the villagers. The Panchayat should be a small body of about five members".

12. B.B.Misra, District Administration and Rural Development - Policy Objectives and Administrative Change in Historical Perspective, Oxford University Press, 1983, p.210.
13. Jagadish P.Sharma and Mirian Sharma, "The Sarvodaya Movement and Social Change" in Jagadish P.Sharma ed., Individuals and Ideas in Modern India, Firma K.L.M. Pvt. Ltd., Calcutta, 1982, p.198. Adi H.Doctor in his book on Sarvodaya states "In more precise terms, it is the art and science of mobilising the physical, economic and spiritual resources at the disposal of society in the service of the general good".
14. Ibid., p.200.
15. Ibid., p.205.
16. M.Venkatarangaiya and M.Pattabhiram (ed.), Local Govern in India Select Readings, Allied Publishers, Calcutta, 1969, p.250. In this book Dr. Ambedkar states, "Village is sink of localism a den of ignorance, narrow-mindedness and communalism".
17. Shrivah et al, Panchayati Raj - An Analytical Survey, National Institute of Rural Development, Hyderabad, 1977, p.52.
18. Ibid., p.52.

19. M.Venkatarangaiya et al, op.cit., p.250.
20. Ibid., p.251.
21. Ibid., pp.251,252,253.
22. Cited in R.V.Jathar,op.cit., p.43.
23. Shiviah et al, op.cit., p.73.
24. "As far as the role of the official machinery was concerned, the First Plan quoted Krishnamachari report approvingly to the effect that the energies of the entire administrative machinery of the states and the best non-official leadership should be directed to realising the Plan objectives by awakening 'mass enthusiasm' and enlisting the active interest and support of the rural people in improving their own condition". About 'extension' the First Plan had this to say :

"Extension is a continuous process designed to make the rural people aware of their problems, and indicating to them ways and means by which they can solve them. It thus involves not only education of the rural people in determining their problems and the methods of solving them, but also inspiring them towards positive action in doing so."

24. Cited in Shiviah et al, Ibid., p.68.
25. Douglas Ensminger, Rural India in Transition, New Delhi, All India Panchayat Parishad, 1972, p.25.
26. S.Bhatnagar, Rural Local Government in India, Light and Life publishers, New Delhi, 1978, p.27.

27. B.B.Misra, op.cit., p.289.
28. Shiviah et al, op.cit., p.79. "It is significant that Krishnamachari described both C.D.Projects and N.E.S as 'movements', indicating an orientation towards a massive organisational effort involving mobilisation of people". "The whole object of community development programme is to raise the general standard of living of the average man - an object which in the Indian context is quite a revolutionary thing".
29. Ibid., p.78.
30. A.K.Mukhopadhyay, Panchayat Administration in West Bengal, World press, Calcutta, 2nd edn., 1980, p.15.
The First Five Year Plan observed : "The Constitution has provided for democratic institutions at the Centre and in the States, but so long as Local self-governing institutions are not conceived as parts of the same organic constitutional and administrative framework, the structure of democratic government will remain incomplete".
"In practice, few panchayats discharge all the functions entrusted to them, and the activities of many of them suffer from local faction, lack of resources and want of guidance. Panchayats have helped social awakening, but they have not had the same success in raising the level of village life or in fostering self-help in the improvement of village-conditions."
31. Ibid., p.15.
32. Shiviah et al., op.cit., p.1.
33. Report of the Study of Community Projects and National Extension Service, Committee on Plan Projects, Government of India, November, 1957, Vol.I, Sec.2, p.23.

34. A.K.Mukhopadhyay, op.cit., p.17.
35. Ibid., p.17.
36. S.N.Ray : "The New Panchayati Raj Experiment in West Bengal", in Peter. H.Merkel (ed.), New Local Centres in Centralised States, University Press of America, 1985, p.302.
37. Shrivihah, Panchayati Raj in Rural Development in India - Some Facets, NIRD.
38. Report of the Committee on Panchayati Raj Institutions, August, 1978, New Delhi, Paras-II. 1, II.40.1, IV.4.9, IV.6.1, IV.9.1, IV.10, IV.15, IV.14, V.6.1, VI.1, VI.9.2, VI.10, VIII.2.1, VIII.5.2, IX.12.2, IX.5.4, X.3, X.4, XI.2, XI.3.
39. Sec III, Village Chowkidari Act., 1870.
40. Resolution on Local Self Govt., May 18, 1882, paras 5,12, 13,14,17,18.

Paragraph 5 reads as follows : 'It is not primarily with a view to improvement in administration that this measure is put forward and supported. It is chiefly designed as an instrument of political and popular education'.

Paragraph 6 goes on : "As education advances there is rapidly growing up all over the country an intelligent class of public spirited men who it is not only bad policy but sheer waste of power to fail to utilise".
41. N.C.Roy, Rural Self Govt. in Bengal, University of Calcutta, 1936, p.61.
42. Report of the Commission on Decentralisation, 1907, p.240.

43. N.C.Roy, op.cit., p.162.
44. West Bengal Panchayat Act., 1957, sec.7.
45. West Bengal Panchayat Rules, 1958, Rule.137.
46. U.P.Panchayati Raj Act, 1947, Sec.41(1)(2).
47. West Bengal Panchayat Act., 1957, Sec.26(1).
48. Ibid., Sec. 26(1).
49. Ashok Mukhopadhyay, Panchayat Administration in West Bengal, World Press, Calcutta, 1978, p.63.
50. West Bengal Zilla Parishad Act, 1963, Sec.52.
51. Ibid., Sec.57.
52. Ashok Mukhopadhyay, op.cit., p.67.
53. District Administration Report, 1912-13, Govt. of Bengal, p.83.
54. West Bengal Zilla Parishad Act., 1963.
55. West Bengal Panchayat Act., 1973.
56. Ibid., Sec.11.
57. Ibid., Sec.16.
58. Ibid., Sec.35.
59. Ibid., Sec.35(3); West Bengal Panchayat (Gram Panchayat Administration) Rules, 1981, Rules 30-35.
60. Ibid., Sec.36(1).
61. Ibid., Sec.36(2).

62. S.N.Ray, "The New Panchayati Raj Experiment in West Bengal", in Peter.H.Merkel : New Local Centres in Centralised States, University Press of America, 1985, 308.
63. West Bengal Panchayat Act., 1973, Sec.94(2).
64. Ibid., Sec.98(1)
65. Ibid., Sec.119(1), (1A).
66. Ibid., Sec.121(1), (2).
67. Ibid., Sec.122(2).
68. Ibid., Sec.125(1), (2), (3).
69. Ibid., Sec.109(1) (e)(f).
70. Ibid., Sec.109(1) (f).

A Panchayat Samiti shall have the power to -

(I) undertake schemes or adopt measures, including the giving of financial assistance relating to the development of agriculture, livestock, cottage industries, cooperative movement, rural credit, water supply, irrigation, public health and sanitation including establishment of dispensaries and hospitals, communication, primary or adult education including welfare of students, social welfare and other objects of general public utility.

71. Ibid., Sec.109(II), (IV) (E).

Undertake execution of any scheme, performance of any act or organisation entrusted to it by the State Government or any other authority.

72. Ibid., Sec.110.
73. Ibid., Sec.111.
74. Ibid., Sec.112.
75. Ibid., Sec.140.
76. Ibid., Sec.153(I)(II)(III)(IV)(V)(VI) (c) (d) (e) (f),
155, 157, 158.
77. G.O.No. 7800-Panch 1P-29/80 dt. 10th April, 1980, Deptt. of
Panchayats and C.D.

CHAPTER-IV

ACTIVITIES OF PANCHAYATI RAJ INSTITUTIONS AND OTHER AGENCIES
FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE MALDA DISTRICT

CHAPTER-IV

ACTIVITIES OF PANCHAYATI RAJ INSTITUTIONS AND OTHER AGENCIES FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE MALDA DISTRICT

4.1 Evolution of Panchayati Raj Institutions in the Malda District :

Panchayati Raj institutions in Malda district had existed since the hoary past. It was actually during the early British period the panchayati raj institutions consisted of the assemblies of the neighbouring Mandal who were not elected but held the post by heredity. Usually they belonged to the money lending-community and were the wealthiest men. These Panchayats existed for the settlement of civil disputes, breaches of caste discipline, or morality and quarrels.¹

These assemblies were known as 'tisi'; 'baishi' or 'chautisi' which mean 3, 22 and 36 respectively and the Panchayat consisted of Mandals of that number of villages. The meeting of the Panchayat was held in the house of the senior mandal. In case of petty offences committed by a party the punishment was usually a fine.²

The District Board which was established in the year 1887 in pursuance of the Bengal Village Self Government Act, had no Local or Union Boards. It consisted of 13 members. District Magistrate and Collector was the ex-officio Chairman of the Board. The other members were nominated by the Local Government.

An account of income and expenditure of the District Board for the ten years is being given below.³

1. Average Annual Income of the Board for the ten years (1901-10)	Rs. 1,05,000.00
2. Average Annual Expenditure	Rs. 1,08,000.00
(a) Communications	Rs. 34,830.00
(b) Education	Rs. 2,42,000.00
(c) Medical Relief and Water Supply	Rs. 14,000.00

From the above it follows that the average annual income of the Board for the ten years (1901-10) was Rs. 1,05,000/- and expenditure Rs. 1,08,000/- of which Rs. 34,830/- had been incurred for communication facilities, Rs. 2,42,000/- for education facilities and Rs. 14,000 for medical relief and water supply.

An amount of Rs. 37,000/- was derived from provincial rates and Rs. 34,000/- from ponds and ferries. These were mainly the local source of income.

The income of the District Board was Rs. 1,14,000/- and the expenditure Rs. 1,10,000/- in 1901-10.

The Board earned Rs. 42,300/- from local rates, Rs. 41,000/- from 20 ferries and 89 ponds. The expenditure on civil works was Rs. 71,600/- of which Rs. 53,000 was spent on communications and Rs. 4,800/- on water-supply. The Board maintained 20 miles of metalled roads and 512 miles of unmetalled roads. The roads with 13 inspection bungalows, were in charge of the District Engineer.⁴

The main duties and powers of the District Board were the maintenance of roads as had not already been taken over by the Government, ponds, bungalows, provide sanitary measures in the fairs and melas, the rural dispensaries which had not been taken over by the Government. Moreover, the District Board exercised general powers of supervision and control over the activities of the Union Boards.⁵

The Budget Estimate for the year 1959-60 stated below explains the activities of the District Board. Budget Estimate (Abstract) Malda District Board Fund for the year 1959-60.⁶

Heads of receipts	Proposed by local officer	Passed by Commi-ssioner	Heads of expenditure	Proposed by local officer	Passed by Commi-ssioner
Abstract of Receipts			Atstracts of Expenditure		
Opening balance		Rs. 22,636	18.General Admini-stration.		Rs. 46,244
V.Provincial Rates		Rs.1,40,000	19.Law & Justice		Rs. 800
XVI-A. Law & Justice	Rs. 17		20.Police		Rs. 3,960
XVII Police		Rs. 43,338	21.Education		Rs. 26,180
XX Medical		Rs. 2,751	24. Medical		Rs. 28,138
XXV Miscellaneous		Rs. 16,835	29.Superanuation allowances & pension		Rs. 9,000
XXXII Civil Works		Rs.1,14,449	24.A.Public health		Rs. 5,700
Total income exclu-ding opening balance		Rs.3,17,440	30.Stationary & printing		Rs. 4,000
Debt & Deposits & Advances		Rs. 25,000	32.Misc.		Rs. 14,390
Total Receipts excluding opening balance		Rs.3,42,440	45.Civil Works Total expenditure chargeable to current income		Rs.316,915
Opening Balance		22,636	Debts Deposits & Advances		Rs. 25,525
Grand Total		Rs.3,65,076	Total Charges		Rs.342,440
			Closing Balance		Rs. 22,636
			Grand Total		Rs.365,076

From the budget estimate of the District Board it is observed that the District Board had an opening balance of

Rs. 22,636. The amount of money excluding the opening balance, earned from different sources was Rs. 3,17,440/- . Rs. 46,244/- was spent on General Administration, Rs. 800/- for law and justice, Rs. 3,960/- for police activities, Rs. 26,180/- for educational facilities, Rs. 28,138/- and Rs. 900/- for superanuation allowances and pensions and Rs. 5,700/- for public health activities. The highest amount of money was spent on Civil Works. A considerable amount of money was also spent on General Administration, Education and Medical.

The number of members in the last District Board was sixteen who had been elected by a restricted electorate as contemplated in the Bengal Local Self Government Act of 1885.⁷

The District Board was replaced by the Zilla Parishad in 1964 by notification No. 7052 - Panch dated 8th December, 1964. Malda district Zilla Parishad was established in pursuance of the West Bengal Zilla Parishad Act, 1963.⁸

The Zilla Parishad was an elected body and consisted of the following members.⁹

- (1) Presidents of the Anchalik Parishads of the blocks within the district,
- (2) Four Adhyakshas,
- (3) M.Ps (Lok Sabha) and M.L.As excluding the Ministers within the district,

- (4) Chairman of a Municipality,
- (5) Two women having a place of residence within the district appointed by the State Government,
- (6) The Subdivisional Officer and the District Panchayat Officer were the associate members of the Zilla Parishad without voting right.

Sri Nikunjabehari Gupta and Md. Asadulla Chowdhuri were the Chairman and Vice-Chairman in the Zilla Parishad respectively in the year, 1964. The Zilla Parishad had the general powers of supervision and control over Anchalik Parishads, Anchal Panchayats and Gram Panchayats in the district.

The district was divided into 15 National Extension Service Blocks in respect of each of which an Anchalik Parishad consisted of the following members.¹⁰

- (1) Prodhans and Presidents of the Union Boards.
- (2) Prodhans and Presidents of the Union Boards within the block as an ex-officio.
- (3) One Adhyaksha from each Anchal Panchayat.
- (4) M.Ps (Lok Sabha) and M.L.As excluding Ministers within the block area.
- (5) M.Ps (Rajya Sabha) and M.L.Cs excluding the Ministers within the block area.

- (6) Two women and two persons belonging to the category of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribes of the block area to be appointed by the State Government.
- (7) Two persons who had knowledge of, or experience in, social work or rural development having a place of residence within the block were coopted by the members.

The Block Development Officer was an associate member of the Anchalik Parishad and he was also the Chief Executive Officer of the Anchalik Parishad.

The next tiers below the Anchalik Parishad were the Anchal Panchayat and the Gram Panchayat. The Gram Sabha consisted of all the members of the specified area, whose names were on the electoral list of the West Bengal Legislative Assembly. The members elected by the Gram Sabha varied from 9 to 15. These members constituted Gram Panchayat. A number of contiguous Gram Sabha were grouped together for constituting an Anchal Panchayat.

The Anchal Panchayat was made responsible for (1) the control and administration of the Anchal Panchayat Fund established by this Act. (2) the imposition, assessment and collection of the taxes, rates, tolls or fees leviable under the Act. (3) the maintenance and control of dafadars and Chowkidars within its jurisdiction. (4) the proper constitution and administration of the Naya Panchayat.

There were 827 Gram Panchayats and 158 Anchal Panchayats and nine Naya Panchayats in the district.

Before the enactment of the 1973 Act., on the 4th June, 1978, the Malda Zilla Parishad was headed by a chairman. But the word Chairman was replaced by Sabhadrupati after 4th June, 1978. The Left Front won the Zilla Parishad election in Malda district. The Left Front also captured majority Panchayat Samitis and Gram Panchayats. There were thirty seats in the Zilla Parishad. The Zilla Parishad consisted of the following members :

- (1) Directly elected members,
- (2) Sabhapatis of the Panchayat Samitis,
- (3) M.Ps (Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha), M.L.As excluding Ministers within the jurisdiction of the district.
- (4) Two women and two persons of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe category to be appointed by the State Government.

District Magistrate was the Chief Executive Officer of the Zilla Parishad and one Senior West Bengal Civil Servant was appointed as Secretary of the Zilla Parishad. There were nine Standing Committees namely - Artho O Sanstha Sthayee Samiti, Jana Sasthya Sthayee Samiti, Purta Karya Sthayee Samiti, Krishi Sech O Samabaya Sthayee Samiti, Siksha Sthayee Samiti, Khudra Silpa Tran O Janakalyan Sthayee Samiti, Unnayan Parikalpana O

Bhumi Sanskar Sthayee Samiti, Matsya O Pasupalan Sthayee Samiti, Khadya O Sarbaraha. Sri Manik Jha and Samsul Hoque were the first Sabhadhipati and Saha Sabhadhipati respectively.

There are 15 Panchayat Samitis consisted of the following members :

- (1) Directly elected members of the Panchayat Samiti,
- (2) All the Prodhans of the constituent Gram Panchayats of the Panchayat Samiti.
- (3) M.L.As and M.Ps excluding the Ministers within the jurisdiction of the block.
- (4) Two persons from Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe category and two women were appointed by the State Government.

The Block Development Officer was the Executive Officer of the Panchayat Samiti. The Extension Officer for Panchayats was the ex-officio Secretary of the Panchayat Samiti. Like Zilla Parishad, the Panchayat Samiti had nine Standing Committees.

The lowest tier is known as Gram Panchayat. It consisted of all the elected members of the Gram Panchayat. Secretary and Job Assistant were the associate members of the Gram Panchayat.

4.2 Activities of Panchayati Raj Institutions at the Three Levels of Malda District.

A wide variety of schemes and programmes sponsored by both Central and State Governments have been devolved upon Panchayati Raj institutions as a means to usher in a new social order for socio-economic transformation of the rural community. The programmes developed so far included - minor irrigation works, flood embankments, drainage and anti-waterlogging works, public roads including village-roads, repairs and sinking of tubewells, excavation or renovation of tanks, soil-conservation, planting of trees, repair of school buildings and community centres belonging to the govt and panchayats, construction of houses at the rural level, scheme for loans for reconstructing and repairing houses in the flood-affected areas of the district, construction of bridges and culverts, restoration of rural assets, distribution of relief and welfare services, control and management of khas or vested ferries, land reforms programmes, National Rural Employment Programme (Big & Normal), Integrated Rural Development Programme, Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme and so on.

Among the programmes devolved so far three have important impact upon the rural life of the people by generating more employment opportunities and thereby increasing the purchasing power in the hands of the rural poor. These important programmes are - National Rural Employment Programme (NREP, Big & Normal),

Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme (RLEGP) and Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP). The performance of IRDP activities has already been discussed in the section of Rural Development Agencies in the Malda District.

4.2.1 National Rural Employment Programme (NREP) :

On and from the 15th December, 1980, National Rural Employment Programme was launched replacing Food for Work Programme (FFW) and Rural Works Programme (RWP). NREP is classified into two types - NREP (Normal) and NREP (Big). Gram Panchayats have been assigned the responsibility to implement the schemes of NREP (Normal). NREP (Big) schemes are executed by the Panchayat Samitis or the Zilla Parishad.

Schemes executed by different Gram Panchayats of Malda district under the programme are the following :-

1. Social Forestry;
2. Special Work for the benefit of S.C. & S.T.
3. Excavation and Re-Excavation of tanks.
4. Flood Protection, Drainage and Small Irrigation.
5. Land Reclamation and preservation.
6. Construction and Re-Construction of Village-Roads and Culverts.
7. Construction of School-buildings, Grains-Golas, Community Centres, Panchayat buildings, Lavatories, Passenger-sheds, Ring Wells, Tube Wells etc.

Statement Showing the Achievements and Performance Reports of NREP (NORMAL) in Seven Blocks of Malda District (The Reports of Other Blocks of this District are not available) during the year 1985-86.

Name of the Schemes	No. of Schemes	Expenditure	Mandays
	I Area Covered		
Rural Roads	207 kms.	273881.49	159785
	55 kms.		
	&	N.A.	N.A.
	50 Mts.		
	675	688026.19	17842
Provision of drinking water well & other water resources	56	N.A.	N.A.
	10	N.A.	N.A.
Link drains/Intermediate drains & Main drains	4½ Kms.	82200.00	2700
	3 Kms.	N.A.	N.A.
Flood Protection Works	2½ Hect.	7400.00	250
	5 Hect.	N.A.	N.A.

Contd...

Name of the Schemes	No. of Schemes	Expenditure	Mandays
	Area Covered		
No. of Tanks			
Irrigation Tanks	13	78500.00	4450
	1	N.A.	N.A.
No. of Wells			
Irrigation Wells	34	138000.00	2625
	1	N.A.	N.A.
No. of Trees Planted			
Social Forestry	29200	207734.00	12464
No. of Schools			
School Buildings (repairing/renovation etc.)	106	28456.02	577
	1	100.00	N.A.
	46	N.A.	N.A.

Contd...

Name of the Schemes	No. of Schemes	Expenditure	Mandays
	Area Covered		
Construction of Houses	No. of houses		
	10	27724.29	640
Panchayati Ghars	No. of Ghars		
	11	130896.26	2514
Culvert & Hume pipe	No. of Culverts & Hume pipe		
	4	N.A.	N.A.
Wooden Bridge	No. of Bridges		
	6	N.A.	N.A.
Construction of building	33	35998.85	516
	183	44067.96	1998
Bus Shed	2	36656.00	600
Latrine	1	8740.60	937
Waiting Shed	4	29351.75	2220

Contd...

Construction of Market	2	1800.00	100
Construction of Primary School, Ground	16	9000.00	750
Construction of Mahila Mandals	1	7368.00	213
Tube Well Repair	69	N.A.	N.A.
Tube Well Re-sinking	70	N.A.	N.A.
Tube Well New sinking	46	7 N.A.	N.A.
Platform of a Tree	1	N.A.	N.A.
Construction of Platform of Tube well & Ringwell	52	37000.00	750

Source : Development and Planning Department, Malda.

The statement relating to achievement reports of NREP (Normal) during the year 1985-86 shows that an expenditure of rupees two lakh seventy three thousand three hundred and eighty one and paise forty nine have been spent to construct two hundred and seven kilometers of rural roads. Mandays created by this scheme were one lakh fifteen thousand seven hundred and eighty five. Different Gram Panchayats spent an amount of rupees six lakh eighty eight thousand twenty six and paise nineteen to complete six hundred and seventy five schemes for providing facilities

of drinking water well and other water resources and thereby created seventeen thousand eight hundred fourty two mandays. Link drains/Intermediate drains and main drains covering the area of four and half kilometers were constructed with an expenditure of rupees eighty two thousand two hundred. Two thousand seven hundred mandays were created by this work. Under flood protection scheme rupees seven thousand four hundred were spent to cover an area of two and half hectors. This created a mandays of two hundred and fifty. To provide irrigation facilities thirteen tanks and thirty four wells were constructed and thus created seven thousand seventy five number of mandays in total. Under social forestry scheme twenty nine thousand two hundred trees were planted. Twelve thousand four hundred and sixty four mandays were created by this activities. Ten houses were constructed creating six hundred and fourty mandays. Under culvert and hume pipe scheme two thousand nine hundred and fifteen mandays were created. One thousand five hundred mandays were created to construct sixty one wooden bridges. Eight thousand eighty four mandays were created for the construction of buildings, bus shed, latrine, waiting shed, market,primary school ground, mahila mandals, platform of tube well and ring well etc.

The following schemes are executed by the Panchayat Samitis and the zilla Parishad under this programme.

1. Embankment.
2. Improvement, Repair and Construction of Road.
3. Horse-cart-stand, Passenger-shed.
4. Construction of Culvert, Bridges, Earth-Work, Jhama
-Consolidation, Minor Irrigation etc.

Statement Showing Achievement and Performance Reports of NREP
(BIG) during the years 1984-85, 85-86, 86-87.

Year & Implemen ting Agencies	Amount Involved as Estimated Cost (as Approved by the Govt.)	Amount Spent	Schem -es taken	Achieve -ments up
	Cash	Foodgrains		
1984-85 P.S.	1804165.2	N.A.	N.A.	48 N.A.
1985-86 P.S.	1680248.00	N.A.	N.A.	19 N.A.
1984-85 Z.P.	2012960.00	2115333.44	N.A.	13 com- pleted 2 not "
1985-86 Z.P.	1666140.00	1406973.06	66568 kg.	8 6 com- pleted 2 not "
1986-87 Z.P. & P.S.	4380000.00	N.A.	N.A.	34 N.A.

Source : Zilla Parishad, Malda.

It is observed from the statement that the Panchayat Samitis have been assigned the responsibility to execute 48 schemes in 1984-85. In the year 1985-86 the Panchayat Samitis have undertaken the responsibility of executing 19 schemes with an estimated cost of Rs. 1680248.00. In the year 1984-85 the Malda Zilla Parishad spent an amount of Rs. 2115333.44 lakhs to execute 15 schemes and it implemented 13 schemes. Again in 1985-86 the Zilla Parishad executed 6 schemes out of 8 schemes with an amount of Rs. 1406973.06. The foodgrains spent by the Zilla Parishad in that year were 66568 kg. The Zilla Parishad has been assigned the responsibility to implement 34 schemes in 1986-87. The physical achievement report is not yet received. Since Panchayat Samitis have failed to submit the physical achievement reports of NREP (Big) programme for the years 1984-85 and 1985-86 nothing can be said about the performance.

Statement of Schemes Relating to Construction of Village Roads and their Estimate Cost Under NREP (BIG).

Schemes	Year	Estimated Cost
Improvement, Repair, Construction & Re-construction of Village Road	1984-85	Rs. 33,88,205.2
	1985-86	Rs. 19,91,668.00
	1986-87	Rs. 28,45,000.00

Source : Zilla Parishad, Malda.

It is observed from the above statement that Rs.33,88,205.2 had been allotted in the year 1984-85 for the improvement, repair, construction and re-construction of village road. The amount of allotment had been reduced to Rs. 19,91,668.00 and Rs. 28,45,000.00 respectively in the years 1985-86 and 1986-87.

Statement Relating to Earthwork, Excavation etc. Schemes and their Estimated Cost

Schemes	Year	Estimated cost
Earthwork, Excavation and Re-excavation of Canal, Earthen Embankment	1984-85	Rs. 2,20,359.25
	1985-86	Rs. 1,70,501.00
	1986-87	X

Source : Zilla Parishad, Malda.

It is observed from the statement that an amount of Rs. 2,20,359.25 had been allotted as an estimated cost for earthwork, excavation and re-excavation of canal, earthen embankment. In the year 1985-86 only Rs. 1,70,501.00 had been allotted for the same purpose. No amount had been involved for the same in the year 1986-87.

Statement Showing Activities of Panchayati Raj Institutions
relating to Construction and Renovation of Primary School
buildings

Schemes	Year	Estimated cost
Construction and Renovation of Primary School building	1984-85	Nil
	1985-86	Rs. 75,000.00
	1986-87	Rs. 1,50,000.00

Source : Zilla Parishad, Malda.

The above statement presents that no allotment had been done for the construction and renovation of primary school building in the year 1984-85 whereas in the years 1985-86 and 1986-87 respectively Rs. 75,000/- and Rs. 1,50,000.00 had been allotted for the same. It is observed that allotment made in the year 1986-87 was higher than the previous year.

Statement Showing Performance of Panchayati Raj Institutions on Social Forestry Programme during the periods 1984-85, 1985-86, 1986-87

Schemes	Year	Estimated cost
Social Forestry Programme	1984-85	Nil
	1985-86	Rs. 2,50,000.00
	1986-87	Rs. 7,15,000.00

Source : Zilla Parishad, Malda.

The statement presents that no amount had been involved for social forestry programme in the year 1984-85. In the year 1985-86 Rs. 2,50,000.00 had been allotted for social forestry programme. The amount of allotment had been increased to Rs. 7,15,000.00 in the year 1986-87 under this programme.

Statement Showing Activities of Panchayati Raj Institutions on Miscellaneous Schemes during the years 1984-85, 1985-86, 1986-87

Miscellaneous schemes	Year	Estimated cost
Minor Irrigation	1984-85	Rs. 1,78,068.00
Horse-curt stand	"	Rs. 30,495.00
Construction of Span-Culvert	1985-86	Rs. 35,219.00
Construction & Repairing of bridge	1986-87	Rs. 8,15,000.00
Construction of Huts		Rs. 6,00,000.00
Construction of Guardwall		Rs. 40,000.00
Construction of bus stand		Rs. 30,000.00

Source : Zilla Parishad, Malda.

