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THE INTERACTION OF SOCIAL VALUES AND POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

International Studies of Values in Politics
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

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UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

INTERNATIONAL STUDIES OF VALUES IN POLITICS

FINAL REPORT TO A.I.D. SCIENCE DIRECTOR

On A Study Of

The Interaction of Social Values and Political Responsibility in Developing Countries

Financed by AID/csd-719

A Contract Between

The United States of America

and

The Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania

Principal Investigator: Philip E. Jacob
Professor of Political Science

Period covered by the Report: September 1, 1964-October 20, 1967

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with appreciation to

FRANCIS S. BOURNE

the project's monitor in India,

who served on behalf of the Cultural

Affairs Division of the Department of

State and the U.S. AID Mission to India,

with insight into the sensibilities of the scholar,

understanding commitment to the principle of

international partnership in intellectual

adventure and vision of the

potentialities of social research

for the welfare of India

PREFACE

This final report is submitted in fulfillment of the terms of contract AID/csd-719, meeting the tasks specified, as follows:

Specific Scope of Work to be Performed by Contractor (Article I-B, Appendix B, as amended)	Relevant Sections of Report
a. "identify and measure the values held by political leaders (an explanatory variable);	II, III
b. "determine the level of economic development of the units to be studied so that these are reliable indicators for comparative study purposes (an explanatory variable);	V
c. "define the political structure of the communities studied in terms of their local autonomy (an explanatory variable);	IV
d. "identify and measure the degree of integratedness or "activeness" of local communities (by determining the "outputs" of the community and the amount of participation of the people in producing these outputs) (a dependent variable);	VI
e. "identify and measure the degree of local-national integration, (i. e., in the sense of responsiveness of local communities and their political leaders to national goals and values, and specifically to policies and programs initiated by the national leadership) (a dependent variable);	II, VI, VII
f. "identify and measure the congruence of values among local political leaders (a dependent variable);	II
g. "relate (statistically) the explanatory (or independent variables) to the dependent variables;	VII
h. "provide meaning to the statistical relationships obtained by assessing the relative influence of the explanatory variables of the study on the local political decision-making - especially as this affects the development of integrated community activity."	Entire Report; especially Section VII

It is necessary to enter more than customary disclaimers. The tentative character of the report must be stressed. Analysis of the vast volume of data collected in the project could not be completed by the termination date of the contract. The findings and especially the interpretations in the report have not yet been appraised by the Indian collaborators, or by the consultants in either India or the U. S. Consequently, the principal investigator assumes full personal responsibility for the contents.

At the same time, the entire results of the project reported herewith are the joint product of a remarkable cross-national research partnership of Indian, American and other social scientists which is described in the first chapter. This is their work - and ours. More than three years of the lives of this international team have been absorbed in integrated planning, imaginative methodological experimentation, rugged field work, systematic analysis and patient mutual instruction in the ways and dispositions of our respective countries. To each of these dedicated scholars goes the credit for this pioneer venture into the dynamics of political responsibility for development.

The results of this work are the joint professional possession of the principal collaborators. They anticipate making individual and collective scholarly contributions based on the project's data and analyses, including those reported herein. Consequently, this report should not be published in whole or in part without permission from the International Studies of Values in Politics.

PHILIP E. JACOB

I. ROOTS OF RESPONSIBILITY - A PROBE OF THE POLITICAL DYNAMICS OF DEVELOPMENT

This project, in the language of the prime contract, was undertaken to ascertain " the interaction of social values and political responsibility, how a sense of 'community' at the local level, emerges in developing countries".[1] Its focus has been on leadership - what makes local leaders effective, or ineffective, in promoting the development and integration of their communities.

What has been done, specifically, is to identify, measure and compare the value commitments of such leaders and to assess their impact on community activeness, that is, the social outputs of the local government and population. (By "values" is meant the operational norms which influence choices of alternative courses of action.)

The underlying hypotheses are (1) that social and economic development is a function of political leadership, and (2) that effective leadership for development is in part determined and predictable by the values leaders hold.

Selection of local units of government as the level for investigation implies another assumption - that what happens at the base of the political pyramid has much to do with the tempo of social change, and may determine whether development occurs at all.

Complementary to the substantive research objective has been the aim of strengthening the intellectual and technical capabilities for development - oriented to social research. Again, in terms of the contract, the project was intended to "provide a training experience for indigenous graduate students, and an opportunity for the joint development, by American and indigenous senior scholars, of social research techniques applicable to the political development process".[2]

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1. Contract AID/csd-719, Article I.