It is observed from the above statement that under minor irrigation scheme and horse curt stand Rs. 1,78,068.00 and Rs. 30,495.00 had been allotted respectively. The amount involved as an estimated cost was Rs. 35,219.00 in the year 1985-86 for the construction of span culvert. In the year 1986-87 the

amount of Rs. 8,15,000.00 had been allotted for the construction and repairing of bridge, Rs. 6,00,000.00 for the construction of huts, Rs. 40,000.00 for the construction of guardwall and Rs. 30,000.00 for the construction of the bus stand.

Statement Showing Allocation of Fund and Utilisation Under District Plan Scheme, during the period, 1985-86 and 1986-87

Year & Implementing Agencies	Amount Spent	Amount involved Estimated Cost (As Approved by The Govt.)	Vetted Amount Revised Estimate if any	Schemes taken up	Achievements
1985-86 P.S.	N.A.	605000.00	N.A.	6	N.A.
1985-86 Z.P.	1189230.1	2665900.00	2195173	29	5 Completed 24 not "
1986-87 Z.P. & P.S.	N.A.	4060000.00	Not known	55	N.A.

Source : Zilla Parishad, Malda.

The above statement shows that an amount of Rs.605000.00 lakhs had been allotted to Panchayat Samitis in 1985-86 to execute six schemes. It is a matter of regret that the Zilla Parishad is yet to receive the physical achievement reports of the above schemes from the Panchayat Samitis. In 1985-86 the Zilla Parishad spent an amount of Rs. 1189230.1 to execute 29

schemes but the target has been achieved only in five cases. In 1986-87 the Zilla Parishad and Panchayat Samitis had been allotted a sum of Rs. 4060000.00 to execute 55 schemes but the physical achievement reports has not yet been furnished.

Statement of Schemes and Amount Involved as Estimated Cost as Approved by the Govt. under District Plan Scheme

Schemes	Year	Amount Involved
Improvement & Extension of Village-road	1985-86	Rs. 20,83,400.00
	1986-87	Rs. 28,65,000.00

Source : Zilla Parishad, Malda.

It is observed from the above that Rs. 20,83,400.00 had been allotted for the improvement and extension of road in the year 1985-86 whereas the amount of allotment had been increased to Rs. 28,65,000.00 in the year 1986-87. This has indicated a quantitative change.

Statement of Schemes and Amount Involved as Estimated Cost as Approved by the Govt. under District Plan Scheme

Schemes	Year	Amount Involved
Construction of bridge, bridge cum sluice-gate	1985-86	Rs. 4,57,500.00
	1986-87	Rs. 7,90,000.00

Source : Zilla Parishad, Malda.

It is observed from the above statement that the amount involved as an estimated cost for the cost for the construction of bridge and bridge cum sluice-gate in the year 1986-87 was higher than the previous year. In the year 1986-87 Rs. 7,90,000.00 had been allotted for the construction of bridge and bridge cum sluice-gate.

Statement of Schemes and Amount Involved as an Estimated Cost as Approved by the Govt. under District Plan Scheme

Schemes	Year	Amount Involved
Construction of Culvert	1985-86	Rs. 1,00,000.00
	1986-87	Rs. 75,000.00

Source : Zilla Parishad, Malda.

It is observed from the above that the allotment had been reduced to Rs. 75,000.00 in the year 1986-87 than the previous years allotment of Rs. 1,00,000.00.

Statement of Schemes (Drainage) and Amount Involved as an Estimated Cost as Approved by the Govt. under District Plan Scheme

Schemes	Year	Amount Involved
Drainage Scheme	1985-86	Rs. 1,00,000.00
	1986-87	Rs. 5,000.00

Source : Zilla Parishad, Malda.

Under drainage scheme Rs. 1,00,000.00 had been allotted in the year 1985-86 whereas only Rs. 5,000.00 had been allotted for the same purpose in the year 1986-87.

Statement of Miscellaneous Schemes and Amount Involved as an Estimated Cost as Approved by the Govt. under District Plan Scheme

Miscellaneous Schemes	Year	Amount Involved
Construction of School Buildings	1985-86	Rs. 5,30,000.00
Placement of hume pipe	1986-87	Rs. 1,00,000.00
Construction of Ringh Bundh		Rs. 95,000.00
Construction of Guard wall		Rs. 50,000.00
Ditch-filling		Rs. 40,000.00
Excavation of Canal		Rs. 40,000.00
Total		Rs. 3,25,000.00

Source : Zilla Parishad, Malda.

It is observed from the above that Rs. 5,30,000.00 had been allotted for the construction of school-buildings in the year 1985-86. Under placement of hume-pipe, construction of Ringh-bundh, construction of Guard-wall, Ditch-filling, Excavation of canal schemes Rs. 3,25,000.00 had been allotted in the year 1986-87.

Statement Showing Allocation and Utilisation of Fund Under
Flood Restoration Programme during the year 1984.

Year & Implement -ing Agencies	Amount Involv -ed as Esti- mated Cost (as Approved by the Govt.)	Amount Spent	Schemes Taken up	Achievement
1984 P.S.	Rs. 8,65,000.00	N.A.	14	N.A
1984 Z.P.	Rs. 5,31,482.00	415841.95	7	Incomplete

Source : Zilla Parishad, Malda.

The above statement shows that the Panchayat Samitis had been allotted a sum of Rs. 8,65,000.00 to execute 14 schemes in 1984 under the Flood Restoration Programme. But they are yet to furnish any physical achievement reports of the stated schemes of that year. It is also assumed that the Institutions are not strictly following the Panchayat Act , 1973 to furnish the annual progress report of the work done by them. Again, in 1984 the Zilla Parishad spent an amount of Rs. 4,15,841.95 lakhs to execute 7 schemes but all these schemes are not yet completed.

4.2.2 Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme :

(RLEG P)

Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme was introduced in the Malda District since 1984. The main aim of this project are :-

- (1) to improve and expand employment opportunities for rural landless with a view to providing guarantee of employment to atleast one member of every landless labour house hold upto 100 days in a year.
- (2) creation of durable assets for strengthening the rural infrastructure, which will lead to rapid growth of rural economy.

It was thought to provide employment opportunities for the landless during the lean period of agriculture through R.L.E.G.P. The Malda district Zilla Parishad and the Panchayat Samitis are the implementing agencies of this programme.

The following types of schemes are being executed by the implementing agencies mentioned above under this programme.

- (1) Construction of rural link roads as part of the Minimum Needs Programme.

- (2) Construction/renovation of field channels to maximise the utilisation of potential created by existing irrigation projects;
- (3) Land development and reclamation of waste land.
- (4) Social forestry;
- (5) Soil and water conservation works including the improvement of minor irrigation works.

Annual Action Plan of this programme for each year is submitted to the Union Ministry of Rural Development for approval and sanction. The Malda Zilla Parishad has already prepared "Three Annual Action Plans of R.L.E.G.P for the years - 1984-85, 85-86, 86-87.

Statement Showing Physical Achievements Reports of RLEGP during 1983-84

Particulars	No. of schemes	Amount Spent in Lakhs	Target	Achievements
E.W.	28	1054750.00	84.6 Kms.	37.82 Kms.
E.W/B.S	44	9388448.06	188.39 Kms.	13 Kms.
E.W/J.M C.W/B.S Excava- tion	14	2308201.04	49.5 Kms.	44.47 Kms.

Contd...

Particu- lars of schemes	No. of sche- mes	Amount Spent in Lakhs	Target	Achievements
Total	86	12903000.00	322.49 Kms.	95.29 Kms. Includ- ing one R.C.C Bridge, Slab Culvert, Excava- tion, 4 drains, Minor Irrigation

E.W : Earth Work; B.S : Brick Soiling; J.M : Jhama Consolidation; C.W : Construction Work.

Source : Zilla Parishad, Malda.

The statement presents that the Panchayat Samitis and the Zilla Parishad have been assigned the responsibility to implement 28 Earth Work Schemes for the construction, improvement of 84.6 Kms. of roads during 1984-84. They have spent Rs. 10,54,750.00 Lakhs and have constructed only 37.82 Kms. of roads. So they have failed to reach the target. They have taken up 44 schemes of Earth Work and Brick soiling and fixed the target for the construction of 188.39 Kms. of roads. They have incurred an expenditure of Rs. 9388448.06 and constructed only 13 Kms. of road. Again, they have taken up 14 schemes of Earth Work and Jhama Consolidation, construction work with brick soiling. They have constructed 44.47 Kms. of roads against the target of 49.5 Kms. of roads, spending an amount of Rs. 2308201.4 lakhs. Moreover, they have also constructed one R.C.C Bridge, Slab

Culvert, Excavation, (4) Four drains and provided minor irrigation facilities in a limited way. The over all picture is this that the implementing agencies have failed to achieve the target of constructing 322.49 Kms. of roads.

Statement Showing Physical Achievement Reports of RLEGP for the year 1984-85

Particulars of schemes	No. of schemes	Amount spent in Lakhs	Target	Achievements
E.W.	36	4608496.00	160.38 Kms.	71.63 Kms.
E.W/B.S J.C/Metal top rd./Black top rd.	30	5907422.00	116.72 Kms.	101.70 Kms.
Total	66	1,05,15,918.00	277.1 Kms.	173.33 Kms.

E.W : Earth Work ; B.S. : Brick Soling; J.C : Jhama Consolidation.

Source : Zilla Parishad, Malda.

In the year 1984-85 the Panchayat Samitis and the Zilla Parishad decided to execute 36 schemes with a target fixed for the construction of 160.38 Kms of roads. They have constructed 71.63 Kms. of roads incurring an expenditure of Rs. 4608496.00.

The agencies have decided to complete 30 schemes to cover a distance by way of construction of 116.72 Kms. of road with earth work, brick soling, jhama consolidation, metal top road, black top road. For this purpose they have spent an amount of Rs. 5,90,74,22.00 lakhs and have constructed only 101.70 Kms. of roads. Again, in this year the performance of these agencies had not been satisfactory.

Statement Showing Expenditure and Achievement Reports of RLEGPR during the Period 1985-86.

No. of Sche- mes	Total amount spent		Upto 31.3.86 total mandays created	Target	Achieve- ments
	Cash	Foodgrains			
41	6585500.00	21078900 Mt.	402400	189.84	83.15

Source : Zilla Parishad, Malda.

In 1985-86 the implementing agencies decided to execute 41 schemes and spent Rs. 6585500.00 Lakhs in cash and 21078900 Mt. in foodgrains. They constructed only 83.15 Kms. of roads against the target of 189.84 Kms. This is a very poor performance of the agencies.

The North Bengal Development Fund is constituted to provide assistance to five districts of North Bengal in order to establish a linkage among the village and between the village

and the town within the district by way of construction of roads, bridges and culverts. These programmes have a vital impact upon the socio-economic life of the people of the districts of North Bengal.

Statement Showing Expenditure and Achievement Report of NBDF

Year	Expenditure	Outstanding Utilisation	Cash in hand at Z.P. A/C	Total	Sche- mes/ Works Compl- eted	No. of Agencies
1979-80	26,85,701.16	9,09,612.13	6,686.71	36,02,000	11	25
1980-81	25,98,343.22	8,82,410.33	5,246.46	34,86,000	10	24
1981-82	26,57,195.38	8,18,426.67	10,377.00	34,86,000	4	22
1982-83	No	Allotment	Received	In	This Year	

Source : Zilla Parishad, Malda.

The statement shows that the different agencies who were sub-allotted fund under this programme only completed 11, 10, and 4 no of schemes in the years 1979-80, 1980-81, 1981-82 respectively. The performance in comparison with the expenditure has been more or less satisfactory.

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Statement Showing Receipts of Allotment Under North Bengal
Development Fund

Allotment Received	G.O.Nos.	Date
3,602,000.00	7660/1(8)-1F-79	6.8.79
34,86,000.00	6331/1(8)-1F-6/80	1.7.80
34,86,000.00	6974/P-1F-10/81	17.8.81
2,34,000.00	7906(4)/P-1F-11/83	31.10.83
4,68,000.00	6429/P-1F-3/84	5.7.84
91,000.00	481/P/1F-9/85	21.1.86
4,55,000.00	8629/P/1F-6/86	6.10.86

Source : Zilla Parishad, Malda.

The above statement shows that the allotment received in 1979 is higher than the following years. It is observed that the allotment has been reduced in each subsequent year from

the previous years. The most important point is that no allotment was made in 1982-83. Moreover, the lowest amount of allotment received by the Zilla Parishad in 1985-86 is Rs. 91,000/-.

**Statement Showing Allocation and Utilisation of Fund during
1984-85 & 1985-86, Under North Bengal Development Fund.**

Year	Allotment of Fund	Amount Spent
1984-85	421418.00	407670.08
1985-86	12,600.00	9,600.00
Total	433018.00	417270.08

Source : Zilla Parishad, Malda.

It is observed from the above that the Zilla Parishad has sub-allotted Rs. 421418.00 and Rs. 12600.00 in 1984-85 & 1985-86 respectively. Rs. 407670.08 and Rs. 9600.00 have been spent in 1984-85 & 1985-86 respectively for the construction of different schemes. The most interesting thing is that the Zilla Parishad is yet to take any decision regarding the sub-allotment of fund of Rs. 813982/- which it received a year earlier or more.

4.2.3 The Rural Housing Scheme :

The Rural Housing Scheme was initially implemented in West Bengal during 1983-84 in two district namely - Malda and Birbhum but the scheme has now spread over all the Blocks. The major objective of this scheme is to provide house-site free of cost to families of landless workers in rural areas, who do not own a house-site or a hut on land of their own. Besides the landless agricultural labourers, the landless village artisans including potters, blacksmiths, carpenters and also the landless fishermen will be eligible for house-sites. Earlier it was the District Officer who implemented the schemes through the agency of Block organisation. Later it was urgently felt necessary to include Panchayat members both officials and non-officials in the matter of selection of beneficiaries in the work of procurement and distribution of materials. Cooperation of social workers and non-official organisations in the rural areas is sought in the interest of the schemes. The main objective of the scheme is to bring about a socio-economic change.¹²

**Statement Showing House-site-cum Construction Assistance
Provided to the Rural Land Less Labourers under Rural Housing
Scheme in the district of Malda during 1978 to 1987**

Year	Fund Allotted & G.O. Nos.	Target fixed for Construction of Houses	Actual No. of Houses Constr- ucted
1978-79	500000/- G.O. No. 156(12)-RH dt.12.2.79	500 @ Rs. 800/-	300
1979-80	7,20,000/-	720 @ Rs. 1000/-	720 provi- sional
1980-81	8,64,000/-, 472(6)-RH dt.28.10.80	864 @ Rs. 1000/-	108
1981-82	8,64,000/- 322(11)-RH, 30.9.81	864 @ Rs. 1000/-	823
1982-83	Unspent balance		893
1983-84	9,60,000/-, 89(15)-RH, 5.3.84	600 @ Rs. 1600/-	566
1984-85	2,56,000/- S.C.P 426(15)-RH, 28.12.84 64,000/-	160 @ Rs. 1600/- 40	139
1985-86	46,72,000/- 80(15)-RH, dt.6.3.86 S.C.P. 40,000/- T.S.P. 48,000	292 @ Rs. 1600/- 65 30	227 50 26
1986-87	4,41,500/- 52(16)-RH, dt.12.3.87 S.C.P. 1,00,200/- T.S.P. 56,000/-	276 @ Rs. 1600/- 75 35	125 2
Total		4481	4059

Source : Development and Planning Section, Rajbhavan, Calcutta.

The statement shows that 4059 nos. of houses had been built under the Rural Housing Programme during 1978 to 1987. The performance has been more or less satisfactory though it slightly falls short of the target. No doubt the construction of rural houses has indicated certain change in the socio-economic life of the people of this district.

In the year 1979 the Zilla Parishad had spent Rs. 11.93 lakhs for the construction of 47 Primary School buildings in the flood affected areas of the district. The special programme of construction of 35 Primary school buildings at a cost of Rs. 10,85,000.00 in flood affected areas of Ratua-1 Panchayat Samiti with UNICEF's Fund has also been taken during this current financial year. A programme of construction of further 6 Primary school at a cost of Rs. 1,65,000.00 in the flood affected areas out of Chief Minister's Relief Fund during this year has been taken up. The Govt. of West Bengal has allotted a sum of Rs. 70,000.00 under G.O. No. 934-SC/P dated 22.3.84 5P. @ P-8P to Zilla Parishad for the construction of 7 Primary school buildings. The meeting of 6.6.84 has decided to allot Rs. 10,000.00 each of the following Primary school.
The Schools are :-

- (1) Chakratola Primary School, Khashalusdpur, Kaliachak.
- (2) Chaitanmore New G.S.F. Primary School, Sahapur, Old Malda.
- (3) Tarachand tola Primary School, Krishnapara, Kaliachak-III.
- (4) Baxinagar Primary School, Aiho, Habibpur.

- (5) Bhadore Primary School, Laxipur, Gajole.
- (6) Moghdumara Primary School, Chanchal-II.
- (7) Primary School attached to Milki High School, Englishbazar.

The construction work of the above schools has already been completed.

Again a sum of Rs. 2,00,000/- has been received by the Malda Zilla Parishad under G.O. No. 494 Edn(S) dated 30.3.85 for repairing and restoration of 60 Primary Schools. The work of this scheme has not yet started inspite of the Zilla Parishad's decision to execute the scheme.

The foregoing discussion points out that the Panchayati Raj institutions in Malda district performed various and variegated activities for rural development during the period from 1984 to 1987. Most of the Programmes - NREP (BIG & NORMAL), RLEGP, District Plan Programme etc. proposed to invest lions share of their amount for the improvement, repair, construction, reconstruction and extension of village road. The performance of the NREP (Big & Normal) has been satisfactory. In the booklet published by the Malda district Collector it was pointed out that so far 14847 NREP (Big & Normal) schemes have been executed. Under NREP (Big) 139 schemes have been sanctioned. Among these schemes 68 have been completed and 71 is still under execution. The major achievements of the NREP (Big & Normal) were the repairing and construction of 5551 Kms. of road.

Moreover, 454 culverts were repaired and constructed under these programmes.¹³

The Panchayat institutions reached the target in some cases but in many cases they either could not reach the target fixed for the programme or they did not furnish the physical achievement reports. Again, the Panchayat institutions in Malda district did not receive any allotment under NBDF during 1982-83. The discussion also points out that the Zilla Parishad failed to take any decision regarding the sub-allotment of fund of Rs. 8,13,982.00 which it received a year earlier or more. Again, in spite of the Zilla Parishad's decision for repairing and restoration of 60 Primary Schools it has not been executed so far.

Mr. Abdul Alim, the Sabhadhipati of the Zilla Parishad alleged that "the secretary was deliberately obstructing the functioning of the Parishad. The Malda Zilla Parishad had adopted a resolution for removal of the Secretary of the Parishad. Copies of the requisitioned meeting were submitted to the Chief Minister, the Minister for Land and Land Revenue and the Panchayat Directorate by the Parishad authorities".¹⁴ In reply to the reporter's question regarding allegation the Secretary told the reporter of the Ananda Bazar Patrika that "he did all activities as per rules and did not say anything to stop any work. Financial irregularities have also been committed by the elected representatives and thus violated Panchayat Rules".¹⁵ The West Bengal Government is expected to

hold a special audit of the accounts of the Malda Zilla Parishad soon.

According to State Government, "the work of the Zilla Parishad has virtually come to a standstill following the differences between the Secretary of the Parishad, who is a W.B.C.S officer and the elected representatives of the organisation. The officer is stated to have insisted that rules and guidelines be followed in implementing different schemes".¹⁶

4.3 Case Study

4.3.1 Case Study at the Zilla Parishad Level :

Mr. A.Sen is a Pharmacist of 'Raniganj Chikitsalaya' which is 22 Kms. away from Malda. He came to Malda via Narayanpur for official work on 3.5.86. He submitted his T.A. bill for the month of May, 1986 on 2.6.86 to the Zilla Parishad. The Secretary of the Zilla Parishad approved the T.A. bill on 20.6.86 on the basis of the recommendation of the dealing assistant and then placed it before the Sabhadhipati for his counter signature on the bill. The Sabhadhipati refused to countersign the bill stating that he is the 'Controlling Officer' and as per Rule-120 of West Bengal Zilla Parishad Rules, 1964 he will at first approve the bill. The Secretary told that the Rule-120 has already been amended. The Sabhadhipati then

referred the matter to the Secretary of Community Development and Panchayat for clarification. The Secretary of C.D. and Panchayat in the memo no. 29014 dated 12.11.86 directed to pay flood advance and T.A. bill to the staff immediately. Mr. Halder, Secretary of the C.D. and Panchayat also pointed out that it is the Sabhadhipati who will approve the tour diary. The Secretary has no right to give any note over the order of the Sabhadhipati. After receiving this letter from the Secretary of C.D. and Panchayat the T.A. bill was placed before the Sabhadhipati. The Sabhadhipati approved the T.A. bill on 8.9.87 with this comment : "Why it is placed before after lapse of time i.e. 20.6.86".

4.3.2 Case Study at the Gram Panchayat Level :

The Prodhan of Jodupur-2 Gram Panchayat wrote a letter to the District Planning Officer, the copy of which was also given to the B.D.O., Englishbazar Panchayat Samiti on 11.12.85 in the memo no. 116 (J.G.P-2). The Prodhan expressed with deep sorrow that Smt. Jhapati Pahari husband of Bhanu Pahari for whom the house was granted under Rural Housing Scheme was not the permanent resident of this Gram Panchayat. Under such circumstances he is not entitled to enjoy the facilities of Rural Housing Scheme. So the Prodhan requested to make a fresh enquiry and stop implementation of present order. The Prodhan also alleged that the Gram Panchayat and the Panchayat Samiti

were not consulted before the recommendation of those houses. Receiving no reply from the District Planning Officer and the B.D.O Englishbazar, the Prodhan again wrote a letter to the District Planning Officer, the copy of which was also given to the B.D.O Englishbazar and the District Magistrate, Malda on 27.2.86 in the memo no. 12.J.G.P-2. But no reply came from the addressee. The Prodhan further wrote a letter to the District magistrate on 18.3.86 in the memo no. 25 J.G.P-2. The Prodhan felt disheartened for not receiving any reply from any of addressees concern.

4.4 Activities of Other Agencies of Rural Development in the Malda District :

There are multiple agencies of rural development which also assist and coordinate with the Panchayati Raj institutions to implement rural development programmes and rural development activities. These agencies are : Small Farmers' Development Agency (SFDA), District Rural Development Agency (DRDA), Commercial, Nationalised and Gramin Banks, District Industries Centre, Scheduled Castes and Tribal Welfare Department, Cooperative Societies, Comprehensive Area Development Corporation, etc.

To bring about rural development several projects and programmes sponsored by Central and State Governments like Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP), National Rural

Employment Programme (NREP), Rural Landless Labourers Employment Guarantee Programme (RLEGP), Integrated Tribal Development Programme, Special Component Plan are being executed by the agencies mentioned above.

4.4.1 Small Farmers' Development Agency (SFDA) :

The SFDA is a corporate and autonomous agency registered under Societies Registration Act, 2860. This scheme actually started its activities in 1971-72 though the scheme was sanctioned in 1970. The Government of India created this agency all over India to improve the economic conditions of the small farmers by way of providing assistance to them. The main emphasis in this project was crop-husbandry which included intensive agriculture, multiple-cropping, intensive high-yielding varieties, horticulture, minor irrigation, soil conservation, land shaping with emphasis on adoption of dry farming practices and water conservation measures. This agency covered only six blocks of the Malda district. For the failure of the SFDA to cover all the blocks of the district, the Government of India by its declaration on 9.4.81 merged SFDA with District Rural Development Agency (DRDA).

Statement Showing the Progress of the Works of the SFDA during the periods 1974-75 to 1980-81 are being presented below.¹⁷

Year	Cooperative	Mini regulated Market	Animal husbandry	Minor Irrigation	Agriculture	No. of beneficiaries
1974-75	-	-	-	-	-	-
1975-76	-	-	-	-	0.05	210
1976-77	0.52	0.50	0.14	13.93	0.86	3480
1977-78	4.23	2.25	0.46	8.66	3.35	30947
1978-79	4.41	-	0.48	10.06	5.80	30294
1979-80	1.84	-	0.45	26.21	3.61	18029
1980-81	1.12	-	1.25	25.55	4.78	15144
Total	12.12	2.75	2.78	91.41	18.45	98,104

Source : DRDA, Malda.

The statement relating to progress of the works of the SFDA during the periods 1974-75 to 1980-81 shows that the highest amount of money was spent in minor irrigation sector. Rs. 91.41 lakh were spent in this sector during the period of seven years. In the agriculture sector Rs. 18.45 lakh were spent during the period from 1974-75 to 1980-81. Rs. 12.12 lakh were spent in the cooperative sector during the period of seven years. In the Mini Regulated Market/^{and} in the Animal Husbandry sectors Rs. 2.75 and Rs. 2.78 lakhs were spent respectively.

4.4.2 District Rural Development Agency (DRDA) :

Malda District Rural Development Agency is headed by a Project Officer who is a West Bengal Civil Servant. DRDA performs its activities in collaboration with Banks, Krishi Projukti Sahayaks of Blocks and Panchayati Raj institutions. The DRDA has been playing the pioneering role in monitoring Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP). Since IRDP involves multifarious activities, DRDA has extended its activities in the field of fisheries, village industry, sericulture, development of business Infrastructure and training of Rural Youth for Self Employment (TRYSEM) in addition to Cooperation Minor Irrigation, Animal Husbandry, Mini -Regulated Market and Agriculture.

In the initial years of implementing IRDP in Malda district, the DRDA has achieved poor performance. In the later years it has achieved a commendable performance. The physical and financial achievement of DRDA has been really significant during the financial years of 1983-84 and 84-85 and the DRDA has secured the second position among the districts in West Bengal in terms of achievement in 1983-84. A report on the achievement of DRDA, Malda, is being reproduced below.

Statement Showing the Achievement and Progress Reports of IRDP,
Malda during the years 1981 to 1985.

Year	Target of the benefici- aries to be assis- ted	Target of sub- sidy to be used (in Lakhs)	Amount of sub- sidy used (in Lakhs)	Amount of Bank loan in Lakhs)	No. of benefi- ciaries assis- ted (in Lakhs)	No. of S.C. cases (in Lakhs)	No. of S.T. cases (in Lakhs)	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
1981-82	9,000	90.00	22.43	42.98	2077	133	79	
1982-83	9,000	120.00	53.53	92.51	6570	872	256	
1983-84	9,000	120.00	122.54	220.30	16,624	2195	658	
1984-85	9,000	120.00	124.26	205.10	15,677	3065	1217	
Total	36,000	450.00	322.76	560.89	40,943	6262	2219	

Source : D.R.D.A., Malda.

It is observed from the above statement that the DRDA has failed to achieve the target in 1981-82 and 1982-83. It has achieved a commendable performance and crossed the target in 1983-84 and 1984-85. The total number of beneficiaries assisted in 1983-84 were one thousand six hundred twenty four of which two thousand one hundred ninety five were Scheduled Caste beneficiaries and six hundred fifty eight were Scheduled Tribe beneficiaries. In 1984-85, the total number of beneficiaries

assisted were one thousand fifty six hundred seventy seven of which three thousand sixty five and one thousand two hundred seventeen were the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes beneficiaries respectively.

The statement relating to sectorwise achievement of IRDP during the year 1981 to 1985 shows that the largest number of beneficiaries have been assisted in the field of village industries in the year 1981-82. The number of beneficiaries in this field was seven hundred one. Six hundred thirty nine beneficiaries have been assisted in the field of animal husbandry in 1981-82. In the same year four hundred fifty nine beneficiaries have been assisted in the TRYSEM sector. In the field of agriculture two hundred sixty two beneficiaries have been given assistance in 1981-82. Two hundred ninety one beneficiaries have received assistance in the field of service and business in 1981-82. Only sixty persons have received assistance in the fishery programme in 1981-82. In 1982-83 the highest number of beneficiaries have been assisted in the field of village industries. Two thousand seven hundred fourty four persons have been benefitted in this field. The highest number of beneficiaries have also been assisted in this field in the years 1983-84 although the number of beneficiaries have been lower in 1984-85 than 1983-84. In the field of animal husbandry three thousand two hundred thirty eight persons have been benefitted in 1983-84. In 1984-85 the total number of beneficiaries in

Statement shows Sectorwise Achievements of IRDP during the years 1981-82 to 1984-85 (Rs. in Lakhs)

Programme	1981-82		1982-83		1983-84		1984-85		10*
	Amount of Subsidy	No. of Benefi- ciaries							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Cooperative	0.130	5	2.708	149	0.99	50	0.18		
Animal Husbandry	5.586	639	16.180	1518	30.15	3238	31.53	2767	
Minor Irrigation	3.265	124	2.680	220	20.25	1054	21.71	986*	
Agriculture	4.452	262	5.203	716	20.34	2248	15.11	1377	161
Fishery	0.271	60	0.685	69	3.36	1535	11.72	4416	161
Village Industries	3.080	701	10.948	2744	29.09	6005	28.72	4890	
Sericulture	-	-	4.29	143	12.97	598	10.84	332	
Service & Business	3.12	291	9.006	1160	24.94	3000	23.57	2338	
TRYSEM	2.520	459	1.830	345	0.70	340	0.95	359*	
Infrastructure	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
TOTAL	22.43	2077	53.53	6570	122.54	16624	122.62	16120	

*NOT INCLUDED IN THE TOTAL.

Source : Annual Auction Plan - 1985-86, Malda District Rural Development Agency.

this field was two thousand seven hundred sixty seven which is lower than that in the previous year. Greater attention has been given to raise the number of beneficiaries in the field of fishery in the years 1983-84 and 1984-85. One thousand five hundred thirty five and four thousand four hundred sixteen beneficiaries have received assistance in 1983-84 and 1984-85 respectively. In the Service and Business sector 3000 persons have been benefitted in 1983-84. But in 1984-85 the total number of persons who have been assisted were two thousand three hundred thirty eight which was lower than that in 1983-84.

4.4.3 Banks' Role in Rural Development Activities :

The Commercial, Nationalised and Gramin banks have been playing an important role in implementing Integrated Rural Development Programme by means of supplying loans and subsidies to the beneficiaries. Banks are actually disbursing the subsidies to the beneficiaries. There are good number of different branches of banks in Malda district. There are one hundred fourteen branches of different banks for a population of 20.50 lakhs. Bankwise performance of IRDP during the period of 1981-82 to 1983-84 is given below.²⁰

Statement Showing the Performance of the Bank during the
periods 1981-82 and 1983-84

Name of the Banks	Total	No. of beneficiaries who are re- paying loan	No. of be- neficia- ries who are not repaying at all.	No. of be- neficia- ries eligi- ble subse- quent finance
	1	2	3	4
Gour Gramin Bank	7202	5842	1360	1828
United Bank of India	4700	2972	1773	1020
State Bank of India	3603	2440	1163	879
Allahabad Bank	1431	1159	272	311
Bank of India	1139	974	165	153
Central Bank of India	725	530	195	192
United Commercial Bank	695	531	164	111
Punjab National Bank	68	63	5	14
Union Bank	288	183	105	60
United Industrial Bank	436	273	163	44
Indian Overseas Bank	292	246	46	65
Land Development Bank	262	235	22	51
Total	20,341	15403 (73.91)	5438 (26.09)	4828 (23.17)

Source : DRDA, Malda.

The statement relating to the performance of the Banks shows

that the Gour Gramin Bank has played the most important role in implementing IRDP by way of providing assistance to seven thousand two hundred two beneficiaries. The Banks have assisted twenty thousand eight hundred fourty one beneficiaries in total during the period mentioned above. It is observed that the repayment has been satisfactory in case of Land Development Bank (651.6%) followed by Bank of India (974, 42.1%), Indian Overseas Bank (246, 39.7%) and Gour Gramin Bank (5842, 32.9%) but the recovery of loan is not well in case of Punjab National Bank (63, 14.7%) followed by United Industrial Bank (273, 20.2%) and United Bank of India (2972, 22.5%). Therefore, it can be said that the selection of beneficiaries have been proper for those banks whose recovery condition is better.

For increasing the performance of the Bank as well as to increase the number of beneficiaries to repay loan adequate steps need be taken to set up a purchase committee for supplying the inputs to the beneficiaries. Inspite of the instructions given by the Government of India the committee is yet to be set up in the effective sense of the term. This is also realised by the NABARD, Institute of public Administration and Programme Evaluation Organisation and hence they point out certain defects of the purchase of asset under IRDP. So it is expected that the DRDA will assure in future that a purchase committee is set up every blocks of the district on the basis of the guidelines laid down by the Government.

4.4.4 Role of Industry :

The Small Scale, Village and Cottage industries in the district have a role to play for the upliftment of the rural economy. District Industries Centre is the main organisation of the Government which provides loan, offers training programmes and finally guides the persons for setting up an Industry. Almost Twenty five thousand population of Harischandrapur, Tulsihatta, Chanchal, Kaligram, Malatipur, Shamshi, Ratua, Manikchak, Sovanagar, Amriti, Bagbari, English-bazar, Nababganj, Sahapur, Alampur, Gajole, Bulbulchandi, Kaliachak, Mothabari, Shersahi, Golapganj and Silampur etc. of this district are engaged in household industries. At the end of 1976-77, one thousand four hundred seventeen Small scale Industrial Units have been registered. These units have generated employment of five thousand nine hundred and sixty persons.²¹

We notice a great change in the industrial scene after the introduction of Industrial promotion programme during the sixth plan period. Four thousand five hundred and seventy four small Scale Industry units had been registered at the end of 1984-85. These units have provided an employment of fifteen thousand eight hundred and fourty four persons.²²

Sericulture is an agro-based Cottage industry. This industry is an effective machinery for generating employment to

the rural population. At present it generates an employment opportunity of about one lakh sixty thousand persons including both part time and whole time in the rural, sub urban areas of Malda district.²³

For comprehensive development of sericulture in Malda, the sericulture directorate has proposed for several projects under plan budget during the Seventh Five Year Plan.²⁴

These Projects are -

(1) Project for development of Mulberry production:

This project envisages increase of acreage number of mal-berry plants, replacements of existing variety by improved ones and multiplication of plants.

(2) Project for Minor Irrigation for Development of Sericulture:

This project aims to increase the production of leaf yield which will mean increase of production of Raw Silk.

(3) Project for Institutional Finance for Development of Sericulture :

The main aim of this project is to mobilise the resources and optimum utilisation of the plan fund in collaboration with the nationalised banks.

(4) Project for Development of Seed Organisation :

This project envisages for the setting up and

maintenance of grainages and Young Silk Worm Rearing Houses as well as maintenance of Chawki Rearing Centres.

(5) Project for Development of Quality Raw Silk and Fabric Production :

In order to improve the quality of Raw Silk and better marketability a few scheme have been incorporated in it. This schemes are :

- (a) Establishment of Filature;
- (b) Establishing of Reeling Unit;
- (c) Setting up of Drying Chamber;
- (d) Replacement of Country Charka by improved ones.

(6) Project for Area Development of Tribals for Self Employment in Sericulture :

Under this project various schemes have been adopted in the tribal dominated areas in order to provide them self employment opportunities in sericulture.

The sericulture industry of Malda district has provided certain employment opportunities. Eight thousand six hundred families are engaged in Silk Waste and Matka spinning. Five thousand five hundred and eighty persons are engaged in reeling and winding. Four thousand one hundred persons are engaged in ancillary industry.

This sericulture industry is confronted with certain

difficulties. This industry has no scientific rearing house. The people who are engaged in sericulture industry are not aware about the balanced fertilisation of mulberry field. Moreover, they have no knowledge about the latest technical know how. They have inadequate knowledge about the temperatures, humidity air and light. Again, there is dearth of supply of good quality seeds. Finally, there is no regulated market.

4.4.5 Scheduled Castes and Tribal Welfare Department :

This department is an important agency for implementing tribal welfare plans and programmes. This department has two types of functions - original jurisdiction and Special Programmes.

The first type of functions is traditional functions, for example, sanction of stipends to students, land restoration, construction of roads and bridges, culverts and provision of drinking water in the S.C. and S.T. areas, construction of mud-built huts for S.C. and S.T. beneficiaries.

The second type of function is known as Special Component Plan which is introduced in the Department since 1978-79. The Department's performance of this programme has been very impressive in the year 1985-86. The achievement report of this programme is being presented below.

Statement Showing the Achievement of the Special Component Plan
during the year 1985-86.²⁵

Nature of Loan	No. of beneficiaries		Amount of Loan	
	S.C	S.T	S.C	S.T
Short term loan	6644	3836	45,76,008	25,69,385
Medium term loan	2758	7553	64,82,713	16,27,338

Source : D.R.D.A., Malda.

The statement relating to the achievement of the Special Component Plan during the year 1985-86 presents that under short term loan six thousand six hundred and fourty four Scheduled Castes beneficiaries have been advanced with a loan of rupees Fourty five Lakh Seventy six Thousand and Eight. Again, three thousand eight hundred and thirty six Scheduled Tribal beneficiaries have been advanced with a loan of rupees Twenty five Lakh Sixty nine Thousand Three Hundred and Eighty five under short term loan. Under medium term loan two thousand seven hundred and fifty eight Scheduled Castes and seven thousand five hundred and fifty three Scheduled Tribes beneficiaries have been advanced with a loan of rupees sixty four lakh eighty two thousand seven hundred and thirteen and rupees sixteen lakh twenty seven thousand three hundred and thirty eight respectively. These amounts include margin money, bank loan and also subsidy.

A) Market Link Road Scheme Under Agricultural Sector²⁶

Block	Location	Distance	Amount	S.C/S.T families benefit
		K.M	Rs.	Lakh
Englishbazar	Milki to Khaskol	7.5 K.M	Rs. 3.00	800
Manikchak	Mathurapur to Bindapara	1.25 K.M	Rs.95,885/-	107
Old Malda	N.H. 34 to Sri Srikumar Sarkar's House	0.75 K.M	Rs.31,811/-	113
Ratua-I	Mahammodpur to Salabatpur	1.30 K.M.	Rs.1,38,778	151

B) Community Irrigation Scheme :

Bamongola	Bairagi Pukur, Nakhat Pukur, Mashan Pukur, Dida Pukur, Ban Pukur, Mother Pukur, Kali Pukur, Buri Pukur	-	Rs.1,73,878	200
Gajole	Ganadighi, Akalpur, Deotala, Malail, Araiceherul, Karkach, Madhabpur.	-	Rs.3,36,358	235
Habibpur	Jordanaga english, Kochakandar Niroil, Mangalpura, Koil.	-	Rs.1,54,362	140
Manikchak	Bochahi Dhab	-	Rs.1,74,416	33

It is observed from the above statement that the Department has taken up four schemes to construct 10.35 K.Ms of road in four blocks. It has released an amount of Rs. 5,66,475 (Rupees Five Lakh Sixty six Thousand Four Hundred and Seventy Five) and has benefitted one thousand one hundred and seventy one S.C. &

S.T. persons. Under Community Irrigation Scheme it has released an amount of Rs. 7,99,014/- (Rupees Seven Lakh Ninety nine Thousand and fourteen) and has benefitted six hundred and eight S.C. & S.T. persons.

4.4.6 Cooperative Societies :

The problems of rural development have wide dimensions. In order to cope with the problems several financial institutions on the one hand and Government on the other have been assigned the responsibility of implementing IRDP. But the village-based cooperatives have been neglected in this task. Loans and subsidies are not channelised through village-based cooperatives.

But experience suggests that performance of the cooperative institutions, so far as it relates to the utilisation by the beneficiaries and recovery of the loan has been far more encouraging. The concept of intensification of Rural Cooperative movement is to make a village-based Primary Cooperative Credit Society to be source of meeting all the requirements that a farmer ever need. Such requirement being his short term loan for seasonal agricultural operation, medium/long term loan for purchase of agricultural implements and consumption loan for meeting emergent and unforeseen commitments apart from his requirement of essential commodities. This programme of Integrated Cooperative Development has been

taken up in few districts of West Bengal on a pilot basis, which is also expected to be taken up in this district during the Seventh Plan period.

More and more farmers of the target group are being inducted to the Village Cooperatives under the Programme of universalisation of membership and they are also being given a grant of 50.00 each to subscribe in the Share Capital of the Society and in the process becoming eligible to get a credit of Rs. 1000.00.

Keeping the above in view the Financing Institutions should come in a big way to channelise their credit to the beneficiaries through these Village Cooperative Societies which on one side will increase the business of the societies and on the other side it will also help achieving the goal of the programme by ensuring proper utilisation of assistance through supervision by the honourary and professional management available in those cooperatives.

4.4.7 Comprehensive Area Development Corporation (CADC) :

The West Bengal Comprehensive Area Development Corporation was launched in twenty blocks in the year, 1974.²⁷ This organisation consisted of the Chief Minister as the Chairman, Agricultural Minister as the Vice-Chairman, and one person to be nominated from the social science group as the Executive Vice-Chairman. Each Project at the block level is headed by a

Project Officer and other general and technical staff. In the Malda district CADC exists in one block, namely, Ratua-II. The main objective of this organisation is to increase the agricultural production and to distribute the benefits of production to the peasants. After the West Bengal Panchayat elections held in 1978, an attempt was made to restructure the CADC. It has been decided that CADC will now coordinate with other organisation including the Panchayat.

There are six main principles²⁸ governing the working of the CADC.

The first principle is "identification with rural poor". In order to follow this principle several consumer stores are set up and also some 'Dharmagolas'. The second principle is "comprehensive rural development". This indicates that the CADC will cover both agricultural and non-agricultural sectors. The third principle is "planning with panchayat". The Project Advisory Board has been reconstituted and now the chairman of the panchayat performs important works of CADC like recruitment, water distribution, loan disbursement etc. The fourth principle is "experiment and research". In this work many universities, colleges and educationists are extending their valuable assistance. Besides this seminar-proceedings and discussion relating to rural problems provide a great help for the institution. The fifth principle is "to coordinate with other agencies". The main objective behind this principle is to

involve every agency in the planning and programme of the CADC.

The sixth principle is "area planning". The corporation has not achieved much progress in this field.

4.4.3 Performance and Achievements :

The Ratua-II CADC established its managery over four agro-service stations during the year 1978-79. The Annual turnovers from these service stations in terms of input were Rs. 211000/-, Rs. 409000/-, Rs. 314000/- respectively in the years 1976-77, 1977-78 and 1978-79. It had also provided loans amounting to Rs. 15295 and Rs. 20620/- respectively in the years 1977-78, 1978-79 to assist 248 beneficiaries belonging to the group of very poor family for pursuing Non-agricultural Economic Occupation. Crop Loans were also disbursed by Farmers' Service Cooperative Societies under Ratua-II CADC. Rs. 30,000/- crop loans were distributed to fifty two Share Croppers. Seven hundred eighty eight Marginal Farmers were assisted with crop loan of Rs. 318000/-. Four hundred twenty seven Small Farmers and sixty seven other farmers were disbursed a crop loan of Rs. 295000/- and Rs. 63000/- respectively. This organisation introduced thirty literacy centres and educational facilities to 900 students. It also has two Dharmagolas under its control and benefitted one hundred and nineteen persons.²⁹

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CHAPTER-V

NORMS AND ROLE PERCEPTIONS OF THE OFFICIALS AND THE NON-OFFICIALS
AT THE THREE LEVELS OF PANCHAYATI RAJ INSTITUTIONS IN THE MALDA
DISTRICT

CHAPTER-V

NORMS AND ROLE-PERCEPTIONS OF THE OFFICIALS AND THE NON-OFFICIALS AT THE THREE LEVELS OF PANCHAYATI RAJ INSTITUTIONS IN THE MALDA DISTRICT

5.1 Norms and Role-Perceptions of the Officials :

In the Panchayati Raj Institutions there are two sets of actors, 'Officials' and 'Non-Officials', who are to work in realising the developmental goals of the institution. The two actors are placed in an institutional setting implying mutuality and reciprocity of relationships. The actors' perception of norms which guide their behaviour as well as the role they define or set for themselves has a significant impact upon the relation between the officials and the non-officials.

The administrative system is characterised by a set of institutional norms. In any administrative system, each actor considers to interpret the role from his own official-position in the institution as well as in relation to the various other role-incumbents in the institution. For example, a bureaucrat is exposed to two sets of influences. These emerge : (1) from the official-position that the bureaucrat occupies in the institution; (2) from the interaction with other actors in the institution.

What he himself thinks from his official-position and what he can actually do is influenced to a considerable extent by the norms which the institution to which he belongs has developed over the years. If the value-system of the bureaucrat is different from the universe wherein it operates the bureaucracy will either be ineffective in performing its duties or its functions will be overtly characterised by conflict and tension. Similarly if there is a great variation between the values of the political leaders and the values of the organization the realisation of systemic goal-achievement will suffer. Before analysing role-perceptions and normative referents of both the officials and the non-officials, it is essential to deal with the meaning and definitions of 'role' and 'norms'.

Let us consider first of all what 'role' is. "Role, a term borrowed directly from the theatre, is a metaphor intended to denote that conduct adheres to certain 'parts' (or positions) rather than to the players who read or recite them".¹ "Roles describe specific forms of behaviour associated with given tasks; they develop originally from task-requirements. In their pure or organisational form, roles are standardized patterns of behaviour required of all persons playing a part in a given functional relationships"². Role describes the processes of cooperative behaviour and communication. It serves only to describe individual perception and socially relevant individual behaviour. Thus the concept of role stresses the shaping of

individual responses and behaviour by social expectations or socially imposed norms.³

Sociologists define role as a pattern of behaviour associated with distinctive social position.⁴ Another author defines it as a part of status position which is made up of subset of norms.⁵ A comprehensive definition of role is provided by Parsons : "The role is that organised sector of an actor's orientation which constitutes and defines his participation in interactive process. It involves a set of complementary expectation concerning his own action and those of others with whom he interacts".⁶

Several definitions of role are discussed above. For the purpose of this study role implies "a set of complementary expectations concerning his own action and those of others with whom he interacts".

From the developmental perspectives it is expected that the officials must be less adhering to administrative rules and regulations, subservient to non-officials. Furthermore, they must be flexible, goal-oriented, cooperative with the public and the non-officials. On the other hand, the non-officials in regard to the performance of their developmental role are expected to formulate policies affecting the universal interest rather than parochial and sectional interest.

Officials and non-officials occupy different sets of role-universe. The totality of their role-conception are not

relevant for the relationship between the officials and the non-officials. Only a part of their role-conception impinges upon the relationship between the two opposite sets of actors. So the study is interested to examine specifically those role-aspects which directly relate to the relationship between the officials and the non-officials at the three levels of Panchayati Raj institutions. This study seeks to analyse the officials' perception of role in regard to subservience to non-officials, safeguarding administrative autonomy, expediency and attitude in relation to power consideration. An attempt has also been made in this study to analyse the non-officials' perception of universalistic and parochial-role.

After independence, people expected that the government would expedite the process of development which had been hindered during the colonial rule. Administration is the obvious instrument to undertake the task of development and this raises the important question whether the administration is capable to cope with new and growing tasks of development.

The newly independent countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Middle East, which we may call developing, are confronted with the problem of development. Administration has been universally recognized and accepted as an important element for planning, energizing, promoting and accelerating the pace of development. So it is interesting to examine the general features of administration that can be observed in the developing

nations. Dube has tried to identify certain special features of the bureaucracies in the developing countries which have attained independence after a long experience of colonial rule. He has observed that the majority of the bureaucrats belonged to the privileged class of the society and they had different styles of living and modes of thought. They maintained partly traditional and partly modern culture and in this way they played their roles in an ambivalent manner. Power was the main source of attraction of the bureaucratic positions. Moreover, the bureaucrats were paternalistic in their attitudes towards the masses. The masses accepted the position and thought that the administration would provide a wide variety of small favours. Administrations were mainly concerned with regulatory and revenue functions.⁷ Dube has also observed that the bureaucrats were trained in formal administrative procedure and routine and as a result, they performed stereotyped functions. They were self contained within the limited framework of their functions and procedural sets. Requirements prescribed for the official positions made the bureaucrats an instrument for implementing imperialist policies.⁸

Dube has further noted that the emerging ethos also hindered the bureaucratic activities. Though in theory basic change was desired, the rational organization of the system helped the bureaucrats to maintain the statusquo.⁹ He believes that "sub-consciously the bureaucrat still perhaps believes in the

efficacy of the traditional approach to administration. New approaches are discussed and half heartedly accepted, but only in rare cases do they receive a fair trial".¹⁰

Heady has identified five important features of administration which can be found in the developing nations. These are : "(1) The basic pattern of public administration is imitative rather than indigenous. (2) The bureaucracies are deficient in skilled manpower necessary for developmental programmes. (3) Bureaucratic activity is channeled toward the realisation of goals other than the achievement of programme objectives. (4) The wide discrepancy between form and reality is another distinguishing characteristic. (5) The bureaucracy in developing country is apt to have generous measures of operational autonomy, which can be accounted for by the convergence of several forces usually at work in a recently independent modernizing nation. Colonialism was essentially rule by bureaucracy with policy guidance from remote sources, and this pattern persists even after the bureaucracy has new master in the nation."¹¹

From a different perspective, Hamza Alavi has also described the role of bureaucracy in a post-colonial country like India. He has observed that bureaucracy enjoys enormous autonomy in the post colonial state. In independent India the bureaucracy serves the interests of three propertied classes : the metropolitan bourgeoisie, the indigenous bourgeoisie and the landed classes. The ruling Congress Party does not represent the interests of a

single class. It participates with the bureaucracy in mediating the demands of competing propertied classes and simultaneously participate with the bureaucracy to exercise state power to uphold the social order that permits the continued existence of those classes despite its proclaimed dedication to establish "the socialistic pattern of society". The Government of India's performance in regard to foreign capital is also different from the socialistic slogans of the Congress Party. The most important thing is that the bureaucracy actually enjoys the vast autonomous power behind the Congress political leaders.¹² He has again observed that the members of the bureaucracy and the military exercised power during the colonial period. During that period the bureaucrats acted not only in favour of the colonial masters but also they repressed the nationalist leaders and subordinated the native classes. During the freedom struggle they were on the opposite pole.¹³ Alavi is of the opinion that "after independence, the same political leaders whom it was their task to repress were ensconced in office, nominally in authority over them. A new relationship of mutual accommodation had to be established."¹⁴

Politicians may seek favour from officials for getting certain things done for their supporters and in dealing with these activities their relationship vis-a-vis the bureaucracy is weakened. The politicians as brokers play their roles for official favours.¹⁵

It is important to examine the historical background and the evolution of political forces of a country to understand the nature of relationship between the political leaders and the bureaucratic military oligarchies. "For example, in India and Pakistan powerfully organised bureaucratic and military structures were inherited".¹⁶

In India, the traditional or executive type of administration was designed to fulfil all the legal requirements of governmental operations. This type of administration was confined to the maintenance of law and order, collection of revenue and regulating the national life in accordance with the statutory requirements.¹⁷ Very often it is a question of organisation and structure, rules and procedures which may not fully suit the requirements of expeditious decision-making called for by developmental tasks.¹⁸ If the bureaucrats are 'legal', 'rational', 'anonymus' and 'rule-bound' they will be rigid and officious in performing their role. It is important to have a look at the classical model of bureaucracy developed by Max Weber. Weber's bureaucracy possesses certain characteristics. The important characteristics are hierarchy, (i.e., arrangement of organisational personnel into a chain of authority and initiative between superiors and subordinates systematic division of labour (i.e., differentiation of functions on the basis of specialised skill among the officials at different levels), written rules (i.e., prescription of elaborate rules and procedures to govern the operations of the

office and the rights and duties of position incumbents), impersonality (i.e., discharge of official business according to standard norms or calculable rules), rationality (i.e., selection between alternatives on the basis of efficiency), rule-orientation (i.e., rigidly adherence of official rules, norms of conduct, and procedures).¹⁹ The structural and behavioural characteristics generate certain 'dysfunctional' tendencies among the bureaucracies. Robert Merton held that rules originally conceived as means become an end in themselves and hence occurs displacement of goals.²⁰ The structural characteristics of bureaucracy, namely, 'rule', 'hierarchy', 'differentiation', etc. are closely related with the behavioural characteristics of 'objectivity', 'discretion' and formalism for the achievement of certain goals.²¹ From the structural aspect it is obviously neutral. This means that the bureaucracy does not take any risk and initiative even when the situation so demands. Under such circumstances it remains passive and neutral. From the behavioural aspect, bureaucracy may be thought of as showing some functional or pathological symptoms which inhibit the realisation of goals. From the achievemental or purposive point of view it can be regarded as an "organisation that maximizes efficiency in administration or an institutionalised method of organised social conduct in the interest of administrative efficiency."²²

The classical model of bureaucracy which applied to the Indian situation is affected by certain dysfunctional factors.

These are : lack of initiative, reluctance to delegate authority, sychophancy towards superiors, hostility among different professions, insistence on status and prestige symbols, non-responsiveness to public grievances, etc.

"Gradually, under the British rule, "according to Kochanek, "a model of government evolved which was ultimately to be accepted as the structure of government for independent India".²³ One important feature of this model was "the creation of a unified central administration based on the emerging principles of a modern bureaucracy recruited on the basis of open competition and merit".²⁴ Heady observes that "the recruitment policy is overly exclusive and that the IAS has a law and order orientation not well suited to a welfare state".²⁵ Paul H. Appleby observes that "the administrative system was designed to serve the relatively simple interests of an occupying power. This was not adequate for an independent India, and required systematic improvement".²⁶ Kochanek also shared a similar view. He points out that "the bureaucracy must be made more innovative, less subject to rapid expansion as a way of creating employment and must exercise self-restraint in its demands for higher incomes".²⁷

In order to be an agent of change and to be responsive to the needs of the people, bureaucracy must be rationally structured, more functionally oriented (dysfunctions of classical bureaucracy need to be reduced if not eliminated) and should be

achievement-centred (through acceptance of different sets of norms).²⁸ The bureaucracy must be committed to developmental goals and thus it requires a new look, a new spirit, a new attitude and professional skill.²⁹

Similarly, the politicians in the pre-independence days always considered the bureaucratic machinery and the political authority as an instrument for repressing the people and hence led agitations and demonstrations against this colonial regime for establishing common good of the people. After independence, it was required that the political leaders would change their attitudes, orientations and behavioural patterns towards the political regime and the administrative apparatus. As a guardian of political authority and transmitter of democratic values the leaders will now create conditions which may facilitate the role-performance of the officials. It is observed by some authors that "the politician is now expected to transmit democratic values to the populace, mobilize support for the programmatic values of the regime, and cooperate with the administrator ...".³⁰

Two of the important functions of political leaders are the interest aggregation and interest articulation. They have to play their roles in two different realms. Firstly, as an elected member of the Panchayat, they try to articulate the needs and demands of the entire populace and bring them to the notice of

those who are intimately concerned with the decision-making in government bodies. Secondly, the political leaders have to strengthen the bases of representative politics. In order to safeguard their autonomous position they have also to mobilise support and get the needs and demands of their constituents fulfilled. In dealing with these activities they are concerned with parochial and sectoral considerations.

So the leaders insist on rapid and expeditious execution of development programmes within the time-frame of their elective tenure, either to fulfil their election pledges or to meet the demands of their own group for protecting their own positions in future, and for this they want simplification of rules and procedures. In these tasks, if they are confronted with the problems of delay or reluctance on the part of the officials, they may interfere in the day to day administration or go to the extent of creating pressure upon the official.

Let us now consider what the norms stand for. A norm is "a rule or a standard that governs our conduct in the social situations in which we participate. It is a societal expectation. It is a standard to which we are expected to conform whether we actually do so or not".³¹

Again, a norm refers "not to the average behaviour of a number of persons in a specific social situation, but instead to the expected behaviour, the behaviour that is considered

appropriate in that situation. It is statistical only in the sense that significant number of people in a group regard it as a standard procedure".³² Furthermore, it "is a specific guide to action which defines acceptable and appropriate behaviour in particular situations. The norms are enforced by positive and negative sanctions which may be formal or informal. The sanctions which enforce norms are a major part of the mechanisms of social control which are concerned with maintaining order in society".³³ Values and norms are inseparable. Values also provide specific conduct for individuals. Shared norms and values are essential for the operation of human society. Unless norms are shared members of society would be unable to cooperate or even comprehend the behaviour of others. Similar is the case with values.³⁴ Kahn and his colleagues (1954) identified "five dimensions of normative expectations which appeared to be characteristic of organizations as systems rather than of individual persons or roles. These included the extent to which supervisions are expected to show personal interest in and nurture their subordinates the closeness or general (universalistic standards), and the extent to which organization members are expected to strive strenuously for achievement and advancement".³⁵

Various definitions of norms are given above. For the purpose of this study a norm is "a rule or a standard that governs our conduct in the social situations in which we participate. It is a societal expectations. It is a standard to

which we are expected to conform whether we actually to do so or not".

Regarding the normative referents of both the officials and the non-officials it is interesting to see whether the officials are flexible, cooperative with the public, goal oriented, development oriented, etc. For example, if the officials are respectful towards superiors, autonomous to their status, career-bound, rigid the realisation of developmental goals will suffer. Certain normative standards of behaviours were asked to officials to understand their actual behaviour. Again, the study is also interested to examine the officials' orientation towards official rules and procedures.

Similarly, the non-officials on the other hand, are expected to be oriented towards democratic norms. It means that they are expected to be guided by the universalistic criteria of decision making rather than to be swayed by parochial and sectoral considerations. So the study analyses the non-officials' orientation and commitment to democratic norms.

This chapter deals only with the officials' norms and role which have certain implications for 'systemic goal gratification'.³⁶ Norms have only two components : officials' practice of certain standard behaviour and officials' orientation to rules. Regarding officials' role-perception the study is concerned with (1) subservient-role; (2) autonomous-role; (3) expedient-role.

On the basis of an earlier work done by P.K.Samajdar,³⁷ on 'District Administration', certain normative standards of behaviour for officials are selected for the study. These are : to follow correct procedures even if the development programmes are delayed; to criticize the views of superiors if they do not suit the local conditions; to carry out the instructions of superiors to the best of one's ability; to keep personal consideration out of official matter; to maintain personal contact with the public; to work in the best interest of the department; to value the opinion of subordinate even if it is at variance with its own; to make quick decision; to cooperate with officials of other departments, to protect one's personal career. Officials were asked to state to what extent they actually practise these normative standard of behaviours. There are three categories of responses provided on each item. These are 'Very Much Practised', 'Practised' and 'Not Practised'. Officials' responses on the actual practice of certain normative standards of behaviours are presented in the table 5.1.

Table 5.1

Officials' Responses on the Actual Practice of Certain Standard Behaviours

Items	Very Much Practised	Practised	Not Practised
	I Practised	I	I Practised
1. To follow correct procedure even if the development programme are delayed	T 16 (19.75) D 4 (19.04) B 9 (20.00) V 3 (20.00)	18 (22.22) 5 (23.30) 10 (22.22) 3 (20.00)	47 (58.02) 12 (57.14) 26 (57.77) 9 (60.00)

Table 5.1 (Contd...)

Items		Very Much Practised	Practised	Not Practised
2. To criticize the views of superiors if they do not suit the local conditions	T	5(6.17)	10(12.34)	66(81.48)
	D	1(4.76)	3(14.28)	17(30.95)
	B	3(6.66)	5(13.33)	37(82.22)
	V	1(6.66)	2(13.33)	12(80.00)
3. To carry out the instructions of superiors to the best of one's ability	T	25(30.86)	34(41.94)	22(27.16)
	D	6(28.57)	9(42.85)	6(28.57)
	B	14(31.11)	19(42.22)	12(26.55)
	V	5(33.33)	6(40.00)	4(26.56)
4. To keep personal considerations out of official matter	T	17(20.98)	19(23.45)	45(55.55)
	D	4(19.04)	5(23.80)	12(57.14)
	B	9(20.00)	10(22.22)	26(57.55)
	V	4(26.66)	4(26.66)	7(45.56)
5. To maintain personal contact with the public	T	26(32.09)	25(30.86)	30(37.03)
	D	7(33.33)	6(28.57)	3(38.09)
	B	15(33.33)	14(31.11)	16(35.55)
	V	4(26.66)	5(33.33)	6(40.00)
6. To work in the best interest of the department	T	24(29.62)	30(37.03)	27(33.33)
	D	6(29.57)	9(38.09)	7(33.33)
	B	14(31.11)	16(35.55)	15(33.33)
	V	4(26.66)	6(40.00)	5(33.33)
7. To value the opinion of subordinate even if it is at variance with its own	T	3(3.70)	9(11.11)	69(35.18)
	D	1(4.76)	2(9.52)	18(35.77)
	B	1(2.22)	6(13.33)	38(84.44)
	V	1(6.66)	1(6.66)	13(86.66)

Table 5.1 (Contd...)

Items		Very Much Practised	Practised	Not Practised
8. To make quick decision	T	11(13.58)	16(19.75)	54(66.66)
	D	3(14.28)	4(19.04)	14(66.66)
	B	6(13.33)	9(20.00)	30(66.66)
	V	2(13.33)	3(20.00)	10(66.66)
9. To cooperate with officials of other departments	T	14(17.28)	17(20.98)	50(61.72)
	D	4(19.04)	4(19.04)	13(61.90)
	B	8(17.77)	10(22.22)	27(60.00)
	V	2(13.33)	3(20.00)	10(66.66)
10. To protect one's personal career	T	36(44.44)	42(51.35)	3(3.70)
	D	10(47.61)	10(47.61)	1(4.76)
	B	20(44.44)	24(53.33)	1(2.22)
	V	6(40.00)	3(53.33)	1(6.66)

Totals may not be exactly cent percent (100) because of roundings.

Figures in the parenthesis indicate the percentages.

T : Total; D : District; B : Block; V : Village

Total number of Officials : 81

District Officials : 21

Block Officials : 45

Village Officials : 15

Table 5.1 shows that the officials at different tiers of the Panchayati Raj institutions responded more or less in the same way. If we rank the items on the basis of combining the first two

response categories, namely - 'Very Much Practised' and 'Practised' from high to low preferences, it is seen that the responses will rank as follows : to protect one's personal career (95.29 percent); to carry out the instruction of superiors to the best of one's ability (72.33 percent); to work in the best interest of the department (66.55%); to maintain personal contact with the public (52.95%); to keep personal consideration out of official matter (44.43%); to follow correct procedure even if development programmes are delayed (41.97%); to cooperate with officials of other department (38.26%); to make quick decision (33.33%); to criticize the views of superiors if they do not suit the local conditions (13.51); to value the opinion of subordinates even if it is at variance with its own (14.31%). Data relating to officials' actual practice on certain standard of behaviour suggest that they are career-bound and hierarchic. This is also confirmed when it is found in Table 5.2 that they are rule-oriented. Rules and regulations are an important parameters to protect one's personal career and to show due deference to their superiors.

Now we will turn over to the officials' orientation to the rules and regulations. Information collected on the officials' orientation to rules is presented in the table 5.2.

Table 5.2
Officials' Orientation to Rules

Items		Strongly agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1. Observance of all rules amounts to a lot of paper work but very little concrete work	T D B V	45(55.55) 11(52.38) 25(55.55) 9(50.00)	8(9.87) 2(9.52) 5(11.11) 1(5.66)	9(11.11) 2(9.52) 5(11.11) 2(13.33)	19(23.45) 6(23.57) 10(22.22) 3(20.00)
2. Administrative procedures offer enough scope for officials to exercise his personal initiative	T D B V	10(12.34) 3(14.28) 5(11.11) 2(13.33)	15(18.51) 4(19.40) 8(17.77) 3(20.00)	23(28.39) 6(23.57) 13(23.33) 4(26.56)	33(40.74) 3(33.09) 19(42.22) 6(33.33)
3. If an official can solve problem by ignoring the rules he should not hesitate to ignore them	T D B V	32(39.50) 3(33.09) 18(40.00) 6(40.00)	10(12.34) 2(9.52) 6(13.33) 2(13.33)	27(33.33) 7(33.33) 15(33.33) 5(33.33)	12(16.04) 4(19.04) 5(13.33) 2(13.33)
4. Rules should be strictly observed even if they delay the implementation of development programme	T D B V	13(16.04) 3(14.28) 7(15.55) 3(20.00)	23(28.39) 5(23.57) 13(23.33) 4(26.56)	13(22.22) 5(23.30) 10(22.44) 3(20.00)	27(33.33) 7(33.33) 15(33.33) 5(33.33)

Totals may not be exactly cent percent (100) because of rounding.

Keys : Total Number of Officials : 81; T : Total

District Officials : 21; D : District

Block Officials : 45; B : Block

Village Officials : 15; V : Village

Figures in the parenthesis indicate the percentages.

Combining two response categories 'Strongly Agree' and 'Agree', it is observed from the Table 5.2 that 62.25% of district officials agree with the statement "Observance of all rules amounts to a lot of paper work but very little concrete work". 66.66% of block officials and village officials also agree with the statement. This indicates that the officials at the three levels recognise rules and regulations as the prime guide to administrative behaviour and this in turn, may slow down the process of achievement. "Heavy paper-work left little time for field work, particularly for the extension staff where about one third to one fourth of the working time of extension staff is spent in various kinds of reports".³³ 67.13% of district officials, 58.33% of block officials and 66.66% of village officials disagree with the statement "Administrative procedures offer enough scope for officials to exercise his personal initiative". The reason perhaps may be the rigidity of rules and regulations. To do any job in their personal initiative would amount to entering into other's areas of jurisdiction. 47.51% of district officials, 53.33% of officials both at the block and the village level agree with the statement "If an official can solve problems by ignoring the rules he should not hesitate to ignore them". These views are relatively strong among the block and the village officials as compared to district officials. The reason may be that the block and village officials are directly involved in implementing programmes. This indicates

that half of the officials (51.84) want to ignore rules if this helps to solve the problem. This may happen when there are insufficient administrative rules and regulations regarding the solution of problems or the existing rules and regulations are silent or confusing or the officials may find that the observance of existing rules and regulations may either lead them to make wrong decisions or not to make any decision. About half of the officials do not want to ignore rules and regulations. These views are relatively strong among the district officials (52.37) as compared to block and village officials (46.66 & 46.66). These views indicate slow process of development of norms among the officials which help them in taking decisions in situations where the postponement of decision is a general rule because of either absence of existing rules and regulations or confusions in the existing rules and regulations or instructions. 42.35% of district officials, 44.43% of block officials and 46.66% of village officials agree with the statement "Rules should be strictly observed even if they delay the implementation of development programmes". This suggests that the officials give primacy to rules and regulations because it may on the one hand, help to protect themselves against unreasonable pressures and influences and on the other hand, against politicisation of administration. Therefore, it is clear that the officials consider strictly adherence of rules and regulations as their prime concern even though it involves heavy paper-work and slowing down of developmental goals.

5.1.1 Role Perception :

An attempt is made here to find out whether the officials feel obliged to carry out decisions made by elected bodies or they do not accept obligations. Normally the officials carry out those decisions which are proper, just, and legitimate. Let us examine this from the table 5.3.

Table 5.3

Officials' Role Perception : Subservience to Political Leaders

Items		I Must do	I May or May not do	I Must not do
1. Carry out decisions made by non-officials at the three levels.	T	64(79.01)	12(14.31)	5(6.17)
	D	16(76.19)	4(3.88)	1(6.56)
	B	36(30.00)	6(13.33)	3(6.66)
	V	12(30.00)	2(13.33)	1(6.66)
2. Carry out decisions made by non-officials which in your opinion may be unsound	T	12(14.31)	12(14.31)	57(70.37)
	D	4(3.88)	4(3.88)	13(61.90)
	B	6(13.33)	6(13.33)	33(73.33)
	V	2(13.33)	2(13.33)	11(73.33)
3. Take actions against a subordinate official on the insistence of non-officials	T	0(0.00)	20(24.69)	61(75.30)
	D	0(0.00)	5(23.80)	16(76.19)
	B	0(0.00)	11(24.44)	34(75.55)
	V	0(0.00)	4(26.66)	11(73.33)
4. Modify a policy decision on the advice of non-officials	T	3(3.70)	24(29.62)	54(66.66)
	D	1(4.76)	5(28.57)	14(66.66)
	B	2(4.44)	13(28.88)	30(66.66)
	V	0(0.00)	5(33.33)	10(66.66)

Keys : Totals may not be exactly cent percent (100) because of rounding.

T = Total; D = District; B = Block; V = Village.

Figures in the parenthesis indicate percentages.

Total Number of officials = 81

District " = 21

Block " = 45

Village " = 15

It is seen from the Table 5.3 that 79.01 percent of officials feel obliged to carry out decisions made by non-officials.

Officials are more or less unanimous on the items containing officials' role-perception. However, on the question of officials' role-perception in the second item 70.37 percent of officials do not want to take action against subordinate officials on the insistence of non-officials.

It is interesting to note that 66.66 percent of officials refused to modify a policy decision on the advice of non-officials. The requirements of education and training for the officials may be considered one of the reasons for not modifying a policy decision on the advice of non-officials. The officials are trained in such a way that they do not take any risk or initiative. They follow stereotyped administrative procedures in their actions. The requirements of education also encourage the officials to protect their own position and status.

However 14.31 percent of officials are obliged to execute unsound decisions and 3.70 percent of officials are in favour of modifying policy decision on the advice of non-officials. The surprising features of the officials do not go to weaken our observation that the officials' negative orientation to representative politics is strong but may be considered as the begining of a trend, however small, of subservience to non-officials. Moreover, the responses belonging to the catrgory of 'May' or 'May Not' also indicate that at least a smaller number of officials are willing to accept the advice of non-officials and perform their role as subservient to non-officials.

Table 5.4

Officials' Role-Perception : Safeguarding Administrative Autonomy

Items	Must do		May or May not do	Must not do
	T	D		
1. Give some considerations to feelings of local groups in undertaking new programmes	T 17(20.93)	D 4(19.04)	24(29.62)	40(49.38)
	B 9(20.00)	V 4(26.66)	7(33.33) 14(31.11)	10(47.61) 22(48.33)
2. Occasionally compromise with local pressure groups	T 3(9.37)	D 2(9.52)	24(29.62) 5(23.57)	49(60.49) 13(51.90)
	B 5(11.11)	V 1(6.66)	13(28.88) 5(33.33)	27(60.00) 9(60.00)
3. Modify policy in the face of insistent popular demand	T 33(40.77)	D 3(33.09)	32(39.50) 3(33.09)	16(19.75) 5(23.30)
	B 19(42.22)	V 6(40.00)	13(40.00) 6(40.00)	3(17.77) 3(20.00)

(Contd..)

Table 5.4 (Contd...)

Items		I Must do	I May or May not do	I Must not do
4. Turn down the demands of non-officials when it is against government policy even if it is in the interest of the district	T	30(37.03)	30(37.03)	21(25.92)
	D	3(38.09)	8(38.09)	5(23.80)
	B	17(37.77)	17(37.77)	11(24.44)
	V	5(33.33)	5(33.33)	5(33.33)
5. Take definite stand against any unreasonable demand which may come from local leaders	T	74(91.36)	0(0.00)	7(8.64)
	D	19(90.74)	0(0.00)	2(9.52)
	B	41(91.11)	0(0.00)	4(3.38)
	V	14(93.33)	0(0.00)	1(5.66)

Total may not be exactly 100 (percent) because of rounding.

T = Total; D = District; B = Block; V = Village

Figures in the parenthesis indicate the percentages

Total No. of officials = 31

District " = 21

Block " = 45

Village " = 15

As is seen from the Table 5.4 20.93% of officials feel it obligatory to consider the feelings of local groups in undertaking new programmes. Officials at the village level as compared to the officials at the block and district, are obliged to consider the feelings of local groups in undertaking new programmes. Only 9.37% of officials consider that it is their duty to compromise with local pressure groups occasionally. This probably indicates that they do not want the interference of local pressure groups

in the process of implementation of policies and programmes. What is surprising is that 40.74% of officials are in favour of modifying policy in the face of insistent popular demand. This impression indicates that officials are narrowly responsive to the popular demands and expectations. Again, 37.03% of officials are in favour of turning down the demands of non-officials when it is against government policy even if it is in the interest of the district. It reflects from the responses indicated above that the officials lack consensus among themselves. All these probably suggest that the Panchayati Raj administrative system is shrouded with old bureaucratic tradition. It is yet to orient itself towards representative politics in which bureaucracy is required to be sensitive to the popular needs and demands. However, 91.36% of officials stated that they are prepared to take definite stand against any unreasonable demands of local leaders. All these facts suggest that the administrative system is still not responsive to the expectations and demands of non-officials whose two main functions are articulation and aggregation of the local community.

Now we will turn to the officials' role-perception on the attitude to expediency in relation to power. So far our data show that the officials are rule-bound, conscious of their autonomous status, not responsive to the demands of non-officials, etc. So these orientation and behaviours encourage the officials to perform their role without hindrance and hence, they want to secure the goodwill and the support of powerful leaders or group of leaders. Information collected on the officials' attitude to expediency in

relation to power is given in the table 5.5.

Table 5.5

Officials' Attitude to Expediency in Relation to Power

Items		Must do	May or May not do	Must not do
1. Maintain good relations with those local leaders who have backing of the people	T	57(70.37)	21(25.92)	3(3.70)
	D	15(71.42)	5(23.80)	1(4.76)
	B	32(71.11)	12(26.66)	1(2.22)
	V	10(66.66)	4(26.66)	1(6.66)
2. Keep a powerful faction of local leaders satisfied if this helps implementation of Govt. programmes	T	40(49.33)	27(33.33)	14(17.28)
	D	10(47.61)	7(33.33)	4(19.04)
	B	23(51.11)	15(33.33)	7(15.55)
	V	7(46.66)	5(33.33)	3(20.00)
3. Consider favourably proposals of leaders enjoying public support even if these proposals are not sound	T	4(4.93)	15(18.51)	62(75.54)
	D	1(4.76)	4(19.04)	16(76.19)
	B	2(4.44)	3(17.77)	35(77.77)
	V	1(6.66)	3(20.00)	11(73.33)

Keys : Total may not be exactly 100 (percent) because of rounding.

Figures in the parenthesis indicate the percentages

Total no. of officials = 31

District " = 21

Block " = 45

Village " = 15

T = Total; D = District; B = Block; V = Village.

It is observed from the table 5.5 that 70.37% of officials feel obliged to maintain good relations with those local leaders who have

the backing of the people. 49.38 percent of officials want to keep a powerful faction of local leaders satisfied if this helps implementation of government programmes. This, however, does not go to show that the officials at the three levels will go all the way to maintain favourable relationship with political leaders. Inasmuch as it is expected that the officials find it difficult to change their attitudes and adapt themselves with the changing needs of the society they find out ways and means to protect themselves as well as to perform their role without hindrance and these considerations lead them to secure the support and the goodwill of the powerful leaders or group of leaders of course without sacrificing their self respect and independence and also without damaging their image. Only 4.93 percent of officials favourably consider the proposals of non-officials enjoying public support even if these proposals are not sound. In this case the insignificant number of officials seek the support of non-officials at the cost of their independence, self respect and image.

5.1.2 General Observations :

The findings of the study suggest that the officials are prone towards administrative rules and regulations. 44.43% of officials at the three levels agree that 'Rules should be strictly observed even if the development programmes are delayed'. Moreover, 64.13 percent of officials at the three levels disagree with the statement 'Administrative procedures offer enough scope

for officials to exercise his personal initiative'. This indicates that the officials think rules and regulations as general guide of administrative behaviour. Only a few officials at the three levels are subservient to non-officials. Officials are in favour of protecting their autonomous status and role. 91.35 percent of officials agree to take steps against unreasonable demands of leaders. 70.37% of officials maintain good relations with the local leaders in order to safeguard their autonomy. So the officials do not strongly admire for the introduction of the representative politics in the three levels of Panchayati Raj institutions. The changing structure and environment of Panchayati Raj institutions and the absence of any change of professional role to meet the changing needs led the officials to feel insecure and as a result, they seek the support of local leaders.

5.2 Norms and Role-Perceptions of the Non-Officials :

This section is concerned with the Non-Officials' norms and role-perceptions which have a direct impact upon the relation between the officials and the non-officials at the three levels of Panchayati Raj institutions. It was pointed out earlier that the relationship assumes an important dimension at these levels because it is here that the officials and the non-officials come into contact with one another in the process of formulation and implementation of policies. For instance, in the matter of

policy-formulation, officials collect and supply relevant information regarding the areas marked for development. The officials are obliged to provide information regarding policy-making for the non-officials. They also give advice to non-officials and make them aware of the consequences of their actions. The officials, in the course of providing information which constitute the bases for policy decisions, subtly influence the behaviour of non-officials either in the way of suppressing or providing excess information. The non-officials, on the other hand, bring certain issues before the officials for the welfare of the local community, and for this, they create pressure upon the officials. The officials sometimes submit to the pressures created by the non-officials and modify or change the implementation strategy.

Prior to independence, the non-officials constituted an insignificant part of the administrative system. The officials were empowered to manage the public affairs, maintain law and order and collect revenues; moreover, they were accountable for their actions to the administrative superiors. The non-officials during the British period distrusted the officials. They had also played an agitational role against the officials' actions which were detrimental to the interest of the people.

The new Panchayati Raj institutions which were made operative in West Bengal in 1973, have completely changed the role of the non-officials. The non-officials as the elected members of the

Panchayati Raj institutions, have to adopt policies in conformity with the goals of the Panchayat organisation. The non-officials, while formulating policies, try to keep in their minds the election pledges and in this way satisfy the needs and demands of the people within the Panchayat. The non-officials have to keep the Panchayat administrative system responsive to popular needs and aspirations for the realisation of systemic-goals. Again, the non-officials as the elected representatives of their constituencies, sometimes have to mobilise support in favour of their programmes in order to strengthen the bases of representative politics. As in the Parliamentary and State Assembly elections, so in the Panchayat elections, the leaders are elected on party basis from their respective constituencies. The non-officials, in order to satisfy the people of their own constituencies, have to articulate their needs and get their demands fulfilled. On some occasions, the non-officials have to fulfill the demands of the voters through their party supporters in order to seek re-election or to be in office in future and in these contexts they are concerned with narrow and partisan interest. In addition to these roles, the non-officials have to consider the bureaucratic structure as an important agency for the solution of problems of the people to the extent it adheres to systemic values.

It is now important to see whether the values of the non-officials conform to the values of Panchayat organisational set up or not. Generally, if there is great variation between the

organisational values and the values of the non-officials, the realisation of organisational goal is bound to suffer. "The higher the degree of non-congruence, the greater the possibility that tension and conflict will characterise the political process in the system".³⁹ In order to find out the dominant norms that guide the behaviour of the non-officials, this study seeks to analyse the (1) non-officials' concept of the representative-role; (2) the non-officials' orientation towards democratic ideals; (3) the non-officials' orientation towards the general interest as against their narrow and partisan interests. Let us now examine the data from the table mentioned below.

Table 5.6
Non-Officials' Response Towards Democratic Ideals

Items	I Agree	Partly Agree	Disagree
1. Even if it delays development of the country adherence to democratic principles should be insisted upon	T 71(34.52) D 14(37.50) B 39(34.78) V 18(31.81)	6(7.14) 1(6.25) 3(6.25) 2(9.09)	7(3.33) 1(6.25) 4(3.69) 2(9.09)
2. If some misguided sections of the people do not listen to persuasion they should be suppressed in the interest of the country	T 72(85.70) D 14(37.50) B 40(36.95) V 18(31.81)	5(7.14) 1(6.25) 3(6.52) 2(9.09)	6(7.14) 1(6.25) 3(6.52) 2(9.09)

Keys : Figures in the parenthesis indicate the percentages.

Totals may not be exactly cent percent (100) because of rounding.

Total no. of officials 84; T : Total;

District " 16; D : District;

Block " 46; B : Block;

Village " 22; V : Village.

Table 5.6 presents that the two items apparently deal with contradictory situations. The first item states that democratic principles should be insisted upon even if the developments are delayed. The second item states that the misguided sections of the people should be suppressed in order to expedite developmental activities. The first item is concerned with adherence to democratic principles in respect of planned development. The second item is concerned with undemocratic ideals for expediting developmental activities. If the non-officials agree on the two items it can be said that there is inconsistency and contradiction. Our data point out that more than seventy percent of non-officials agree on the two items and hence, reveals that there is a fair amount of inconsistency and contradiction.

Now we will turn to the non-officials' perception of representative-role. In this context, it is found that there are three models described by the social scientists regarding the behaviour of the representative. These models are : (1) the Classical Rational Man model which conceives of the proposed courses of action against an objective standard of public

interest; (2) the Social Class Interest model that defines the role of the representative in terms of a person who acts according to dictates of norms and values acquired by virtue of class status; (3) Pressure Politics model which typifies the representative as passively moving according to the mechanical combinations of forces which happen to impinge upon him.⁴⁰

In order to ascertain the dominant norms in the behaviour of the representative the Social Class interest model are not relevant for the study. The relevant models for the purpose of this study are : the Classical Rational Man model and the Pressure Politics model. The function and role-attributes of the representative can be understood from the relationship that he has with the people. The representative's perception of his role depends upon what he thinks such a relationship should ideally be. Different types of role-conceptions may emerge from the character of such relationship. These are : (1) There are some representatives who act independently of the wishes, opinions, aspirations, of the people they claim to represent. They do what they think best. They do not allow other's interference in their role-performance. This role-conception indicates that the actions of the representatives are influenced here not by externally determined standards of behaviour but by their own behaviours. Therefore, they themselves remain responsible for their actions.

(2) There are others who pay due deference to other's views and wishes. They take into consideration the views of people in

their role-performance by the people of their representative areas. Their standards of behaviours are externally determined and do not allow their convictions and judgements to interfere in their role-performance.

Variations may occur in each of these two types of representative-role conception. The non-officials may perform their role independently of their constituents and may perceive that there will arise a gap between what the people of the constituency think and what they think. The perception of this wide gap develops certain confusion in the minds of the non-officials. They think that their decisions will not receive wide acceptance from the people. These uncertainties and apprehensions constrained them in taking any decisions. There are others who think in terms of representative-autonomy and go to the extent of applying pressures on people in taking action. They come forward to mould public opinion in favour of their programmes.

In the second type of representative role-conception variations may also occur. The non-officials may allow the interference of people's wishes in their role-performance to the extent it conforms to the values of themselves. In other words, the non-officials accommodate the wishes and interest of the people of their constituents in their role-performances if it does not contravene with their own convictions. To put it differently, the non-officials will critically examine the wishes and demands of their constituents prior to implementing those.

These different role-conceptions discussed above are considered relevant for understanding the relationship between the officials and the non-officials. Now let us examine the data relating to non-officials' conception of the role of a representative from the table 5.7.

Table 5.7
Non-Officials' Responses to Representative-Roles

Items		Agree	Partly Agree	Disagree
1. A political leader should only implement the demand and expectations of the people and not act independently	T	47(55.95)	12(14.28)	(25(29.76)
	D	9(56.25)	2(12.50)	5(31.25)
	B	26(56.52)	6(13.04)	14(30.43)
	V	12(54.54)	4(18.18)	6(27.27)
2. A leader is obliged to follow the wishes of the community even if he thinks the people are mistaken	T	37(44.04)	7(8.33)	40(47.51)
	D	7(43.75)	1(6.25)	3(50.00)
	B	20(43.47)	4(8.69)	22(47.32)
	V	10(45.45)	2(9.09)	10(45.45)
3. The most important thing for a leader is to follow his conviction even if this is different from what the constituency expects	T	60(71.42)	15(17.35)	9(10.71)
	D	11(68.95)	3(18.75)	2(12.50)
	B	33(71.73)	3(17.39)	5(10.36)
	V	16(72.72)	4(18.18)	2(9.09)

(Contd...)

Table 5.7 (Contd...)

4. If the leader is himself convinced of what is the best course of action he must try to implement even though he has to use some pressure on the people	T	74(83.09)	6(7.14)	4(4.76)
	D	14(17.50)	1(6.25)	1(5.25)
	B	40(36.95)	4(3.69)	2(4.34)
	V	20(90.09)	1(4.54)	1(4.54)

Keys : Totals may not be exactly cent percent (100) because of rounding.

Figures in the parenthesis indicate the percentages.

Total number of non-officials : 84; T : Total

District " : 16; D : District

Block " : 46; B : Block

Village " : 22; V : Village

From the table 6.7 it is observed that the non-officials are inclined towards maintaining autonomous role-perception. It is also true from the operational point of view. Almost 56 percent of non-officials agree with the statement that a political leader should only implement the demands and expectations of the people and not act independently. This indicates that they accept the demands and wishes of their constituents so long as it conforms to the conscience and values of the non-officials. But almost 30 percent of the non-officials do not feel obliged to implement the demands and expectations of their constituents and 14.00 percent agree only partially. But in view of the fact that almost 30 percent of the non-officials do not feel obliged to implement the demands and expectations of their constituents and

14.23 percent agree only partly, subservient orientation of the non-officials to the people of their constituents does not seem to be that strong. 44.04 percent of non-officials agree that they are obliged to follow the wishes of the community even if they think that the people are mistaken. But 47.61 percent of non-officials do not express agreement with the statement. This indicates that there is no agreement among the non-officials on this statement. This probably suggests that the non-officials' orientation towards subservient-role conception are not strong.

The last two items containing non-officials' responses to representative-roles point out more significantly that the non-officials consistently hold opinion in favour of representative autonomy. 71.42 percent of non-officials agree that the most important thing for a leader is to follow his conviction even if this is different from what the constituency expects. Again, 33.09 percent of non-officials agree in the active sense that "if the leader is himself convinced of what is the best course of action he must try to implement even though he has to use some pressure on the people". This indicates that the non-officials not only maintains the role of representative autonomy but also preserves autonomy by applying pressures on people if they themselves convinced of what is the best course of action.

From the above, it is observed that there is a marked tendency among the non-officials' responses towards the role of representative autonomy. If the favourable responses are categorised and

ranked from high to low preferences it will be seen that the non-officials indicate highest preference for 'authonomous-active role-perception of the representative'. Again, the non-officials are consistent in their behaviour on the item pertaining to the autonomous role-conception of representative. The behaviour of the non-officials is also influenced by their partisan versus universal identity. Generally speaking, if the non-official is more partisan in his attitude and behaviour he will try to take those actions where the interest of his party is involved. He will always try to promote the interest of his party than the interest of the people as a whole. He will always favour his party-men even if they are not in the correct path. He gives priority to the interest of his party even though it is not good of the community. Information collected on the non-officials' orientation towards partisan versus universal identity is presented in the table 5.8.

Table 5.8

Normative Referents of Non-Officials : Partisan Vs. Universal Identity

Items		Agree	Partly Agree	Disagree	Total
1. Use of unscrupulous means by a politician may sometimes be forgiven if they lead to the strengthening of his party	T	3(3.57)	6(7.14)	75(89.28)	
	D	1(6.25)	1(6.25)	14(37.50)	
	B	1(2.17)	3(6.25)	42(91.30)	
	V	1(4.54)	2(9.09)	19(85.36)	

(Contd...)

Table 5.8 (Contd...)

Items	Agree	Partly Agree	Disagree	Total
2. A political leader should always support his party-men even if their actions are sometimes unjustified	T 7(8.33) D 1(6.25) B 4(3.69) V 2(9.09)	4(4.76) 1(6.25) 2(4.34) 1(4.54)	73(86.90) 14(87.50) 40(86.95) 19(36.36)	
3. A political leader should refrain from making proposals that may cause division in the party even if these proposals are important for the community	T 33(39.28) D 6(37.50) B 18(39.13) V 9(40.90)	12(14.28) 3(18.75) 6(13.04) 3(13.63)	39(46.42) 7(43.75) 22(47.82) 10(45.45)	

Total may not be exactly cent percent (100) because of rounding.

Total Number of Non-Officials : 34; T = Total

Total " District Non-Officials : 16; D = District

" " Block " " : 46; B = Block

" " Village " " : 22; V = Village

Figures in the parenthesis indicate the percentages.

It is observed from the 5.8 that the non-officials had no excess of partisan attitude rather they were against supporting party-interest. In regard to the first statement only 3.57 percent of non-officials agree that the use of unscrupulous means may sometimes be forgiven if they lead to the strengthening of his party. But 39.28 percent of non-officials do not support this statement. This observation is again confirmed by the second statement. 36.90 percent of non-officials do not express agreement with the statement that "a political leader should always

support his partymen even if their actions are at times unjustified". It can be assumed then that the non-officials are not intensely partisan, though they belong to a party and elected on the party basis. They want to make a distinction between what is good and what is bad for the community. In other words the non-officials consider the partisan interest if it upholds the sanctity of the rule of the game.

It seems that the non-officials consider consensus in the party to be more important. If the non-officials lack consensus in the party it will affect the prospect of political stability. The data here suggest that in spite of the existence of several kinds of groups 39.28 percent of non-officials at all levels expressed their opinion against the proposal that may cause division in the party even if these proposals are important for the community. But 46.42 percent of non-officials disagree with the statement. This indicates that there is a low degree of agreement among the non-officials on the statement. 46.42 percent of non-officials are in favour of creating division in the party. 39.23 percent of non-officials and only partially 14.28 percent of non-officials do not consider the interest of the community important causing division in the party. This indicates that the non-officials though in a meagre sense value the strength of consensus in the party.

The discussions above suggest that the non-officials at all levels are not intensely partisan. Moreover, they do not want to

support his party-men on the issue which is unjust. So they do not take any action-programme to further the interest of their party in any unfair manner. They are sincere, obliged in obeying the sanctity of the rule of the game. Furthermore, 39.28 percent of non-officials do not want division in the party even when the proposal is important to protect the interest of the community.

Now we come to the analysis of the non-officials' role-perception in relation to administration which has an impact upon the relationship between the officials and the non-officials at the three levels of Panchayati Raj institutions. The non-officials' role-perception may be classified into two categories : (1) they may help the administration in taking best course of action. They may advise and cooperate with the officials against unreasonable demands of the public. (2) They may intervene when they think that it is necessary to protect the administration from ignoring public demands and in this context the officials be guided by their advice in implementing development programmes. The non-officials may also intervene when it is necessary to prevent the officials from crossing their role-boundaries and to maintain the right procedure or conduct if these are violated. The non-officials may seek intervention of higher authorities or they may take recourse to agitational-interventionist role. Let us now analyse non-officials' responses in this regard.

Table 5.9
Non-Officials' Role-Perception

Items	Must do	May or May not do	Must not do	Total
1. Advise officials about the best course of action	T 74(38.09) D 14(37.50) B 40(36.95) V 20(90.90)	7(8.33) 1(6.25) 5(10.36) 1(4.54)	3(3.57) 1(6.25) 1(2.17) 1(4.54)	
2. Cooperate with officials in carrying out Government programmes	T 80(95.23) D 15(93.75) B 44(95.65) V 21(95.45)	4(4.76) 1(6.25) 2(4.54) 1(4.54)	0(0.00) 0(0.00) 0(0.00) 0(0.00)	
3. Protect officials from public demands and unreasonable criticisms	T 78(92.85) D 14(37.50) B 44(95.65) V 20(90.90)	3(3.57) 1(6.25) 1(2.17) 1(4.54)	3(3.57) 1(6.25) 1(2.17) 1(4.54)	

Totals may not be exactly cent percent (100) because of rounding.

Figures in the parenthesis indicate the percentages.

T : Total; D : District; B : Block; V : Village

Total number of Non-Officials : 34

District " : 16

Block " : 46

Village " : 22

It is observed from the table 5.9 that more than 35 percent of non-officials at the three levels advise officials about the best course of action. More than 90 percent of the non-officials

cooperate with officials in carrying out government programmes. 37.50 percent, 95.65 percent and 90.90 percent of the non-officials respectively at the district, block and village levels feel obliged to protect officials from unjust demands and unreasonable criticisms.

It is found that there is a high degree of agreement among the non-officials on the issues of advising, cooperating and protecting the officials. This suggests that the non-officials help the administration actively for the realisation of organisational-goal. Moreover, they help the administration to the extent it does not cross the role-boundaries and ignore public demands which is just.

Information collected on the non-officials' responses about their constructive-interventionist role is presented in the table 5.10.

Table 5.10

Non-officials' Role-Perception : Constructive and Interventionist

Items	I Must do	I May or May not do	I Must not do	I Total
1. Strictly pursue a "hands off" policy vis-a-vis administration	T 28(33.33) D 5(31.25) B 15(32.60) V 8(36.36)	15(17.85) 3(18.75) 8(17.39) 4(18.18)	41(43.30) 8(50.00) 23(50.00) 10(45.45)	

(Contd...)

Table 5.10 (Contd...)

Items	Must do	May or May not do	Must not do	Total
2. Keep a watch on administrative performance	T 75(90.47) D 14(37.50) B 42(91.90) V 20(90.90)	4(4.76) 1(5.25) 2(4.34) 1(4.54)	4(4.76) 1(5.25) 2(4.34) 1(4.54)	
3. Bring to public notice all faults or flaws of administration	T 63(75.00) D 12(75.00) B 35(76.08) V 16(72.72)	7(8.33) 1(5.25) 4(3.69) 2(9.09)	14(16.66) 3(18.75) 7(15.21) 4(18.18)	
4. Insist that officials be guided in their action by advice given by politicians	T 25(29.76) D 5(31.25) B 13(28.26) V 7(31.31)	15(17.85) 3(18.75) 3(18.79) 4(18.18)	44(52.38) 8(50.00) 25(54.34) 11(50.00)	

Totals may not be exactly cent percent (100) because of rounding.

Total Number of Non-officials = 84

Total District " " = 16

" Block " " = 46

" Village " " = 22

Figures in the parenthesis indicate the percentages.

It is observed from the table that 31.25 percent and 32.60 percent of non-officials at the district and block level respectively feel obligatory to strictly pursue a 'hands off' policy vis-a-vis administration. But at the village level a comparatively higher percentage of non-officials consider it

obligatory though ultimately there is a low degree of agreement on this statement. However, almost half of the non-officials do not feel obliged to pursue 'hands off' policy in relation to administration. The absence of a high degree of agreement indicate that the non-officials do not perform only definite role of their role-sectors. About 90 percent of the non-officials at all levels feel it obligatory to keep a watch on administrative performance. This indicates that they always want to put a check on administration. This is also observed by the fact that about 75 percent of non-officials feel obliged to bring to public notice faults or flaws of administration. The reason may that the non-officials try to make the administration free from any evils of the system. If there is any ills in the system then it should be removed. Exposing the ills of the administrative system to the public they want to eradicate the ills of the system. In other words, in this way they try to link public opinion on these issues. Thus it seems that their unbiased and constructive role helps to grow public opinion in favour of the issues and strengthens the democratic political system. Again, to expose ills of the administrative system before the public and to create public opinion on these issues is one of constructive-legitimate functions of the non-officials. So the non-officials' responses to attract public notice to the ills of the administrative system indicate their willingness to play a constructive-interventionist role.

This is also evident from the fact that 52.38 percent of officials admit that they must not insist that the officials be guided in their action by the advice of the non-officials although 29.76 percent of non-officials insist on this. This indicates that more than half of the respondents do not want to make administration subservient to politics. The reason may be that if the non-officials get an upperhand in policy implementation they may not think it improper to exploit the administrative structure for furthering partisan interest for a temporary period. Moreover, it can not be expected that all the non-officials will be guided by legal-rational criteria of decision-making and committed to the orientation of efficiency in goal-gratification.

Let us now examine the non-officials' responses relating to agitational and interventionist role from the table 5.11.

Table 5.11

Non-Officials' Agitational & Interventionist role

Items	I Must do	I May or May not do	I Must not do	Total
1. Interference when officials ignore peoples' demands	T 69 (32.14)	10 (11.90)	5 (5.95)	
	D 13 (31.25)	2 (12.50)	1 (6.25)	
	B 38 (32.50)	5 (10.36)	3 (6.25)	
	V 18 (31.81)	3 (13.63)	1 (4.54)	

(Contd...)

Table 5.11 (Contd...)

Items	Must do	May or May not do	Must not do	Total
2. Seek intervention by political leaders at higher levels for correcting administrative ills at the district/block/village	T 65(77.38) D 12(75.00) B 35(78.26) V 18(81.31)	12(14.28) 2(12.50) 7(15.21) 3(13.63)	7(8.33) 2(12.50) .4(3.69) 1(4.54)	
3. Support agitation against unjust government action	T 68(80.95) D 13(31.25) B 37(80.43) V 18(31.31)	10(11.90) 2(12.50) 6(13.04) 2(9.09)	6(7.14) 1(6.25) 3(6.52) 2(9.09)	
4. Prevent officials from taking improper action by agitation etc.	T 68(80.95) D 13(31.25) B 37(80.43) V 18(31.31)	8(9.52) 2(12.25) 4(8.69) 2(9.09)	8(9.52) 1(6.25) 5(10.36) 2(9.09)	

Keys : Figure in the parenthesis indicate the percentages.

Totals may not be exactly cent percent (100) because of rounding.

Total No. of Non-Officials : 34; District Non-Officials : 16; Block Non-Officials : 46; Village Non-Officials : 22.

T = Total; D = District; B = Block; V = Village.

Table 5.11 presents that there is no differences among the non-officials at the three levels in regard to the statement, 'interference when officials ignore peoples' demands'. 32.14 percent of non-officials at the three levels feel obliged to

intervene. More than 75 percent of non-officials feel it obligatory to seek intervention by non-officials at higher levels for removing administrative ills at the district, block and the village levels. 30.95 percent of non-officials at the three levels support agitation against unjust government action. Finally, 80.95 percent of non-officials at the three levels feel it obligatory to take resort to agitation in order to prevent officials from taking improper action.

Summing up the discussion on non-officials' normative referents and role-conception, it can be said that the non-officials were autonomous to their representative-role. They were not prepared to be guided by party's unjust demand rather they wanted to play a cooperative role with the officials. They viewed their role in terms of constructive-intervention, in order to remove the administrative ills of the system. Finally, they played an agitational-interventionist role against unjust and improper action of the officials.

NOTES & REFERENCES TO CHAPTER V

1. Lindzey, Gardner and Elliot Aronson (ed.), "The Handbook of Social Psychology", Volume One, Amerind Publishing Co. Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, 1968, p.489.
In this book the authors also mentioned that "the conceptual bridge between social structure and role behaviour is the concept of role-expectations. Role-expectations are comprised of the rights and privileges, the duties and obligations, of any occupant of a social position in relation to persons occupying other positions in the social structure". p.497.
2. Katz, Daniel and Robert L.Kahn, "The Social psychology of Organizations", New Delhi, Willey Eastern Private Ltd., 1970, p.37.
"A role consists of one or more recurrent activities out of a total pattern of interdependent activities which in combination produce the organizational output. Role, unless otherwise qualified, will refer to a set of such activities within a single subsystem of the organisation and within a single office. An office (location) is a point in organisation space defined by one or more roles (and thereby one or more activities) intended for performance by a single individual. It locates the individual in relation to his fellows with respect to the job to be done and the giving and taking of orders". p.179.

3. Hans Raj Bhatia, "Elements of Social Psychology", Somaya Publications Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, p.181.

According to Kimball Young, as cited in Bhatia's 'Elements of Social Psychology' "In every society and every group each member has some function or activity with which he is associated and which carries with it some degree of power or prestige. What the individual does or performs is his role".

Sargent as cited in Bhatia's 'Elements of Social Psychology' defines it as "a pattern or type of social behaviour which seems situationally appropriate to him in terms of the demands and expectations of those in his group".

E.E.Jones and H.B.Gerard as cited in Bhatia's 'Elements of Social Psychology' combine the two aspects of role and define roles as "shared norms concerning the behaviour of certain persons in certain settings".

"The role-expectations have a normative or evaluative character. The occupant of a social position ought to do particular things in specified ways, and ought to hold certain beliefs instead of others. In role enactment an individual is expected to behave in particular ways in the sense that others believe he ought to do so. The 'ought' aspect of role expectations implies that approval or disapproval by other people is contingent on the nature and quality of one's role enactment. In short, role expectations are specifications for adherence in group norms". Lindzey and Aronson, "The Handbook of Social Psychology", p.501.

Role is defined as "the expectations that persons hold common toward any person who falls in a particular category by virtue of his position in social system", Secord, Paul F and Carl W.Backman, "Social Psychology", New York, McGraw Hill Book Co. 1964, p.457.

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5. Bertrand, Alvin L, "An Introduction to the Theory and Methods; Basic Sociology", Division of Meredith Publishing Company, New York, 1957, p.144.

"Group-members have in their minds certain sets of organized meanings and values called roles. It is these roles they direct toward others and it is roles, rather than separate expectations, that are internalized. Once a role is internalized an individual can direct his behaviour in accordance with it. Strictly speaking, a role does not refer to acted-out behaviour but to ideas in the mind". Rose, Caroline B, "Sociology the Study of Man in Society, Charles E. Merrill Books, Inc. Columbus Ohio, 1965, pp.44-45.

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8. Ibid., p.329.
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Robert N.Kearney, ed., Politics and Modernization in South
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24. Ibid., p.45.
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27. Kochanek, "The Indian Political System", op.cit., p.102.
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CHAPTER-VI

PERCEPTION OF IMAGES OF THE OFFICIALS AND THE NON-OFFICIALS AT THE
THREE LEVELS OF PANCHAYATI RAJ INSTITUTIONS IN THE MALDA DISTRICT

CHAPTER-VI

PERCEPTION OF IMAGES OF THE OFFICIALS AND THE NON-OFFICIALS AT THE THREE LEVELS OF PANCHAYATI RAJ INSTITUTIONS IN THE MALDA DISTRICT

6.1 Officials and Non-Officials' Perception of Images :

This chapter is concerned with the perception of officials and non-officials' reciprocal images which will help us indirectly to assess the relationship between the two. An effective measurement to evaluate one's role and functions in relation to the other is the image one has of the other and vice-versa. Images and outlooks, as Bjorkman observes, "are not, of course, figments of the imagination; they are real events that influence behaviour. Images are significant in political and social conduct because no one has time or information, nor does any one have resources to know everything about everybody. Images of oneself and opinions about others, which also reinforce each other, are used to simplify the complexities of reality".¹ In W.I.Thomas's phrase, "What is believed to be real has real consequences".² Other authors observe that "Images represent not only the outcome of evaluation a person makes of another but also affect his

orientation towards the object of his evaluation".³ The Dictionary of Behavioural Science defines image as "internal evaluative representation of one's body determined largely by how one thinks it looks to others".⁴ For the purpose of this study, images represent the "outcome of evaluation a person makes of another and also the real events that influence behaviour".

The image officials have of non-officials helps them to orient their behaviour towards their counterparts. One's behaviour towards his counterpart is influenced to a great extent by the former's image of the latter. Two sets of questions relating to image, one for officials and other for non-officials, were prepared to ask questions of all kinds of images to both of them. What the officials think of themselves and what they think of non-officials have an important impact upon the relationship between the two. In the case of officials, the image variables included such dimensions as their fairness and impartiality, their orientation towards work-facilitation, and their disposition towards people as well as political leaders and non-officials. Besides these, other dimensions of officials' images included their innovativeness, propensity to interfere in local affairs, willingness to encourage local initiative and awareness of local problems.

In the case of non-officials, the image variables included non-officials' tendency towards self aggrandizement, their

ignorance of and disrespect towards administrative rules, regulations and procedures, their propensity to create trouble for administration and to promote the welfare of the people.

Questions relating to image were asked to officials and non-officials to collect information about what the officials think of themselves, and what the self images of the non-officials are, and vice versa. Thus it helps us to know how much there is agreement or differences of opinion between the officials and the non-officials. Information collected on the officials' image is stated in the table 6.1.

Table 6.1
Officials' Image : Attributes

Items	Officials			Non-Officials				
	A	PA	D	A	PA	D	O	
Officials are concerned mainly with improving their own prospects	T	17 20.98	9 11.11	55 67.90	65 77.33	4 4.76	12 14.28	3 3.57
	D	5 23.80	2 9.52	14 66.66	12 75.00	1 6.25	2 12.50	1 6.25
	B	9 20.00	5 11.11	31 68.88	36 78.26	2 4.34	6 13.04	2 4.34
	V	3 20.00	2 13.33	10 66.66	17 77.27	1 4.54	4 18.18	-

(Contd...)

Table 6.1 (Contd...)

Items	Officials			Non-Officials				
	A	PA	D	A	PA	D	O	
Officials	T	17	9	55	60	6	16	2
work ignoring	20.98	11.11	67.90	71.42	7.14	19.04	2.38	
the advice of	D	5	2	14	11	1	3	1
others and do	23.80	9.52	66.66	68.75	6.25	18.75	6.25	
whatever they	B	9	5	31	33	3	9	1
like	20.00	11.11	68.88	71.73	6.52	19.56	2.17	
	V	3	2	10	16	2	4	-
	20.00	13.33	66.66	72.72	9.09	18.18		

Keys : Totals may not be exactly one hundred because of rounding.

Officials : 81(21,45,15) Non-officials : 84(16,46,22)

Figures in the parenthesis indicate the percentages.

Table 6.1 presents that 67.90 percent of officials at all levels refuse to agree that the officials are concerned mainly with improving their own prospects. According to officials they are concerned only with the work to which they are assigned to perform. In the performance of their work they strictly follow rules and regulations. Moreover, they told during the discussion that they are concerned with the interest and welfare of the people while administering development programmes but they cannot accommodate the interest of the people beyond rules. The high degree of agreement among the officials indicates that there is homogeneity in group thinking. On the other hand, 77.38 percent

of non-officials agree that the officials are concerned mainly with improving their own prospects. According to non-officials, the officials do not like to take any risk or initiative. The officials believe that there are risks of failure in the performance of any job at their own initiative and for which they may be punished. So they do not like to perform any work that will affect their career. On the second statement, 71.42 percent of non-officials agree that they do work ignoring the advice of others and only do whatever they like. Only 19.04 percent of non-officials disagree with the statement. The data relating to officials' image attributes make it clear that there is no agreement between the officials and the non-officials. The officials have a different image than the non-officials and vice-versa. It is found that the officials and the non-officials have applied two different evaluative standards for expressing their opinions on different issues of officials' image attributes.

Table 6.2

Officials' Image Relating to Fairness and Impartiality

Items	Officials				Non-Officials			
	A	PA	D	O	A	PA	D	O
Officials' guarantee	73 T 90.12	-	8 9.87	-	13 15.47	1 1.19	65 77.38	5 5.95
fair & just treatment for all	19 D 90.47	-	2 9.52	-	2 12.50	1 6.52	.12 75.00	1 6.25

(Contd...)

Table 6.2 (Contd...)

Items	Officials				Non-Officials			
	A	PA	D	O	A	PA	D	O
B 91.11	41		4		7		36	3
V 86.66			8.88		15.21		78.26	6.25
	13		2		4		17	1
			13.33		18.18		77.27	4.54
Officials work in the interest of ruling groups	30	9	42	-	25		57	2
T 37.30		11.11	51.85	-	29.76	-	67.85	2.38
D 38.09	8	2	11		5		11	
B 37.77		9.52	52.38		31.25		68.75	-
	17	5	23		14		31	1
V 33.33		11.11	51.11		30.43		67.39	2.17
	5	2	8		6		15	1
V 33.33		13.33	53.33		27.27		68.18	4.54

Keys : Totals may not be exactly cent percent (100) because of rounding

Figures in the parenthesis indicate the percentages.

A = Agree T = Total; D = District; B = Block; V = Village

PA = Partially Agree

D = Disagree

O = Others

Total no. of officials = 81; Total no. of non-officials = 84

District " = 21 " = 16

Block " = 45 " = 46

Village " = 15 " = 22

Table 6.2 presents that 90 percent of officials at the three levels agree that the officials guarantee fair and just treatment for all. The non-officials on the other hand, hold the opposite view. 77.38 percent of non-officials refuse to agree that the officials guarantee fair and just treatment for all. Though Max Weber pointed out that the bureaucrat must be impartial and neutral, in actual situations it is difficult for them to maintain these characteristics. Several authors also advanced arguments against the impartial character of bureaucracy. The rationality, efficiency and hierarchic characteristics impair fairness and impartiality among the officials. 52.38 percent of officials and 63.75 percent of non-officials refuse to agree that the officials work in the interest of ruling groups. This indicates that the officials consider rules and regulations as the primary guide of their behaviour regarding the implementation of any work. Moreover, the discussion with the scholars and fellows suggests that the officials interpret rules and in the course of doing this job the officials possibly can interpret rules of the organisation in their own way in order to protect their autonomous status and position. Generally speaking, officials are not sent to a place to perform their jobs for a permanent period. After completion of a few years, officials are transferred from one place to another. So the officials are interested for their own benefit than the benefit of the people in the local community while administering development programmes. Officials work in the interest of ruling groups to the extent it does not affect the autonomous status and

position. It is observed from the table 6.2 that 33.33 percent of officials and 29.76 percent of non-officials agree that the officials work in the interest of ruling groups. There is a low degree of agreement between the officials and the non-officials.

Table 6.3
Officials' Image Orientation towards People

Items	Officials				Non-Officials			
	A	PA	D	O	A	PA	D	O
Officials are indifferent to people's difficulties	9 T 11.11	1 1.23	71 87.65	-	63 75.00	5 5.95	15 17.85	1 1.19
	2 D 9.52	1 4.76	18 85.71		12 75.00	1 6.25	3 12.50	-
	5 B 11.11		40 88.88		35 76.08	2 4.54	8 17.39	1 2.17
	2 V 13.33		13 86.66		16 72.72	2 9.09	4 18.18	
Officials are helpful to the people in redressing their problems	75 T 92.52	-	6 7.14	-	24 28.57	9 10.71	50 59.52	1 1.19
	19 D 90.47		2 9.52		4 25.00	2 12.50	10 62.50	-
	42 B 93.33		3 6.52		13 28.26	5 10.86	27 58.62	1 2.17
	14 V 93.33		1 6.66		7 31.87	2 9.09	13 59.09	

Table 6.4

Officials' image orientation towards Political leaders

Items	I				II			
	A	PA	D	O	A	PA	D	O
Officials distrust political leaders	12 T 14.31	4 4.93	65 80.24	-	57 67.85	6 7.10	19 22.61	2 2.38
	3 D 14.28	1 4.76	17 80.95		11 68.75	1 6.25	3 18.75	1 6.25
	7 B 15.55	2 4.44	36 80.00		31 67.39	4 8.69	10 21.73	1 2.17
	2 V 13.33	1 6.66	12 80.00		15 68.13	2 9.09	5 22.72	-
Officials do not appreciate the difficulties of politicians	10 T 12.34	20 24.69	49 60.49	2 1.23	51 60.71	21 25.00	10 11.90	2 2.38
	3 D 14.28	5 23.30	13 61.90		10 62.50	4 25.00	2 12.50	-
	6 B 13.33	11 24.44	27 60.00	1 2.22	28 60.36	12 26.08	5 10.86	1 2.17
	1 V 6.66	4 25.00	9 60.00	1 6.56	13 59.09	5 22.72	3 13.63	1 4.54

Keys : Total may not be exactly cent percent (100) because of rounding.

Figures in the parenthesis indicate the percentages.

T = Total; D = District; B = Block; V = Village

Total number of officials : 31; Non-officials : 34

District " : 21 " : 16

Block " : 45 " : 46

Village " : 15 " : 22

A = Agree; PA = Partially Agree; D = Disagree; O = Others.

Table 6.3 presents that more than 35 percent of officials at the three levels disagree with the statement that the officials are indifferent to people's difficulties. But 75.00 percent of the non-officials agree with the statement. The reason may be that they might have an urban background and this created some apathy towards the people at the rural areas. The officials do not try to realise the problems of rural people and are not also eager to solve the problems. It is also confirmed by the fact that almost 59 percent of non-officials at the three levels disagree with the statement that the officials are helpful to the people in redressing their problems. On the other hand, more than 90 percent of officials at the three levels agree that they are helpful to the people in redressing their problems. The above table presents that there is no agreement between the officials and the non-officials.

The extent to which officials are oriented towards political leaders can be examined from the Table 6.4. Responses presented in the table can be classified into two types : one is functional relationship and the other is personal relationship based on mutual trust and appreciation. Both patterns of relationship are absent in the behaviour of officials according to non-officials. 67.85 percent of non-officials agree that the officials distrust political leaders and 60.71 percent of non-officials also agree that they do not appreciate the difficulties of politicians. So there is an agreement among the non-officials

on the issue of officials' trust and appreciation of difficulties of politicians. On the other hand, the officials hold an opposite view on these issues. 80.24 percent of officials state that officials trust political leaders and 60.49 percent of officials appreciate the difficulties of politicians. It is evident that the officials hold more or less similar opinion. The reason for this may be that the officials accepted the democratic process of politics to the extent the leaders of democratic organisation follow its rules and procedures.

The non-officials' image as perceived by the officials and by themselves towards the people and officials will be discussed now. There is a great deal of agreement between the officials and the non-officials but there is a little amount of disagreement or difference between them on several image dimensions.

Table 6.5

Non-Officials' Image : Interest Identification

Items	Officials				Non-Officials			
	A	PA	D	O	A	PA	D	O
1. Leaders work in their self interest	24 T 28.57	7 8.64	49 60.49	1 1.23	23 27.38	6 7.14	54 64.28	1 1.19
B	6 28.88	2 8.98	13 60.00	- 2.22	4 28.26	1 8.69	11 60.86	- 2.17
V	5 33.33	1 6.66	9 60.00	- 27.27	6 4.54	1 68.78	15 -	-

(Contd...)

Table 6.5 (Contd...)

2 Items	Officials				Non-Officials			
	A	PA	D	O	A	PA	D	O
2. Politicians are concerned mainly with furthering the interest of their own relatives and friends	45 T 55.55	12 14.81	23 28.39	1 1.23	37 44.04	6 7.40	39 46.42	2 2.38
	11 D 52.38	3 14.28	6 28.57	1 4.76	7 43.75	1 6.25	7 43.75	1 6.25
	25 B 55.55	7 15.55	13 28.88	-	20 43.47	3 6.25	22 47.82	1 2.17
	9 V 60.00	2 13.33	4 26.66		10 45.45	2 9.09	10 45.45	-
3. Politicians care for peoples welfare	38 T 46.91	9 11.11	32 39.50	2 2.46	53 63.09	9 10.71	19 22.61	3 3.57
	10 D 47.61	2 9.52	8 38.09	1 4.76	10 62.50	2 12.50	3 18.75	1 6.25
	21 B 46.66	5 11.11	18 40.00	1 2.22	29 63.04	5 10.86	10 21.73	2 4.34
	7 V 46.44	2 13.33	6 40.00	-	14 63.63	2 9.09	6 27.27	-

Keys : Officials : 81; Non-officials : 84

Dist. " : 21; " " : 16

Block " : 45; " " : 46

Village " : 15; " " : 22

A : Agree; PA : Partially Agree; D : Disagree; O : Others.

Totals may not be exactly cent percent (100) because of rounding.

Figures in the parenthesis indicate the percentages.

T = Total; D = District; B = Block; V = Village.

It may be observed from the Table 6.5 that there is total disagreement between the officials and the non-officials on the statement "Leaders work in their self interest". 60.49 percent of officials and 64.28 percent of non-officials agree that they give priority to their self interest. However, on the second statement there is a small measure of agreement among the non-officials on the question of furthering the interest of their relatives and friends. 44.04 percent of non-officials agree that the politicians are concerned mainly with furthering the interest of their relatives and friends. On the other hand, 55.55 percent of officials also consider that the political leaders are concerned with parochial interest. So the responses indicate that the leaders do not work for their self interest but they express to work for furthering the interest of their relatives and friends. The reason for this may be that the non-officials, in order to seek re-election in future, try to satisfy the needs and demands of their relatives and friends. The third statement deals with the question of non-officials' image orientation towards the welfare of the people. It may be observed that according to 46.91 percent of officials, politicians care for people's welfare. 39.50 percent of officials refuse to agree with the statement. On the other hand, 63.09 percent of non-officials agree that they are concerned with the welfare of the people. Again, 11.11 percent of officials partially agree with the statement. This indicates that the non-officials are not unconcerned with public welfare though very few officials disagree with the statement.

Table 6.6
Non-Officials' : Image Attributes

Items	Officials				Non-Officials				
	A	PA	D	O	I	A	PA	D	O
Leaders are generally cooperative with officials	29 T 35.80	7 8.64	44 54.32	1 1.23	59 70.23	13 15.47	12 14.28	-	
	7 D 38.09	2 9.52	12 57.14		11 68.75	2 12.50	3 18.75		
	16 B 35.55	4 8.88	24 53.33	1 2.22	33 71.73	7 15.21	6 13.04		
	6 V 40.00	1 6.66	8 50.00		15 68.18	4 18.18	3 13.62		
Leaders do not trust officials	35 T 43.20	8 9.87	35 43.20	3 3.70	12 14.28	4 4.76	68 80.95		
	9 D 42.85	2 9.52	9 42.85	1 4.76	2 12.50	1 6.25	13 81.25		
	19 B 42.22	5 11.11	19 42.22	2 4.44	7 15.21	2 4.34	37 80.43		
	7 V 46.56	1 6.66	7 46.66		3 13.63	1 4.54	18 31.81		
Leaders create troubles for the officials	57 T 70.37	8 9.37	15 18.51	1 1.23	4 4.76	12 14.28	68 80.95		
	15 D 71.42	2 9.52	4 19.04	-	1 6.25	2 12.50	13 81.25		
	32 B 71.11	4 8.88	8 17.77	1 2.22	2 4.34	7 15.21	37 80.43		
	10 V 66.66	2 13.33	3 20.00	-	1 4.54	3 13.63	18 81.81		

Keys : Total may not be exactly cent percent (100) because of rounding.

Total Number of Officials : 81; Total Number of Non-Officials : 84
District " : 21 " " : 16
Block " : 45 " " : 46
Village " : 15 " " : 22

Figures in the parenthesis indicate the percentages.

A : Agree; PA : Partially Agree; D : Disagree; O : Others.

T : Total; D : District; B : Block; V : Village.

Table 6.6 presents non-officials' image attributes as perceived by themselves and by officials at the three levels of Panchayati Raj institutions of the Malda district. It is observed from the Table that there is no agreement between the officials and the non-officials on the question of non-officials' image attributes relating to cooperation, mutual trust and creation of troubles for the officials. Only on the first and second statements there is very low degree of agreement between the officials and the non-officials. 35.30 percent of officials and 70.23 percent of non-officials agree that the leaders are generally cooperative with the officials. 43.20 percent of officials and 80.95 percent of non-officials refused to agree that the leaders do not trust officials. The nature of frequency distribution gives the impression that a closer relationship with officials is encouraged by a large group of non-officials. A large majority of non-officials also cooperate with officials. On the other hand, 54.32 percent of officials refuse to agree that leaders are

cooperative. 43.20 percent of officials also agree that the leaders do not trust officials. 70.37 percent of officials and only 4.76 percent of non-officials agree and 14.28 percent of non-officials partially agree that the leaders create troubles for the officials. According to officials, the non-officials' involvement in the power struggle and identity of themselves with friends and relatives' interest may be considered important factors responsible for creating troubles for the officials.

Summing up the discussion, it is found that the non-officials and the officials in perception of their image attributes agreed on some occasions and disagreed on many issues of image-dimensions. The data make it clear that the officials and the non-officials hold a very high opinion about themselves. Sometimes leaders did not hesitate to hold a very unfavourable opinion about their own attributes. The non-officials cooperate with and trust officials. They are also concerned with public welfare and on some occasions they try to identify themselves with the interest of the friends and relatives. Officials hold that they are helpful to the people and the leaders. They guarantee fair and just treatment for all as well as they appreciate the difficulties of politicians.

NOTES AND REFERENCES TO CHAPTER VI

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2. Cited in Bjorkman's Politics of Administrative Alienation in India's Rural Development Programmes, p.57.
3. Roy, Ramashray and Shanti Kothari, "Relations between Politicians and Administrators at the District Level", Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi, 1981, p.90.
4. Benjamin B.Wolman (ed.), "Dictionary of Behavioural Science", The Macmillan Press Ltd. United States of America, 1973, p.183.

CHAPTER-VII

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE OFFICIALS AND THE NON-OFFICIALS AT THE THREE
LEVELS OF PANCHAYATI RAJ INSTITUTIONS IN THE MALDA DISTRICT

CHAPTER VII

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE OFFICIALS AND THE NON-OFFICIALS AT THE THREE LEVELS OF PANCHAYATI RAJ INSTITUTIONS IN THE MALDA DISTRICT

7.1 Relations Between the Officials and the Non-Officials :

This chapter is concerned with the nature of the relationship pattern between the officials and the non-officials at the three levels of Panchayati Raj institutions in the Malda district. Relationship indicates the nature of behaviour that is associated with the role of the actors. The relationship between the officials and the non-officials depends upon the extent to which the roles are performed and norms are accepted, internalised and translated in to actual behaviour.

The introduction of democracy, development and decentralisation in the new Panchayati Raj institutions involved officials and non-officials in interactions of unprecedented dimensions and scope. Subtle, complex and dynamic phenomena of interactions may arise between them due to incongruous normative orientations and image perceptions. Interactions may also be created by the actions and reactions of social processes as conflict, cooperation and

competition. The relation between officials and non-officials can be determined in a concrete situational context by the kinds of problems and demands which non-officials bring to officials and the pressures they put on officials and their effect on administration.

So, in this section, an attempt is made to examine the reciprocal role-perception of one in relation to the other, the divisions of function of each actor and a few behavioural dimensions of interaction between the officials and the non-officials.

Reciprocal-roles perceived by the officials and the non-officials have been asked by a set of four alternative statements. The respondents were asked to express their opinion about the four statements which describe what should be the relationship between themselves and the other role-incumbents.

These four statements form a continuum, one end of which provides autonomous role of the officials without reference to non-officials, and the last statement, the other end of the continuum, represents non-officials' autonomous role without reference to officials. The remaining statements are reciprocal role-definitions. The information thus collected is presented in the table 7.1.

Table 7.1
Reciprocal Role-perception

Alternative Statements		Officials	Non- Officials
1. While performing his duties an official should have nothing to do with political leaders	T	26 (32.09)	16 (19.04)
	D	7 (33.33)	3 (18.75)
	B	14 (33.33)	9 (19.56)
	V	5 (33.33)	4 (18.18)
2. Once he has explained Govt. policies and rules to the leaders the officials' responsibility to them should end	T	24 (29.52)	3 (9.52)
	D	6 (23.57)	2 (12.50)
	B	14 (31.11)	4 (3.69)
	V	4 (26.66)	2 (9.09)
3. The official should consult local leaders and enlist their support and cooperation in his work	T	31 (38.27)	55 (66.66)
	D	8 (33.09)	10 (63.75)
	B	17 (37.37)	31 (57.39)
	V	5 (40.00)	15 (63.33)
4. The officials should be mainly guided by the advice of political leaders	T	0 (0.00)	4 (4.76)
	D	0 (0.00)	1 (6.25)
	B	0 (0.00)	2 (4.34)
	V	0 (0.00)	1 (4.54)

Totals may not be exactly cent percent (100) because of rounding
 Figures in the parenthesis indicate the percentages.

Total No. of Officials :	81;	Total No. of Non-Officials :	84
District	"	:	21
Block	"	:	45
Village	"	:	15

T : Total; D : District; B : Block; V : Village.

Table 7.1 presents that 32.09 percent of the officials feel that while performing their duties officials should have nothing to do with political leaders. This indicates that they are not willing to involve political leaders in the performance of their duties. Only 29.52 percent of officials expressed that once they have explained government policies and rules to political leaders, their responsibility to them should end. These officials consider themselves responsible for explaining government policies to political leaders. It signifies that these officials will only explain government policies but will not submit themselves to the pressures of political leaders. Here, again, they have maintained their autonomous role. But a lower percentage of village officials (26.55) as against the district and block consider that they remain responsible only for explaining government policies to political leaders. This indicates that the interaction is not unlimited at this stage. The structure of the Panchayati Raj institutions is such that the village officials are not exclusively the employees of the State Government though they enjoy similar kinds of facilities like the other government employees of the different departments. The village officials like

Secretaries and Job Assistants are appointed on the basis of the recommendation of the Gram Panchayat. According to village officials, non-officials can pursue at the higher level for declaring themselves as a purely government-staff. However, 38.27 percent of officials feel that the officials should consult local leaders and enlist their support and cooperation in their work. It is interesting to note that these officials do not hesitate to recognise that the officials should consult non-officials and enlist their support and cooperation in their work. The closest observation of this item revealed that they did not want to conceal the conception of their autonomous role. They only recognised the participatory role in the implementation of policies and programmes of the Panchayati Raj keeping in view of the pattern of decentralised democracy. A large section of the officials has not yet accepted the collaborative role of the non-officials in implementing programmes. The officials agree that they should consult and enlist their support and cooperation but they do not allow the non-officials to interfere in their freedom of actions. However, 40.00 percent of officials at the village level as against 33.09 percent and 37.77 percent of officials at the district and block levels respectively consider that they should consult and enlist the support and cooperation of the local leaders in their work.

Coming to the pattern of responses to the non-officials' role-perception, it is found that 19.04 percent of non-officials agree that an official should have nothing to do with the

non-officials in the performance of their duties. Only 9.52 percent of non-officials feel that the officials' responsibility should end after explaining government rules to them. It is found here that a majority of the non-officials did not agree that the officials will play a dominant role in development programmes. They wanted a participatory role. This is confirmed by the fact that 66.66 percent of non-officials think that the officials should not only consult but also enlist their support and cooperation in the officials' work. Only 4.75 percent of non-officials think that the officials should be mainly guided by the advice of non-officials.

7.1.1 Distribution of Functions :

In the above analysis there was a great deal of difference between the officials and the non-officials about role-attributes perceived by one another. An attempt is made here to consider the extent of agreement or disagreement between the officials' and non-officials on the distribution of decisional areas concerning both. Generally or theoretically, it can be said that the non-officials are primarily responsible for making policies and programmes of the Panchayati Raj institutions and the officials for implementing policies and programmes. But in actual practice, it is very difficult to demarcate the area of jurisdiction by drawing a sharp line between them. If the non-officials lack awareness of their functions, the officials may

exercise powers over them. On the other hand, non-officials, in order to satisfy their groups, may enter in the area of officials' jurisdiction. So there is the possibility of constant overlapping of functions between them. Moreover, it is important to see how far interacting groups, officials and non-officials, accept and respect the legitimacy of any pattern of division of labour. If there is no agreement, it will result in conflict and tension.

Officials and non-officials were asked a series of similar questions to express their opinion on the distribution of functions. The respondents were provided with four response categories : 'primarily officials', 'primarily non-officials', 'both' and 'none'. The information of these responses is presented in the table 7.2 and 7.3.

Table 7.2

Officials and Non-Officials : Views of Division of Functions
(Actual)

Items	Officials				Non-Officials			
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
1. Formula	F	7	59	15	-	1	61	22
		8.64	72.33	18.51	-	1.19	72.61	26.19
-tion of	D	2	15	4	-	12	4	
broad		9.52	71.42	19.04		75.00	25.00	
policies	B	4	33	9	-	1	33	12
		8.38	73.33	17.77		2.17	71.73	26.08
V	1	11	3			16	6	
		6.66	73.33	20.00		72.72	27.27	

Table 7.2 (Contd...)

Items	Officials				Non-Officials			
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
2. Fixing priorities for programme implementation	T D B V	23 7 16 5	29 8 16 5	24 6 13 5	- - - -	37 7 20 10	31 6 17 3	16 19.04 13.75 13.13
		34.56 33.33 35.55 33.33	35.30 33.09 35.55 33.33	29.62 28.57 28.83 33.33		44.04 43.75 43.47 45.45	36.90 37.50 36.95 36.36	
3. Distribution of loans	R D B V	30 3 17 5	9 2 5 2	42 11 23 3	- - - -	21 4 12 5	7 1 4 2	56 56.66 58.75 53.33
		37.03 33.09 37.77 33.33	11.11 9.52 11.11 13.33	51.35 52.38 51.11 53.33		25.00 25.00 26.08 22.72	3.33 5.25 3.69 9.09	56.66 58.75 55.21 53.33
4. Selection of sites for new programmes	T D B V	9 2 5 2	15 4 3 3	57 15 32 10	- - - -	12 2 7 3	28 5 16 7	44 9 23 12
		11.11 9.52 11.11 13.33	13.51 19.04 17.77 20.00	70.37 71.42 71.11 66.66		14.23 12.50 15.55 13.63	33.33 31.25 34.43 31.31	52.33 56.25 50.00 54.54

(Contd...)

Table 7.2 (Contd...)

Items	Officials				Non-Officials			
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
5. Recruitment of Village	T 41 50.61	7 3.60	3 40.94	-	47 55.95	7 3.33	30 35.71	-
/Block/	D 11 52.33	2 9.52	3 33.09	-	9 56.25	1 6.25	5 37.50	-
District	B 23 51.11	4 3.33	18 40.00	-	26 56.52	3 6.52	17 36.95	-
Staff	V 7 46.66	1 5.66	7 45.66	-	12 54.54	3 13.33	7 31.31	-
6. Arranging Staff	T 46 56.79	11 13.53	24 29.62	-	52 61.90	10 11.90	22 26.19	-
transfers	D 12 57.14	3 14.23	5 28.57	-	10 62.50	2 12.50	4 25.00	-
	B 26 56.52	6 13.04	13 28.26	-	29 63.04	6 13.04	11 23.91	-
	V 3 53.33	2 13.33	5 33.33	-	13 59.09	2 9.09	7 31.31	-
7. Evaluation of the	T 77 95.06	-	4 4.93	-	76 90.47	-	3 9.52	-
work of	D 20 95.23	-	1 4.75	-	15 93.75	-	1 5.25	-
the offi- cials	B 43 95.55	-	2 4.44	-	41 39.13	-	5 10.86	-
Staff	V 14 93.33	-	1 5.66	-	20 90.90	-	2 9.09	-

(Contd...)

Table 7.2 (Contd...)

Items	Officials				Non-Officials			
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
8. Awarding promotion to the Staff	T D B V	76 20 42 14	- - - -	5 1 3 1	6.17 4.76 5.56 5.56	- - - -	75 14 41 20	89.23 87.53 89.13 90.90
9. Dismissing Staff members	T D B V	77 20 43 14	- - - -	4 1 2 1	4.93 4.76 4.44 5.56	- - - -	76 15 41 20	90.47 93.75 89.13 90.90
10. Writing confidential reports of the Staff members	T D B V	76 20 42 14	- - - -	5 1 3 1	6.17 4.76 6.66 5.56	- - - -	73 14 40 19	85.90 87.50 86.95 86.36
								11 2 6 3
								13.09 12.50 13.04 13.63

Keys : 1 stands for Primarily Officials;

2 " " " Non officials/Leaders;

3 " " Both

4 " " None

Total No. of Officials : 81; Leaders/Non-officials : 34

District " : 21 " : 16

Block " : 45 " : 46

Village " : 15 " : 22

It is observed from Table 7.2 that 72.33% of officials and 72.61% of non officials told that the non officials remain primarily responsible for the formulation of broad policies. 43% of officials and 42.35% of non officials emphasized that a large number of policies are formulated on the basis of joint consultation. Moreover, only 19.75 percent of officials stated that they should be responsible for the formulation of broad policies. The officials have a role to play in the formulation of broad policies because they supply the relevant information. Again, they sometimes give advice and suggestions, though not obligatory, in the matter of policy formulation. On the second item, data reveal that 34.56 percent of officials and 44.04 percent of non-officials think that it is the responsibility of the officials. Again, 35.30 percent of officials and 36.90 percent of non-officials think that it is the responsibility of non-officials. On the other hand, 52.96 percent of officials think that it should be the responsibility of both and 59.52 percent of non-officials feel that it should be the responsibility of

themselves. On the third item, 51.35 percent of officials consider that it is the responsibility of both. More than sixty five percent of non-officials prepare the list of selected persons for loan and this is implemented by the officials. Table 7.3 also presents more or less the same response. This table presents that 59.25 percent of officials and 69.04 percent of non-officials consider that it should be the responsibility of both. On the question relating to selection of sites for new programmes, 70.39 percent of official and 52.33 percent of non-officials feel that it is the responsibility of both the officials and non-officials, whereas, 33.33 percent of non-officials feel that they are responsible. Table 7.3 also indicate that 67.90 percent of officials feel that it should be the responsibility of both. However, 60.71 percent of non-officials feel that they should be responsible.

It is observed from the above that the officials emphasize joint responsibility for decision making but the non-officials think that it is their responsibility. This indicates the lack of awareness about their own role in policy decisional areas. These differences of opinion and attitude may lead to the violation of role boundaries and overstepping into the areas of each other which results in tensions, conflict and a constant tug of war.

Table 7.3

Officials and Non-officials : Views on Division of functions.
(Should be)

Items	Officials				Non-Officials			
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
1. Formulation of broad policies	T 16 19.75	26 32.09	39 43.14	-	1 1.19	47 55.95	36 42.85	-
	D 4 19.04	7 33.33	10 47.51	-		9 56.25	7 43.75	-
	B 9 20.00	15 33.33	21 46.66	-	1 2. 17	26 56.52	19 41.30	-
	V 3 20.00	4 26.66	3 53.33	-		12 54.54	10 45.45	-
2. Fixing priorities for programme implementation	T 17 20.98	13 16.04	51 62.96	-	4 4.76	50 59.52	30 35.71	-
	D 4 19.04	3 14.28	14 56.66	-		10 62.50	6 37.50	-
	B 10 22.22	7 15.55	23 52.22	-	3 6.52	27 53.69	16 34.73	-
	V 3 20.00	3 20.00	9 50.00	-	1 4.54	13 59.09	3 36.66	-
3. Distribution of loans	T 24 29.62	9 11.11	48 59.25	-	13 21.42	8 9.52	58 69.04	-
	D 6 28.57	2 9.52	13 51.90	-	3 18.75	2 9.09	11 63.75	-
	B 14 31.11	5 11.11	26 57.77	-	10 21.73	4 3.69	32 69.56	-
	V 4 26.66	2 13.33	9 60.00	-	5 22.72	2 9.09	15 68.33	-

(Contd...)

Table 7.3 (Contd...)

Items	Officials				Non-Officials			
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
4. Selection of sites for new programmes	T 14 17.28	12 14.81	5 67.90	-	12 14.28	51 60.71	21 25.00	-
	D 4 19.04	3 14.23	14 66.66	-	2 12.50	10 62.50	4 25.00	-
	B 8 17.77	7 15.55	30 66.66	-	6 13.04	28 60.86	12 26.08	-
	V 2 13.33	2 13.33	11 73.33	-	4 13.18	13 59.09	5 22.72	-
5. Recruitment of village block/ district staff	T 74 91.35	-	7 3.64	-	32 38.09	15 17.85	37 44.04	-
	D 19 90.47	-	2 9.52	-	5 37.52	3 13.75	7 43.75	-
	B 41 91.11	-	4 9.33	-	13 39.19	3 17.39	20 43.47	-
	V 14 93.33	-	1 6.56	-	8 36.36	4 13.18	10 45.45	-
6. Arranging staff transfers	T 74 91.35	-	7 3.54	-	76 90.47	-	3 9.52	-
	D 19 90.47	-	2 9.52	-	15 93.75	-	1 6.25	-
	B 41 91.11	-	4 9.33	-	43 93.47	-	3 6.52	-
	V 14 93.33	-	1 6.56	-	18 81.81	-	4 19.04	-

(Contd...)

Table 7.3 (Contd...)

Items	Officials				Non-Officials			
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
7. Evaluation of the work	T 75 92.59	6 7.40	77 91.66	7 9.33				
D 19 90.47	2 9.52	15 93.75	1 6.25					
B 42 93.33	3 5.56	42 91.30	4 8.69					
V 14 93.33	1 6.56	20 90.90	2 9.09					
8. Awarding promotion	T 77 95.06	4 4.93	77 91.66	7 9.33				
D 20 95.23	1 4.76	15 93.75	1 6.25					
B 43 95.55	2 4.44	42 91.30	4 8.69					
V 14 93.33	1 5.66	20 90.90	2 9.09					
9. Dismissing staff	T 73 96.29	3 3.70	76 90.47	3 9.52				
D 20 95.23	1 4.76	15 93.75	1 6.25					
B 44 97.77	1 2.22	43 93.47	3 6.52					
V 14 93.33	1 6.66	18 81.81	4 19.04					

(Contd...)

Table 7.3 (Contd...)

Items	Officials				Non-Officials			
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
10. Writing confidential reports of the staff members	T 76 93.82	D 20 95.23	B 42 93.33	V 14 93.33	5 6.17	1 4.76	3 6.66	1 5.56
					77 91.66	15 93.75	43 93.47	19 83.36
								7 8.33
								1 6.25
								3 6.52
								3 9.09

Keys : Totals may not be exactly cent percent (100) because of rounding

Figures in the parenthesis indicate the percentages.

Total no. of Officials : 31; Non-Officials : 34

District " : 21 " : 16

Block " : 45 " : 46

Village " : 15 " : 22

1 : Primarily Officials; 2 : Primarily Non-Officials;

3 : Both; 4 : None.

T : Total; D : District; B : Block; V : Village

Items five to ten fall within the category of routine functions of the officials. There is agreement between officials and non-officials regarding the issues relating to evaluation of the work of the staff, awarding promotion to the staff, dismissing staff members, writing confidential reports of the staff, etc.

Regarding items relating to recruitment of village, block and

district staff, 46.91 percent of officials and 42.85 percent of non-officials express that it is the responsibility of both. This is indicative of the fact that they have violated functional areas pertaining to the recruitment of village, block and district staff. Differences were observed among the non-officials on this issue. Only 31.81 percent of non-officials at the village level as compared to 37.50 percent and 36.95 percent of non-officials respectively at the district and block level consider that it should be responsibility of both. It is also interesting to note that there are differences in the perception of non-officials at the district, block and village level on the issues relating to transfers of staff, evaluation of the officials' work, promotion to the staff, dismissing staff and writing of confidential reports. Higher percentage of district and block officials as compared to village officials consider that they decide about the transfers of staff, evaluation of the work of the staff, promotion to the staff, dismissal of the staff and writing of confidential reports. This indicates that the interactions between the two sets of actors at the district and block levels occur frequently. The reason for this may be that the Zilla Parishad and the Panchayat Samitis have to perform wide range of activities than the Gram Panchayats. Moreover, anti poverty programmes like N.R.E.P. (BIG), R.L.E.G.P and many other functions are not entrusted with the Gram Panchayat. Again, the Malda Zilla

Parishad led by Abdul Alim and adopted a resolution for removal of the Secretary of the Parishad. Copies of the requisitioned meeting were submitted to the Chief Minister, the Minister for Land and Land Revenue and the Panchayat Directorate by the Parishad authorities. Above all, conflict and tension prevail between the officials and the non-officials at the three levels of Panchayati Raj institutions.

Table 7.4

Officials and Non-Officials : Importance of Mutual Contact

Items	1	2	3
1. How important for officials to consult political leaders in discharging their duties.	13(16.04) F D I C B A L S	41(50.64) 3(14.23) 11(52.38) 7(51.11) 23(46.66)	27(33.33) 7(33.33) 15(33.33) 5(33.33)

(Contd.)

Table 7.4 (Contd.)

Items		1	2	3
2. How important for political leaders to contact officials for getting certain things done.	N	54(64.28)	15(17.85)	15(17.85)
	O			
	N	10(62.50)	3(18.75)	3(18.75)
	O			
	F			
	F	30(55.21)	3(17.39)	8(17.39)
	I			
	C	14(63.33)	4(18.18)	4(18.18)
	I			
	A			
	L			
	S			

Keys : Totals may not be exactly cent percent (100) because of rounding.

Figures in the parenthesis indicate the percentages.

Total no. Officials : 81; Non-Officials : 34

District " : 21; Non-Officials : 16

Block " : 45; " : 46

Village " : 15; " : 22

1 : Very Important; 2 : Somewhat Important;

3 : Not Important.

T:Total; D:District; B:Block; V:Village.

Apart from normative referents and reciprocal role perceptions of officials and non-officials, a few behavioural dimensions are important in order to evaluate the interacting role of the two sets of actors. The study attempts to examine to what extent both of them find it important to contact with each other. Table 7.4 presents that only 16.04 percent of officials think it is very important to consult with political leaders in

discharging their duties, whereas, 64.28 percent of non-officials think that it is very important for them to contact with officials. Moreover, there is disagreement between the officials and the non-officials at the three levels of Panchayati Raj institutions on the issues discussed above. It is evident from the data that the non-officials on the one hand, felt a greater need to have mutual contact with officials and on the other hand, officials do not want to relinquish their traditional sense of responsibility. Differences in the perception of officials at the three level are observed on this issue. In the village level 20.00 percent officials as against 14.23 percent and 15.55 percent of officials at the district and block levels respectively consider that it is very important for the officials to consult with political leaders in discharging their duties. Office staff is not adequate at the village level and moreover, there is no technical person for specialised job. Secretary and Job Assistant have to perform the entire work of the Gram Panchayat. Naturally the officials at the village level confront with various types of problems which the higher officials cannot solve. More specifically, to meet up the emergent problems the village officials consider it essential to consult with political leaders at the local level.

Non-officials bring several kinds of problems and demands to the officials for redressal or advice. These demands may be relating to administrative rules, delays in settlement of local

issues in which political parties have taken sides. Information regarding the same thus collected is presented in the table 7.5

Table 7.5

Officials and Non-Officials : Problems of Demand

Items	Officials				Non-Officials			
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
1. Guidance on administrative rules	T	9 11.11	19 23.45	18 22.22	35 43.20	18 21.42	33 39.28	16 19.04
	D	2 9.52	5 23.30	9 23.30	9 42.35	4 25.00	6 37.50	3 18.75
	B	5 11.11	10 22.22	10 22.22	20 44.44	9 19.56	18 39.13	9 19.56
	V	2 13.33	4 26.66	3 20.00	6 40.00	4 18.13	9 40.90	5 13.18
2. Questions about technical matters	T	19 23.45	27 33.33	20 24.69	15 13.51	20 23.80	33 39.28	17 20.23
	D	5 23.30	7 33.33	5 23.30	4 19.04	4 25.00	6 37.50	3 18.75
	B	10 22.22	15 33.33	11 24.44	9 20.00	11 23.90	18 39.13	9 19.56
	V	4 26.66	5 33.33	4 26.66	2 13.33	5 22.72	9 40.90	3 22.72
3. Law and order problems	T	6 7.40	19 23.45	17 20.98	39 48.14	21 25.00	25 29.76	25 29.76
	D	2 9.52	5 23.30	4 19.04	10 47.61	4 25.00	5 31.25	5 31.25
	B	4 8.38	10 22.22	9 20.00	22 48.38	12 26.08	14 30.43	14 30.43
	V	- 26.66	4 26.66	4 26.66	7 46.66	5 22.72	6 27.27	6 27.27

(contd...)

Table 7.5 (Contd...)

Items	Officials				Non-Officials			
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
4. Sanction and appro- val for loan	T	46 56.79	21 25.92	4 4.93	10 12.34	42 50.00	21 25.00	9 10.71
	D	12 57.14	5 23.30	1 4.76	3 14.28	8 50.00	4 25.00	2 12.50
	B	26 57.77	12 26.56	2 4.44	5 11.11	23 50.00	12 26.30	5 10.36
	V	3 53.33	4 26.56	1 5.66	2 13.33	11 50.00	5 22.72	2 9.09
5. Problems of admini- strative delay	T	11 13.53	32 39.50	15 13.51	23 23.39	53 63.09	18 21.42	6 7.14
	D	3 14.23	3 33.09	4 19.04	6 23.57	10 62.50	3 19.75	1 6.25
	B	6 13.33	13 40.00	3 17.77	13 23.33	29 63.04	10 21.73	3 6.52
	V	2 13.33	5 40.00	3 20.00	4 26.62	14 63.63	5 22.72	2 9.09
6. Issues about conflict between groups	T	10 12.34	14 14.23	15 13.51	42 51.35	9 10.71	20 23.80	33 39.23
	D	2 9.52	4 19.04	4 19.04	11 52.38	2 12.50	4 25.00	6 37.50
	B	6 13.33	3 17.77	3 17.77	23 51.11	4 10.36	11 23.91	18 39.13
	V	2 13.33	2 13.33	3 20.00	8 53.33	2 9.09	5 22.72	9 40.90
<hr/>								

(Contd...)

Keys : Total no. of Officials : 81; Non-Officials : 84

District " : 21; " : 16

Block " : 45; " : 46

Village " : 15; " : 22

1 Stands for 'Frequently'; 2 Stands for 'Sometimes';

3 Stands for 'Rarely'; 4 Stands for 'Never'.

Figures in the parenthesis indicate the percentages.

Totals may not be exactly cent percent (100) because of rounding.

Table 7.5 indicates that non-officials and officials at all levels of Panchayati Raj institutions hold similar opinion on the question of 'sanction and approval for loans', 'issues about technical matters', 23.45 percent of officials and 23.30 percent of non-officials feel that questions about technical matters are approached officials frequently. Again, 33.33 percent of officials and 39.23 percent of non-officials feel that this is discussed sometimes. Only 12.34 percent of officials and 10.71 percent of non-officials agree that 'Issues about conflict between local groups are frequently discussed. Moreover, 17.23 percent of officials and 23.30 percent of non-officials feel that the statement is discussed sometimes. One may normally expect that the non-officials will often approach the problem of 'administrative delay', 'issues about conflict between local groups'. But actually, Table 7.5 presents a different version of the story. Non-officials often approach officials for sanctioning of their projects or funds. They hardly ask for administrative rules and administrative delays. More than

fourty percent of officials told that the non-officials never bring problems relating to administrative rules and 51.35 percent of officials told that the non-officials hardly consult officials on the problems relating to conflict between local groups. Again, 48.14 percent of officials told that the non-officials never bring law and order problems to them. Almost thirty percent of officials told that the non-officials never consult officials on the problems of administrative delay.

Information of non-officials presented in the Table 7.5 represents a different story. More than sixty percent of non-officials reported that they frequently consulted officials on the problems relating to administrative delays. If the problems are ranked from high to low preferences after combining two response categories, namely, frequently, sometimes it will be like this : Administrative delays (34.51); Sanction and approval for loans (75.00); Technical matters (63.03) Administrative rules (62.50); Law and order problems (54.76); Local conflicts (34.51). Rank of the responses of the officials on these items is like this. Sanction and approval for loans (32.71); Technical matters (56.73); Administrative delays (53.03); Administrative rules (34.56); Law and order problems (30.45); Group conflicts (29.62).

Table 7.5

Officials and Non-officials : Contact for Partisan and Universal Interest

Items	Officials				Non-Officials			
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Personal problem	T 19 23.45	29 35.30	11 13.58	22 27.16	5 5.95	10 10.71	11 13.09	58 69.04
	D 5 23.30	3 38.09	3 14.28	5 23.80	1 6.25	2 12.50	2 12.50	11 63.75
	B 10 23.22	16 35.55	6 13.33	3 23.33	3 6.52	5 10.36	6 13.40	32 69.56
	V 4 26.66	5 33.33	2 13.33	4 26.66	1 4.54	3 13.63	3 13.63	15 63.38
Problems of relatives/ friends	T 25 30.36	31 38.27	9 11.11	16 19.75	7 8.64	10 10.71	13 15.47	54 64.23
	D 7 33.33	3 33.09	2 9.52	4 19.04	1 6.25	2 12.50	2 12.50	11 63.75
	B 13 28.38	18 40.00	5 11.11	9 20.00	4 8.59	5 10.86	7 15.55	30 65.21
	V 5 33.33	5 33.33	2 13.33	3 20.00	2 9.09	3 13.63	4 13.13	13 59.09
Problems of his own caste- group	T 14 17.23	16 19.75	12 14.81	39 43.14	3 9.52	10 10.71	28 33.33	38 45.23
	D 3 14.23	4 19.04	4 19.04	10 47.61	1 6.25	2 12.50	6 37.50	7 43.75
	B 8 17.77	9 20.00	5 13.33	22 43.83	4 8.59	5 13.04	15 32.50	21 45.65
	V 3 20.00	3 20.00	2 13.33	7 46.66	3 13.52	2 9.09	7 31.31	10 45.45

(Contd...)

Table 7.6 (Contd...)

Items	Officials				Non-Officials			
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
Problems of his own groups or political party	T 14 17.23	16 19.75	12 14.31	39 43.14	19 22.61	31 36.90	16 19.04	13 21.42
	D 3 14.28	4 19.04	4 19.04	10 47.61	3 18.75	6 37.50	3 18.75	4 25.00
	B 3 17.77	9 20.00	6 13.33	22 43.38	11 23.91	17 36.95	9 19.56	9 19.56
	V 3 20.00	3 20.00	2 13.33	7 46.66	5 22.72	3 36.36	4 13.13	5 22.72
Problems of the people of the area	T 4 4.93	10 12.34	20 24.69	47 53.02	61 72.61	23 27.38	-	-
	D 1 4.76	3 14.23	5 23.30	12 57.14	12 75.00	4 25.00		
	B 2 4.44	5 11.11	11 24.44	27 50.00	34 73.91	12 26.09		
	V 1 6.66	2 13.33	4 25.66	8 53.33	15 63.33	7 31.31		

Totals may not be exactly one hundred (100) because of rounding.

Keys : Total No. of officials : 81; Non-Officials : 34

District " : 21; " : 15

Block " : 45; " : 46

Village " : 15; " : 22

1 : Frequently; 2 : Sometimes; 3 : Rarely; 4 : Never.

T : Total; D : District; B : Block; V : Village.

Interest articulation is one of the important functions of a political party. Aggregating the interests of various sections, groups or political parties, the non-officials press claims to seek help from officials. The non-officials may create pressure on officials on matters relating either to their personal benefit or the interest of their relatives, friends, close supporters and the people of their own area. The items containing parochial, partisan and general interest are asked to both the officials and the non-officials. It is interesting to note from the table whether the non-officials contact for parochial, partisan and general interest.

Table 7.6 indicates that the first three items are concerned with parochial interest of the non-officials. It is observed from the Table 7.6 that the majority of the non-officials create pressure upon officials for getting certain things done for their supporters. If the responses are ranked on the basis of two response categories, namely, frequently and sometimes, from high to low preferences, it stands as follows : problems of relatives/ friends (59.13); personal problems (59.25); problems of his own caste-group (37.03).

On the other hand, non-officials have different view. The non-officials refuse to agree that they press to seek help from officials for their personal benefit, benefit of their relatives/ friends, benefit of their groups. Table 7.6 presents lack of agreement between the officials and the non-officials pertaining

to mentioned issues. It is observed from the Table 7.6 that 69.04 percent of non-officials refuse to agree that they contact officials for promoting the interest of their own personal benefit. Again, 64.28 percent of non-officials deny that they press officials for the benefit of their relatives/friends. However, on the fourth item, 37.03 percent of officials and 59.51 percent of non-officials agree that the non-officials put pressure on officials for the interest of their own groups or political party.

It is observed that the village officials and the non-officials have a different opinion on the issue relating to the problems of the caste-group than the district and block officials. Differences in the perception of the officials and the non-officials at the village level are observed as against the district and the block on the item relating to the problems of caste-group. Officials (20.00) and non-officials (13.62) at the village level as against officials (14.28 & 17.77) and non-officials (5.52 & 3.69) at the district and block level consider that the non-officials bring frequently the problems of their own caste-group. The reason for this may be that the village society is still caste ridden to a lesser extent.

It is observed from the above that the non-officials represent general interest but on some occasion they are concerned with partisan and parochial interests. It is the primary duty of the

non-officials to look after the welfare of the people in their own area. Next, the non-officials extend support to their voters through their party-supporters to protect their position in future.

The non-officials bring several kinds of problems for getting certain things done by the officials. The officials when faced with demands, may either ignore or reject. Sometimes the officials reject the demand even if it is reasonable and protect the greater interest of the people. The primary concern of an official is to follow administrative rules and procedure.

Generally, it is believed that the non-officials create pressures upon the officials for getting various things done. The types of pressures they will put on officials depend on the relationship they develop with the officials and its influence on the administrative system as a whole. The non-officials exert pressures on officials such as promise of better career opportunities, offer financial incentives, try to spoil service record, making intervention from political leaders at higher levels, persuasion through friends and relatives, making a public issue by organising agitation and procession etc. Responses collected on the types of pressures put on officials are presented in the Table 7.7.

Table 7.7

Types of Pressures Put on Officials

Items	Officials				Non-Officials				
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	
1. Promise of better career opportunities	T D B V	16 4 9 3	21 6 12 3	20 5 11 4	24 6 13 5	18 3 10 5	22 4 12 6	19 4 11 4	25 5 13 7
		19.75 19.04 20.00 20.00	25.92 28.57 26.56 26.66	24.69 23.80 24.44 25.66	29.62 28.57 28.38 33.33	21.42 18.75 21.17 22.72	26.19 25.00 26.03 27.27	22.61 25.00 23.91 13.18	29.76 31.25 28.26 31.31
2. Offer financial incentives	T D B V	- - -	- 5 10 3	18 16 35 12	53 1 2 1	4 1 4 1	6 1 4 1	11 2 5 3	63 12 34 17
				22.22 23.90 21.73 26.00	77.77 76.19 77.77 30.00	4.76 5.25 4.34 6.25	7.14 6.25 3.69 5.25	13.09 12.50 13.04 13.63	75.00 75.00 73.91 77.77
3. Try to spoil service record	T D B V	12 3 7 2	21 5 12 4	26 7 14 5	22 5 12 4	7 1 4 2	17 3 10 4	19 4 10 5	41 9 22 11
		14.81 14.23 15.55 13.33	25.92 23.30 26.66 26.66	32.09 33.33 31.11 33.33	27.15 28.57 26.66 26.65	3.33 6.25 3.69 12.50	20.23 13.75 21.73 13.18	22.61 25.00 21.73 22.72	43.30 50.00 47.92 50.00

(Contd...)

Table 7.7 (Contd...)

Items	Officials				Non-Officials			
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
4. Making inter-vention	T 59 72.83	17 20.93	4 4.93	1 1.23	43 51.19	20 23.30	11 13.09	10 11.90
from politi-cal leaders at higher levels	D 16 76.19	4 19.04	1 4.76	-	8 50.00	4 25.00	2 12.50	2 12.50
	B 32 71.11	10 22.22	2 4.34	1 2.22	24 52.17	11 23.91	6 13.04	5 10.86
	V 11 73.33	3 20.00	1 6.66	-	11 50.00	5 22.72	3 13.63	3 13.63
5. Persuasion through friends and relatives	T 8 9.37	14 17.28	11 13.58	48 59.25	8 9.52	13 15.47	13 15.47	50 59.52
	D 2 9.52	4 19.04	3 14.23	12 57.14	2 12.50	3 13.75	3 13.75	3 50.00
	B 4 9.33	3 17.77	6 13.33	27 60.00	4 3.69	7 15.21	7 15.21	23 50.36
	V 2 13.33	2 13.33	2 13.33	9 60.00	2 9.09	3 13.63	3 13.63	14 63.63
6. Making a public issue by organisation and procession etc.	T 42 51.35	37 45.69	1 1.23	1 1.23	19 22.52	27 32.14	20 23.30	18 21.42
	D 11 52.38	10 42.61	-	-	4 25.00	5 31.25	4 25.00	3 13.75
	B 23 51.11	20 44.44	1 2.22	1 2.22	10 21.73	15 32.60	1 23.91	10 21.73
	V 3 53.33	7 46.66			5 22.72	7 31.81	5 22.72	5 22.72

Totals may not be exactly cent percent (100) because of rounding. Figures in the parenthesis indicate the percentages.

Total no. of officials : 81; Non-officials 34

District " : 21; " 16

Block " : 45; " 46

Village " : 15; " 22

1 : Frequently; 2 : Sometimes; 3 : Rarely; 4 : Never.

Table 7.7 presents that the non-officials exert pressures, both direct and indirect, upon the officials. Items first to third deal with the question of direct pressures and items fourth to sixth are concerned with indirect pressures. If the responses of the officials are ranked on the basis of combining the first two response categories from high to low preferences, the rank will be as follows : agitation and procession (97.54); leaders' intervention (93.31); better career opportunities (45.67); spoil service record (40.73); persuasion through friends and relatives (27.15); financial incentives (0.00). On the other hand, ranking on the basis of non-officials' responses will be as follows : leaders' intervention (74.99); agitation and procession (54.75); better career opportunities (47.64); try to spoil service record (28.56); persuasion through friends (23.56); financial incentives (11.90). Responses in the table 7.7 indicate that the non-officials prefer to use indirect pressures than direct. It is observed that the differences are observed between the officials and the non-officials at the three levels on several issues, relating to agitation and procession, leaders'

intervention at the higher level, persuasion through friends and relatives etc. A greater number of non-officials (25.00) at the district levels than the block and the village non-officials (21.73, 22.72% respectively) consider that they frequently organise agitation and procession. Higher percentage of officials (76.19) as compared to officials (71.11, 73.33% respectively) at the block and village level express that the non-officials frequently seek intervention of political leaders at the higher levels. Village officials (13.33) as compared to district and block officials (3.83, 9.52) state that the non-officials frequently pursue through friends and relatives, on the other hand, district non-officials (12.50) as against the block and village (3.69, 9.09) told that the non-officials frequently pursue through friends and relatives. All these indicate that interactions at these stages occur more frequently.

The officials in their own positions face a very difficult and conflicting situation when the pressures are put upon them by the non-officials. If they do not submit to the pressures created by the non-officials and strictly follow rules, regulations and procedures which do not show any prejudice or favouritism toward any particular group they may be exposed to retaliatory measures from the non-officials and thus their effectiveness will be reduced. If, on the other hand, the officials accept the pressures they will have to sacrifice the legal rational criteria of decision making. The officials by replacing universalised

norms with expediency considerations may put in danger the entire bureaucratic system. The officials therefore, find out ways and means to counteract pressures from the non-officials. The officials may take several courses to counteract the pressures. For example, they may either seek transfer or try to convince the non-officials about administrative intransigence.

Table 7.3
Officials' Response to Political Leaders' Pressures

Items	Officials				Non-Officials			
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
1. Explain the limitation due to rules	T D B V	65 17 36 12	10 2 6 2	4 1 2 1	2 1 1 -	53 10 29 14	20 4 11 5	10 2 5 3
		30.24 30.95 30.00 30.00	12.34 9.52 13.33 13.33	4.76 4.75 4.44 5.66	2.38 4.76 2.22 -	63.09 62.50 53.04 63.53	23.30 25.00 23.91 22.72	11.90 12.50 10.36 13.63
2. Seek transfer	T D B V	2 1 1 -	9 2 5 2	7 2 4 1	63 16 35 12	24 4 14 6	30 6 16 3	11 2 6 3
		2.46 4.76 2.22 13.33	11.11 9.52 11.11 6.66	3.64 9.52 3.33 6.66	77.77 76.19 77.77 80.00	28.57 25.00 30.43 27.27	35.71 37.50 34.78 36.36	13.09 12.50 13.04 13.63
								19 4 10 5
								22.61 25.00 21.73 22.72

(Contd...)

Table 7.3 (Contd...)

Items	Officials				Non-Officials			
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
3. Refer the matter to the higher authorities	T 22 27.16	39 48.14	16 19.75	4 4.93	31 36.90	37 44.04	16 19.04	-
	D 6 28.57	10 47.61	4 19.04	1 4.76	5 37.50	7 43.75	3 18.75	
	B 12 26.66	22 48.93	9 20.00	2 4.44	16 34.73	21 45.65	9 19.56	
	V 4 26.66	7 46.66	3 20.00	1 5.66	9 40.90	9 40.90	4 13.13	
4. Seek advice from superior officials	T 36 44.44	33 40.74	3 9.37	4 4.93	31 36.90	25 29.76	23 27.33	5 5.95
	D 9 42.35	9 42.35	2 9.52	1 4.75	5 37.50	4 25.00	5 31.25	1 6.25
	B 20 .44.44	19 42.22	4 3.38	2 4.44	16 34.73	14 30.43	13 23.26	3 6.52
	V 7 46.66	5 33.33	2 13.33	1 5.66	9 40.90	7 31.31	5 22.72	1 4.54

Totals may not be exactly cent percent (100) because of rounding.
 Figures in the parenthesis indicate the percentages.

Total no. of officials : 31; Non-Officials : 34

District " : 21; " : 16

Block " : 45; " : 46

Village " : 15; " : 22

1 : Frequently, 2 : Sometimes; 3 : Rarely; 4 : Never.

Table 7.3 presents that there is a fair degree of agreement between the officials and the non-officials on the question of

explaining the limitation due to rules, referring the matter to the higher authorities and seeking advice from superior officials. If the officials' responses relating to leaders' pressures are ranked after combining first two response categories, it will be like this : limitation of rules (92.58); superior officials' advice (35.13); higher authorities (75.30). The data make it clear that the officials are prone towards rigid observance of rules and regulation. The reason for this may be that rules and regulation protect them from becoming an instrument for servicing political leaders.

CHAPTER-VIII

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR
THE FUTURE

CHAPTER-VIII

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR THE FUTURE

3.1 Summary of Findings :

The present study has sought to delineate the nature and problems of the emerging relationship-pattern between the officials and the non-officials at the three levels of Panchayati Raj institutions in the Malda district. Data gathered for this purpose have been made available through interviews of the officials and the non-officials on the basis of a prepared questionnaire and also gathered from documentary sources. This Chapter is concerned initially with highlighting some of the major findings, before offering a few concluding observations and suggestions for improvement.

Situational and contextual factors impinge on the structural and behavioural dimensions of both the officials and the non-officials in the Panchayati Raj administrative system. Considering its importance, an attempt has been made in Chapter Three to study the organisational and structural-functional pattern of

Panchayati Raj before and after the introduction of Panchayat Act, 1973. Such an analysis has provided an important clue to the understanding of the nature of the interacting situations in the present context.

It is observed from the historical survey that the Mughal rulers had introduced a centralised form of administration at the local level and abandoned the idea of 'Village Republic'. Like the Mughals, the British rulers also did not decentralise powers in the hands of the local bodies. Only in the year 1909, an attempt was made, on the basis of the recommendation of the Royal Commission on Decentralisation, to constitute village panchayats with the officials and the non-officials. The non-officials in the village panchayats were elected by the villagers after assembling in a meeting. The village panchayats were entrusted with police and military functions. However, in practice, village panchayats were controlled from the top. So the Panchayats during the British period were characterised as institutions to protect the interests of the British rulers.

After independence, attempts were made to decentralise powers in the hands of the local bodies and consequently, the Balvantray Mehta Committee was set up for this purpose. The recommendations of the Committee were accepted by different States. In West Bengal, the four-tier-Panchayati Raj institutions were set up, consisting of Gram Panchayat, Anchal Panchayat, Anchalik Parishad and the Zilla Parishad. It was observed/^{that} the structure of Panchayati Raj

institution had been inadequate to cope with the idea of democratic decentralisation. The officials were powerful to make policies and execute decisions. The non-officials, though nominated, were very few in number and had actually no power for taking decisions. Very few projects and programmes sponsored by the Central and State Governments were carried out by the officials. The officials only received orders from the superior authority and blindly followed the same at the rural level. Thus the officials established a direct contact with the people at the rural level. The policy-making and implementing function without the effective coordination and participation of the rural people in the Panchayat administrative system did not help to develop legitimate political authority. The rural people organised agitation and demonstration for authoritative allocation of values. The long-felt desire for a rural local government with the representatives elected directly by the people has now been established under the new Panchayat system. Now, it is expected that the officials and the non-officials will change their attitudes, orientations and behaviours and establish a relationship of mutual trust and appreciation.

Effective formulation and implementation of development programmes is possible when the relations between the officials and the non-officials are cooperative and harmonious. If the roles are clearly demarcated, the possibility of animosity and interference either by officials or by non-officials will not

arise. If the officials are rule-oriented they will be rigid, officious and conservative in the performance of their duties. If the non-officials try to satisfy the needs of the people of their own area they will be concerned with narrow interest.

Chapter Four presents the activities and performance of the Panchayati Raj institutions. The institutions implemented various activities of rural development during the period from 1934 to 1937. The important achievements of the institutions were, repair, construction, reconstruction and extension of village roads. Moreover, four hundred fifty four culverts were repaired and constructed. In addition to these, five thousand five hundred fifty one kilometers of road were constructed and repaired. The Panchayati Raj institutions achieved the target in some cases, but in many cases they either failed to reach the target or they did not furnish the physical achievement reports. The discussion makes it clear that the Zilla Parishad has failed to take any decision regarding the sub-allotment of funds of rupees eight lakh thirteen thousand and nine hundred eighty two, which it received in the year 1936. On the other hand, the policy relating to repair and restoration of sixty Primary Schools has not been executed so far. Mr. Abdul Alim, Chairman of the Zilla Parishad, held the Secretary responsible for deliberately obstructing the functions of the Parishad. The Zilla Parishad adopted a resolution for the removal of the Secretary. The Secretary in reply to a reporter's question, told that he did not say anything

to stop any work. It is observed that conflict and tension prevail between the Secretary and the Elected Members of the Zilla Parishad. The State Government also admitted that the developmental work of the Zilla Parishad could not be implemented due to the differences between the Secretary and the Elected Members of the Zilla Parishad.

Rural development is a diversified phenomenon. There are several other agencies which also assist and coordinate Panchayati Raj institutions in the performance of rural development works. An attempt has also been made in Chapter Four to analyse the role and performance of the agencies of rural development. It was observed from the analysis that the Small Farmers' Development Agency had failed to cover all the Blocks of the district. The District Rural Development Agency achieved commendable success in its performances and surpassed the target during the years 1933-34 and 1934-35. The Nationalised Banks suggested the setting up of a Purchase Committee for supplying inputs and taking adequate steps to repay loans. Sericulture industry has also generated an employment opportunity of about one lakh sixty thousand persons, including both part time and whole time, in the rural and sub urban areas of Malda district. This industry has also been confronted with certain difficulties. The people have no experience about the latest technical know-how. The industry has no scientific rearing house. The Comprehensive Area Development Corporation has also achieved commendable performances in certain

fields. The important achievements of CADP have been : distribution of crop loans to the farmers, managerial control over four agro-service stations, distribution of loans to poor families belonging to non-agricultural economic occupations, etc.

The officials' norms and role-perceptions have been examined in Chapter Five. The findings of the study suggest that the officials are prone to administrative rules and regulations. Almost forty five percent of the officials at the three levels have strictly observed rules causing delay in the implementation of development programmes. This is also confirmed by the fact that the Panchayati Raj institutions have failed to reach the target in implementing the schemes of National Rural Employment Programme (both big and normal), Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme, North Bengal Development Programme, Rural Water Supply Programme etc. Again, the Panchayat officials at the district level have failed to execute the policies made in regard to the construction of Primary School buildings. Majority of the officials told that there was no scope for personal initiative. Initiative is considered an important dimension for the officials in order to perform developmental work. The officials at the three levels are men on the spot and situations may arise which need immediate solution. An organisation which does not provide enough scope for personal initiative of the officials, imposes restrictions on the independent activities of the officials as well as immediate dealings with situational factors.

The reason for this low degree of initiative may be that the officials consider rules and regulations as a general guide for administrative behaviour. The officials believe that there are no incentives for any good work. But there are risks of failure for which career may be spoiled. Moreover, major developmental activities of the Panchayati Raj institutions are carried out with the help of the financial grants provided by the Central and State Governments. Funds are allotted for different schemes, NREP (BIG & NORMAL), IRDP, RLEGP etc., to the Panchayati Raj institutions. The Panchayat officials have no authority to divert the funds from one scheme to another.

Officials' responses relating to normative referents and role-perceptions also point out that they try to safeguard their own position and status. This is confirmed by the fact that more than ninety percent of officials agree to take steps against unreasonable demands of leaders. Moreover, thirty seven percent of officials agree that they turn down the demands of non-officials when these are against Government policy even if these are in the interest of the district.

The examination of non-officials' norms and role-perceptions indicates that the non-officials' orientation towards democratic ideals is not strong enough. This is also confirmed by the fact that the non-officials have failed to make policies regarding the allocation of funds amounting to Rs. 91,000/- and Rs. 4,55,000/-

received under G.O.Nos. S431/p/1F-9/35, 3629/p/1F/36 and dated 21.1.36 and 6.10.36 under the North Bengal Development Programme.

Another factor which also weakens the democratic values of the non-officials is the concern of the role of their representatives. To protect the position of the representatives, the non-officials not only put restraints on the freedom of action of the people but also go to the extent of applying pressures on them in order to mould their opinion towards their action or programmes.

The non-officials are not intensely partisan though they belong to a party and are elected on the party basis. They want to make distinction between what is good and what is bad for the local community. They do not take any action programme to further the interest of their party in any unfair manner. They are sincere, obliged on obeying the sanctity of the rule of game. They want to play cooperative role with the officials.

The non-officials have explained their role in terms of constructive intervention in order to remove the administrative ills of the system. Finally, they have played an agitational -interventionist role against unjust and improper action of the officials.

Turning to reciprocal role-perception and images of both the officials and the non-officials, it has been observed that there is no agreement between the officials and the non

-officials on the images and role-perceptions of each of them. The non-officials agree that the officials are interested in improving their own prospects and in working accordingly to their own wishes. The non-officials also disagreed with the fairness and impartiality of the officials. Again, a large number of non-officials also believe that the officials work in the interest of ruling groups. So in regard to personal and professional attributes, the non-officials have a poor image of the officials. Moreover, the non-officials hold the opinion that the officials are not responsive and receptive to the needs, problems and difficulties of the non-officials. Large number of non-officials state that the officials remain indifferent to people's difficulties. Almost fourty percent of non-officials point out that the officials are helpful in redressing the grievances of the people. On this issue responses are comparatively high at the village-level as against the district and block levels. A great number of the non-officials agree that the officials do not appreciate their difficulties and distrust them. All these facts indicate that the non-officials have a poor image of the officials.

The officials, on the other hand, also hold a very poor image of the non-officials. Officials feel that the non-officials are more in favour of protecting parochial and narrow interests. They distrust officials, create troubles for the administration and do not appreciate the difficulties of the officials.

The foregoing discussion points out that the officials and the non-officials hold an adverse view of each other. When one holds poor image of the others it is assumed that the behavioural consequences of such an adverse evaluation will result in disharmonious relationship between the officials and the non-officials. The non-officials who are concerned, on some occasions, with narrow and parochial interest will approach the officials for getting certain things done. The officials will also see whether these things are in conformity with established rules, regulations and procedures. The officials may interpret the rules in an ambivalent manner, refuse compliance with the proposals of the non-officials which will help him to take such a decision and on the other hand, reinforce his position.

The non-officials will try to find out the reasons for refusal and consider officials' indifference to people's needs and difficulties and non-sympathetic attitude to non-officials as the important factors for disregarding the proposals. So the interaction between the officials and the non-officials arises because the two sets of actors want to give priority to their own role performance. This tendency prevents the officials and the non-officials from establishing functional relationship between them and hinders the systemic goal-gratification and consequently, conflict and tension emerge.

An attempt has been made in Chapter Seven to answer the

research queries relating to frequency of the non-officials creating pressures upon the officials for furthering parochial and general interest; frequency of the officials submitting to the pressures created by the non-officials; whether the bureaucrats behave with a sense of injured pride, loss of power, prestige and status on account of the increasing participation and domination of political leaders in the decision making process, etc. The findings of the study relating to the interrelationship between the officials and the non-officials emphatically indicate that the non-officials find it very important to consult officials. On the other hand, very few officials consider that it is important to consult non-officials and a majority of them are unwilling to be guided by the non-officials' advice. This incongruous relationship between the officials and the non-officials regarding the respective spheres and boundary of their activities and authority lies in their perception of role at the three levels of Panchayati Raj institutions. It is interesting to note that the encroachment is perceived by both the officials and the non-officials at the three levels regarding the broad policy formulation and administration. It transpires from the data that there is a fair amount of agreement of sharing responsibility even in regard to exclusive jurisdiction of either officials and non-officials. For example, in regard to the actual making of broad policies and distribution of loans both of them prefer joint responsibility. It is evident from the fact that there exists role-ambiguity regarding the location of primary responsibility in the decisional

areas stated above. The prevalence of role ambiguity creates, on the other hand, the growth of transgression. The non-officials emphatically state that they prefer to recruit, transfer, evaluate, award, dismiss and write confidential reports of the district, block and village staff which are generally within the exclusive domain of officials. Therefore, it is observed that the conventional notion of clear cut demarcation of powers between the officials and the non-officials does not actually operate at the three levels of Panchayati Raj institutions and both of them tend to violate the role boundaries in the process of encroaching legitimate jurisdiction of one another.

It was further observed that so far as the non-officials are concerned, a majority of them bring several kinds of problems and demands before the officials. The officials are of the view that the non-officials bring to them mostly the problems relating to the questions about technical matters, sanction and approval for loans, administrative delays.

Again, a majority of the officials at the three levels emphatically state that the non-officials contact the officials for personal benefit or concerning the interest of their relatives or friends. They are in favour of protecting the interest of the people of the area. However, the non-officials refuse to accept this allegation. They state that they come to officials not only with the problems of his own relatives or friends or political party but also with the problems of the people of the area as a

whole. So the non-officials state that they are concerned with general rather than narrow interest.

The non-officials admit that they exert pressure on officials for getting certain things done in favour of their supporters or groups. The officials when confronted with such pressures rely on administrative rules and regulations. Non-officials also think that the officials seek the political support.

3.2 Concluding Observations and Suggestions :

The discussion of major findings derived from historical survey, official-reports on the activities of Panchayati Raj institutions, the analysis of the statements made by the Secretary, Chairman and the State Government, published in the leading daily newspapers, case studies and the analysis of data gathered through interviews, have made it clear that the relation between the officials and the non-officials are conflicting. Again, the conflicting relationship occur frequently at the district and block level as compared to the village level. The officials are concerned with their own position-specific role and treat rules and regulations and procedures as protective devices for maintaining the same. They avoid taking any risk or initiative even when confronted with the question of the welfare of the people because the officials believe that there are risks of failure in taking initiative and for this their career may be spoiled. Moreover, they also think that there is no incentive for any good

work. The officials have an adverse image-perception about the non-officials and these hinder the realisation of systemic goals.

The non-officials, on the other hand, try to protect their position of representative-role either by limiting actions of the people or by applying pressure on them in order to mould their opinion in favour of the actions or programmes. They are concerned with general interest but on some occasion, they try to satisfy the needs of the people of their own areas in order to protect their position in future and in dealing with these they are concerned with narrow interest. So the relationship between the officials and the non-officials can be characterised by position-specific considerations.

Both the officials and the non-officials hold a very poor image about one another. The two opposite sets of actors consider to give priority to their own role performance and this tendency leads to friction and conflict between them. Moreover, the willingness on the part of both of them to exercise their authority on the same issues relating to policy-making, recruitment, transfer, promotion etc. help develop interference on either side and conflict and tension emerge. The non-officials bring several kinds of issues and put pressure on the officials for getting things done. The officials in order to cope with these pressures take recourse to rules and regulations and as a result, conflict and tension emerge. The cumulative effect of all these indicate a tendency towards role transgression and role

aggrandizement which in turn, result into conflict and tension and clash between officials and non-officials.

It is assumed that there should be a clear boundaries between the officials and the non-officials. The two groups of actors will try to maintain the role boundaries and it is considered that this will help to remove tension. Moreover, the officials as managerial group and non-officials as peoples' representative shall consider themselves as the same partners of the Panchayat system in order to realise systemic-goals.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

Date
Code Number.....

Questionnaire for the Non-Officials.

Part-I : Background Information (Non-Officials)

Please note that all information supplied below will be kept strictly confidential.

1. Present age..... 2. Religion..... 3. Caste.....
4. What are your educational qualifications :

Certificate/Degree	Year of Passing	Class
A.....		
B.....		
C.....		

5. Where did you live most of your life ? Village.....
Block/
Sub Div.
Town

District.....

6. How long have you been in this district ?
in this block ?
in this village ?

7. Do any members of your family (Other than your wife and
children) presently live in this district ? Yes..... No.....

8. Do any members of your family (other than your wife and
children presently live in this block ? Yes..... No.....

9. Do any members of your family (other than your wife & children presently live in this village ? Yes..... No.....

10. What was your age when you first entered politics ?

11. What were the main considerations that led you to join politics ?

A.....

B.....

C.....

12. What posts have you held since joining politics ?

Posts held	Location	Duration	Dept.
.....
.....
.....

13. To which political party do you belong ?

14. Have you ever changed your affiliation ? Yes..... No.....
If yes, what were your previous affiliations ? (Please list affiliations in chronological order)

Name of party	Duration of membership	Reasons for change
.....
.....
.....

15. What career would you like your son to follow ?

16. On the whole, how satisfied are you with your present position ?

Very much Somewhat Not at all

17. Do you own any land ? if yes,

Land in Bighas/Acres	Location	Annual Income
.....
.....

18. If no, have you ever owned any land ? yes..... No.....

19. What is/was the occupation of your father/mother ?

20. What is/was the average monthly income of your father/
mother ?

21. What is/was the educational level of your father/mother ?

22. What is/was the political affiliation of your father/mother ?

Part-II Questionnaire (Non-Official/Pol.Leader)

1. What are the important problems relating to development and
welfare of the people of this area.

.....
.....
.....

2. Do other political leaders in the District/Block/Village
think these problems important ? yes..... No.....

3. Has the Govt. implemented any programmes to solve these
problems of your area ? yes..... no.....

4. How important for Political-leaders to contact officials for
getting certain things done ?

Very important
|

Somewhat important

Not important

5. How often do you come to seek official's help ?

frequently..... sometimes..... rarely..... never.....

6. Please indicate mode of communication when you contact officials about a problem.

Usually	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
.....

- a. Send a letter
- b. Send a messenger
- c. Come alone
- d. Send a delegate
- e. Telephone
- f. Other (specify)

7. Which of the methods mentioned above would you say has proved successful in creating influence/in implementing programmes/in achieving results/in bringing about better relations with people ?.....

8. Certain officials say that there are various types of problems which you bring to them. Here is a list of problems. Please express how often do you bring such problems to officials.

fre- quently	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
.....

a. Guidance on administrative rules

fre- quent- ly	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
----------------------	-----------	--------	-------

b. Law & Order problems

c. Questions about technical matters

d. Sanction and approval for loans

e. Problems of administrative delay

f. Issue about conflict between
local groups

g. Other (specify)

9. Generally speaking, non-officials/political leaders approach
officials for getting certain things done. How often you bring
following problems before officials.

frequently	sometimes	rarely	never
------------	-----------	--------	-------

a. Personal problems

b. Problems of relatives/friends

c. Problems of his own caste/
group

d. Problems of the people of the
area

e. Problems of his own groups
or political party

10. Speaking from your experience, how often you ask for special favour from officials ? frequently Sometimes rarely never
11. How do you feel when the administrators/officials are not able to meet your demands or proposals.
11. (a) Do you feel -

Yes	no	Other
-----	----	-------

- i) that the official is justified in refusing your demands or proposals.
- ii) that the cooperation should be stopped with the official.
- iii) that the official should be punished somehow.
- iv) that their service record be spoiled.
- v) that the official would be disturbed by his service condition such as transfer, complain to the higher authorities.
- vi) that the official enjoys powerful protection so hardly anything can be done about it.
- vii) that the official would be offered financial incentives.

	Yes	No	Other	
viii) Any other (Specify)				
12. Non-officials sometimes try to persuade officials to do what they want to be done. Here is a list of possible pressures. How often do non-officials use these pressures ?	Frequently	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
a.Promise of better career opportunities.				
b.Offer financial incentives.				
c.Try to spoil service record.				
d.Making intervention from political leaders at higher levels.				
e.Persuasion through friends and relatives.				
f.Making a public issue by organising agitation and procession etc.				
g.Any other (Specify)				

13. When faced with pressures from non-officials to do somethings which officials do consider proper they take different courses of action. Would you kindly tell which officials frequently do.

	Frequently	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
--	------------	-----------	--------	-------

a. Explain the limitation due to rules.

b. Seek transfer.

c. Refer the matter to the higher authorities.

d. Seek advice from superior officers.

e. Any other (Specify)

14. A list of statements is given below regarding administrative rules and regulations and functions of administration. Please examine each of them and express your opinion whether you Agree, Partly Agree or Disagree ?

	Agree	Partly agree	Disagree	Other
--	-------	--------------	----------	-------

a. A political leader should only should only implement the demands and expectations of the people and not act independently.

	Agree	Partly agree	Disagree	Other
b.A political leader should always support his partymen even if their actions are at times unjustified.				
c.If the leader is himself convinced of what is the best use of action he must try to implement even though he has to use some pressure on the people.				
d.The most important thing for leader is follow his convictions even if they are different from what the constituency expects.				
e.Use of unscrupulous means by a politician may sometimes be forgiven if they lead to the strength of his party.				
f.A political leader should refrain from making proposals that may cause division in the party even if these proposals are important for the community.				

Agree	Partly agree	Disagree	Other
-------	--------------	----------	-------

g. Even if it delays development of the country, strict adherence to democratic methods should be insisted on.

h. A Non official/political leader is obliged to follow the wishes of the community even if he thinks the people are mistaken.

i. If some misguided section of the people do not listen to persuasion they should be suppressed in the interest of the country.

15. Four statements regarding the Real Relationship between the Official and the Non-Officials are given below. Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with the statements.

Agree	Disagree
-------	----------

a. While performing his duties an official should have nothing to do with political leaders.

b. Once he has explained Govt. policies & rules to the leaders the official's to them should end.

Agree	Disagree
-------	----------

c. The official should consult and enlist their support and cooperation in his work.

d. The officials should be mainly guided by the advice of political leaders.

16. Here is a list of statement which are considered essential for taking decisions. Please examine each of the following statements and express your opinion about who is primarily responsible for taking decisions.

Primari-	Primari-	BOT	None
ly offi-	ly non-	I	I
cials	offici-	I	I
	als	I	I

a. Formulation of broad policies.

b. Fixing priorities for programme implementation.

c. Distribution of loans.

d. Selection of sites for new programmes.

e. Recruitment of Village, Block, District staff.

Primari- ly offi- cials	Primari- ly non- officials	BOT	None

f. Arranging staff transfers.

g. Evaluation of work of the officials/staff.

h. Awarding promotion to the staff.

i. Dismissing staff-members.

j. Writing confidential reports of the staff.

k. Any other (Specify)

17. Considering the same issue again, who, in your opinion, should be responsible for them ?

P	Primari- ly offi- cials	Primari- ly non- officials	BOT	None

a. Formulation of broad policies.

b. Fixing priorities for programme implementation.

c. Distribution of loans.

Primari-	Primari-	BOT	None
ly offi-	ly non-		
cials	offici-		
	als		

d. Selection of sites for new programmes.

e. Recruitment of Village, Block, District-Staff.

f. Arranging Staff Transfers.

g. Evaluation of the work of the officials/staff.

h. Awarding promotion to the staff.

i. Dismissing staff-members.

j. Writing confidential reports of the staff-members.

k. Any other (Specify)

13. People often suggest that there are certain things which you must or must not do. Out of the following items, please indicate which you must do and must not do.

Must do	May or May not	Must not do
I do	I	I

- a. Keep a watch on administrative performance.
- b. Bring to public notice faults or flaws of administration.
- c. Strictly pursue a hands off policy vis-a-vis administration.
- d. Advise officials about the best course of action.
- e. Cooperate with officials in carrying out Government programmes.
- g. Prevent officials from taking improper action by agitation etc.
- h. Interference when officials ignore peoples demands.
- i. Insist that officials be guided in their action by advice given by politicians.
- j. Seek intervention by political leaders at higher levels for correcting administrative ills at the district, block & village levels.

Must do	May or do	Must not do
	May not do	
I do		

k. Protect officials from public demand unreasonable criticism.

19. Now let us take some statements about officials and non-officials. How much do you agree or disagree with each of the views.

Agree	Partly Agree	Disagree	Others

a. Officials distrust political leaders.

b. Officials guarantee fair and just treatment for all.

c. Officials are concerned mainly with improving their own prospects.

d. Officials work in the interest of ruling groups.

e. Officials work ignoring the advice of others and only do whatever they like.

Agree	Partly agree	Disagree	Others

f. Officials are indifferent to peoples difficulties.

g. Leaders do not know how to manage public affairs.

h. Leaders are not aware of administrative rules.

i. Leaders are not sufficiently educated to run the govt. well.

j. Leaders create troubles for officials.

k. Leaders are generally cooperative with officials.

l. Politicians care for the people's welfare.

m. Officials are helpful to the people in redressing their problems.

n. Officials do not appreciate the difficulties of politicians.

o. Leaders work in their self interest.

Agree	Partly	Disagree	Others
I agree			

p. Politicians are concerned mainly with furthering the interest of their own relatives and friends.

q. Leaders are so much involved in the political power struggle that they have little time to attend to actual problems.

r. Leaders cannot act in a decisive manner because of various conflicting pressures on them.

s. Leaders do not trust officials.

20. Some Indian Officials say that they feel cut off or isolated from common man. Do you agree that such isolation is generally true ?

Yes No

21. Do you feel cut off from common man too ?

.....

22. In general how would you describe the attitude of officials in this area towards you ?

Helpful Indifferent Unhelpful.....

Other

(Specify)

23. Do you think that Panchayati Raj should continue or it should be abolished or it does not make any difference whether it is abolished or it continues ?

CONTINUE _____

ABOLISH _____

NO DIFFERENCE _____

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

APPENDIX II

Date _____

Code Number _____

Questionnaire for Officials

Part-I, Background Information

Please note that all information supplied below will be kept strictly confidential.

1. Present age.....; 2. Religion.....; 3. Caste.....
4. What are your educational qualifications ?

Certificate/Degree

Year of passing

Class

.....
.....
.....

5. Where have you spent most of your life ?

Village.....; Block/Sub div. Town.....; Distt. Town.....

6. How long have you been in this district.....
in this block
in this village

7. Do any members of your family (other than your wife and children) presently live in this district ?

Yes..... No.....

8. Do any members of your family (other than your wife and children) presently live in this block ?

Yes..... No.....

9. Do any members of your family (other than your wife and children) presently live in this village ?

Yes..... No.....

10. What was your age when you first joined Govt. Service ?

11. Have you undergone some sort of training for performing this job ?

Yes..... No.....

12. What post have you held since joining Government Service ?

Post held	Location	Duration	Department

13. What was the grade and monthly salary of your first position?

Grade..... Salary.....

14. What is your present grade and monthly salary ?

Grade..... Salary.....

15. What career would you like your son to follow ?

.....

16. On the whole how satisfied are you with your present position ?
 Very much..... Somewhat..... Not at all.....
17. Do you own any land ? Yes..... No.....
 If yes, Land in Bighas/Acres Location Annual Income

18. If no, have you ever own any land ? Yes..... No.....
19. As a citizen and a voter do you have sympathy with any political party ? Yes..... No.....
 If yes, (Name the political party)
20. Is any relative of yours active in politics ? (specify relations only)
Relation Position

21. Is any relative yours in Govt. Service ? (specify relation only)
Relation Position

22. What is/was the occupation of your father/mother ?

23. What is/was the average monthly income of your father/mother ?
24. What is/was educational level of your father/mother ?
25. What is/was the political affiliation of your father/mother ?

Part-II

1. What are the important problems relating to development and welfare of the people of this area.
.....
.....
.....
2. Do other officials with whom you are concerned with development of this area also consider that these problems are important ?
Yes..... No.....
3. Has the Govt. implemented any programmes to solve these problems of your area ?
Yes..... No.....
4. How important would you say it is for officials to consult political leaders in discharging their duties ?
Very important..... Somewhat important.....
Not important.....
5. How frequently do you consult with the non-officials ?
Often.....; Sometimes.....; Rarely.....; Never.....

6. How often do non-officials come to seek your help ?
 Frequently.....; Sometimes.....; Rarely.....; Never.....
7. Please indicate the mode of communication when non-officials contact you.
- | | Usually | Sometimes | Rarely | Never |
|----------------------------------|---------|-----------|--------|-------|
| a. Send a letter. | | | | |
| b. Send messenger. | | | | |
| c. Political leaders come alone. | | | | |
| d. Send a delegate. | | | | |
| e. Telephone. | | | | |
| f. Other (Specify) | | | | |
8. Which of the methods mentioned above would you say has proved successful in creating influence/in implementing programme/in achieving results/in bringing about better relations with people.
9. Certain officials say that there are various types of problems which the politicians bring to them. Here is a list of problems. Please express how often do politicians bring such problems to you.

Often	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
-------	-----------	--------	-------

a. Guidance on administrative rules.

b. Law & order problems.

c. Questions about technical matters.

d. Sanction & approval for loans.

e. Problems of administrative delay.

f. Issues about conflict between groups.

g. Other (Specify)

10. Generally speaking, non-officials often approach officials for getting certain things done. How often politicians bring following problems before you.

Frequently	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
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a. Personal problems.

b. Problems of relatives/
friends.

c. Problems of his own caste group.

	Frequently	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
--	------------	-----------	--------	-------

d. Problems of his own groups
or political party.

e. Problems of the people of
the area.

11. Speaking from your experience, how often do non-officials/
political leaders ask for special favour from officials ?

Frequently..... Sometimes..... Rarely..... Never.....

12. How do you feel when you are not able to meet the demands of
non-officials/politicians ?

12. (a) Do you feel,

Yes	No	Other

i) The non-official/political leaders will
understand the official's difficulties.

ii) The non-officials/political leaders will
cease to cooperate with you.

iii) The non-officials/political leaders
will try to spoil your service record.

iv) The non-officials/political leaders
will disturb your service-condition
such as transfer, complain to the
higher authorities.

Yes	No	Other
-----	----	-------

- v) The non-officials/political leaders can hardly do the official any harm.
- vi) The non-official/political leaders will try to offer financial rewards.
- vii) The non-officials/political leaders will try to punish the official somehow.
- viii) The non-officials/political leaders will organise agitation and demonstration against the officials.
- ix) Any other (Specify)

13. Non-officials sometimes try to persuade and even force officials to do what they want to be done. Here is a list of possible pressures. Drawing on your own experiences, how often these pressures are applied by non-officials

Frequently	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
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- a. Promise of better career opportunities
- b. Offer financial incentives.
- c. Try to spoil service record.

	Frequently	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
--	------------	-----------	--------	-------

d. Making intervention from political leaders at higher levels.

e. Persuasion through friends and relatives.

f. Making a public issue by organising agitation and procession etc.

g. Any other (Specify)

14. When faced with pressures from non-officials, political leaders to do something you do not consider proper.

People say that the officials when faced with pressures from non-officials to do something try to follow certain courses action. Would you kindly tell which of these you would follow frequently, sometimes, rarely and never.

	Frequently	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
--	------------	-----------	--------	-------

a. Explain the limitation due to rules.

b. Seek transfer.

c. Refer the matter to the higher authorities.

Frequently	Sometimes	Rarely	Never
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

- d. Seek advice from superior officials.

- e. Any other (Specify)

15. There are statements made by the people regarding the relationship between the officials and the non-officials.

Please read each of them carefully and express your agreement or disagreement.

Agree Disagree

- a) While performing his duties an official should have nothing to do with political leaders.

- b) Once he has explained Govt. policies and rules to the leaders the official's responsibility to them should end.

- c) The official should consult local leaders and enlist their support and cooperation in his work.

- d) The officials should be mainly guided by the advice of political leaders.

16. A list of statements is given below. Please express your opinion how much you agree or disagree with it.

Strongly agree	Agree	Dis- agree	Strongly disagree
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a. Observance of all rules amount to a lot of paper work but very little concrete work.

b. Administrative procedures offer enough scope for officials to exercise his personal initiative.

c. If an official can solve problems by ignoring the rules he should not hesitate to ignore them.

d. Rules should be strictly observed even if they delay the implementation of development programmes.

17. People often say that there are certain things which officials should do and other things which they should not do. Out of the following items, which you must do and must not do.

Must do	May or not do	Must not do
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a. Carry out decisions made by the non-officials at the three levels.

Must do	May or I do	Must not do

- b. Carry out decisions made by non-officials which in your opinion may be unsound.
- c. Take actions against subordinate officials on the insistence of non-officials.
- d. Modify policy decisions on the advice of non-officials.
- e. Give some considerations to feelings of local groups in undertaking new programmes.
- f. Take definite stand against any unreasonable demand which may come from local leaders.
- g. Keep a powerful faction of local leaders satisfied if this action helps implementation of Govt. programmes.
- h. Occasionally compromise with local pressure groups.
- i. Consider favourably proposals of leaders enjoying public support even if these proposals are not sound.

Must do	May or not do	Must not do
---------	------------------	-------------

j. Turn down the demand of non-officials when it is against the Govt. policy even if it is in the interest of the district.

k. Modify policy in the face of insistant popular demand.

l. Maintain good relation with those local leaders who have backing of the people.

18. How do you think that the above mentioned behaviours are actually practised.

Very much practised	Practised	Not practised
------------------------	-----------	------------------

a. To follow correct procedure even if the development programmes delayed.

b. To criticize the views of superiors if they do not suit the local conditions.

c. To carry out instructions of superiors to the best of one's ability.

d. To keep personal consideration out of official matter.

Very much practised	Practised	Not practised
------------------------	-----------	------------------

e. To maintain personal contact
with the public.

f. To work in the best interest
of the department.

g. To value the opinion of
subordinate even if it is at
variance with its own.

h. To make quick decision.

i. To cooperate with officials of
other department.

j. To protect one's career.

19. Here is a list of statements which are considered generally
for taking decisions. Please examine each of the following
statement and express your opinion about who is primarily
responsible for taking decisions.

Primarily Officials	Primarily Non-offi- cials	Both	None
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a. Formulation broad policies.

Primarily Officials	Primarily non-offi- cials	Both	None

b. Fixing priorities for programme implementation.

c. Distribution of loans.

d. Selection of sites for new programmes.

e. Recruitment of village, block & district staff.

f. Arranging staff-transfers.

g. Evaluation of the work of the officials/staff.

h. Awarding promotion to the staff.

i. Dismissing staff-members.

j. Writing confidential reports of staff-members.

k. Any other (Specify)

20. Considering the same issues again, who, in your opinion, should be responsible for them.

	Primarily Officials	Primarily Non-offi- cials	Both	None

- a. Formulation of broad policies.
- b. Fixing priorities for programme implementation.
- c. Distribution of loan, G.R. Etc.
- d. Selection of sites for new programmes.
- e. Recruitment of village, block & district staff.
- f. Arranging staff-transfers.
- g. Evaluation of the work of the officials/staff.
- h. Awarding promotion to the staff.
- i. Dismissing staff-members.
- j. Writing confidential reports of the staff-members.
- k. Any other (Specify)

21. Now let us take some statements about officials and non-officials, How much do you agree or disagree with each of the views.

Agree	Partly agree	Disagree	Others

a. Officials distrust political leaders.

b. Officials guarantee fair and just treatment for all.

c. Officials work ignoring the advice of others and do whatever they like.

d. Officials work in the interest of ruling groups.

e. Officials are concerned mainly improving their own prospects.

f. Officials are indifferent to people's difficulties.

g. Leaders do not know how to manage public affairs.

h. Leaders are not aware of administrative rules.

i. Leaders are not sufficiently educated to run the Govt. well.

j. Leaders create troubles for officials.

	Agree	Partly agree	Disagree	Others

k. Politicians care for the people's welfare.

l. Officials are helpful to the people in redressing their problems.

m. Officials do not appreciate the difficulties of politicians.

n. Leaders work in their self interest.

o. Politicians are concerned mainly with furthering the interest of their own relatives and friends.

p. Leaders are so much involved in the political power struggle that they have little time to attend to actual problems.

q. Leaders can not act in a decisive manner because of various conflicting pressures on them.

Agree	Partly agree	Disagree	Others

r. Leaders do not trust officials.

s. Leaders are generally cooperative with officials.

22. Some Indian officials say that they feel cut off or isolated from the common man. Do you agree that some isolation is generally true ?

Yes..... No.....

23. In general how would you describe the attitude of politicians in the District/Block/Village towards you ? I mean would you say that they are generally helpful or not.

Helpful..... Indifferent..... Unhelpful.....

Other (specify).....

24. Do you think that Panchayati Raj should continue, or it should be abolished, or it does not make any difference whether it is abolished or it continues ?

Continue..... Abolish..... No difference.....

Thank you very much for your cooperation.