2. Ibid, Appendix B, page 1.

To this end, the project forged a new pattern of cross-national collaboration in which Indian and American institutions jointly conducted the program, and the participating scholars worked directly together on all phases - basic design, preparation and testing of instruments, training of assistants, field work, data processing and analysis, and evaluation and interpretation of findings. The result was an intimate sharing of technique, experience and facilities, with a mutual pay-off of insight, know-how and, perhaps most important, young scholars operationally equipped to conduct rigorous empirical research on the dynamics of development.

Design and Methods

The evolution of the design has been explained in several previous reports submitted to A. I. D.[1]

As finally matured, it called for the examination of two main sets of variables and their inter-relationships, while controlling for certain other factors.

Variables

Leaders' values, particularly those which have a strong bearing on political decision-making, are one set.

Community "activeness", in the sense both of local government decisions to allocate or mobilize resources, and of general public participation in the accomplishment of social goals, is the second.

Activeness is conceived to be a major expression of community integration and was set as the principal dependent variable, the most important thing to be explained. It assumes that the output of a community - what it does - is a powerful indicator of how well integrated it is.[2]

Two other forms of integration were included as supplementary dependent variables: (1) integration of the local community with the nation, in the sense of responsiveness to national goals and values and specifically to policies and programs initiated by the national leadership, and (2) the congruence of values

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1. Cf. Reports of Roundtables I (July, 1965), II (February, 1966), and III (July, 1966). Interim Report, June 11, 1966 and Progress Report, Nov. 7, 1966.

2. This view is elaborated by Jacob and Teune, in The Integration of Political Communities (J. B. Lippincott, 1964, Philip E. Jacob and James L. Toscano, eds.).

among local leaders, that is the extent to which they share values.[1]

Major control variables have been: (1) the level of economic resources of the local community, (2) the local political system (especially the degree of local autonomy), (3) certain ecological and social characteristics of the community, (4) local leaders' perceptions of their community and role, and (5) political and personal background of the leaders.

The design can be summarized as follows:

Table 1
Variables

Explanatory Variables	Dependent Variables
1. Principal independent variable: Leaders' values	1. Community activeness (Integration "A") Dimension I - resource mobilization (by the local government) Dimension II - popular involvement
2. Control variables - community characteristics: a. economic base b. political autonomy c. ecological/social features	2. Local responsiveness to Nation (Integration "B")
3. Control variables - leaders' characteristics: a. perceptions of community b. perceptions of role c. biographical	3. Congruence of local leaders' values (Integration "C")

Bases for Cross-Cultural Comparison

A fundamental element provided in the design, was the cross-cultural comparability of variables, on the assumption that regional or country characteristics might make a crucial difference in determining the dynamics of community activeness (and other forms of integration) on the one hand, or values of leaders on the other.

---

1. Had resources permitted study of the congruence of values within the whole community - population as well as leaders - a more comprehensive formulation of this concept of integration could have been entered into the design.

The selection of India and the U.S. as pilot participating countries was guided in part by the desire to allow for differences in socio-economic conditions, cultural background and political system. At the same time, in both countries there was a common preoccupation with the problem of relating political system to economic development and social mobilization, as witnessed by variety and experimentation in the patterns of local-national relationships - panchayati raj in India, and the shifting kaleidoscope of local-state-federal relations in the U.S. The ultimate stage of analysis envisages a direct comparison between the amount of intra-national variation and inter-national differences in the major variables, leading to conclusions as to the overall effect of distinctively national characteristics.

Regional distinctions within each country can be isolated as a result of choosing the sample of communities and respondents from three different states in India, and from a stratified random sample of American municipalities. It must be emphasized that for India, findings cannot be generalized beyond the three states of Gujarat, Maharashtra and Uttar Pradesh, where most of the data were collected.[1]

Every effort was made to conduct the study along parallel lines in all areas in both countries, and rigorous procedures were applied to secure conceptual consistency, standardization of instruments, and uniformity in execution. The strategy of research and precise techniques used to assure cross-cultural equivalence of the variables are described in relevant sections below.[2]

The Strategy of Multiple Observation

To make this design operational required unexpectedly demanding methodological innovations, as well as the collection of a large body of original data. The basic strategy of research was to identify and measure each variable by a whole set of empirical indicators, which could be demonstrated statistically to be consistent or "homogeneous". This multi-item approach to distinguishing

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1. Some data were also collected, and pretests conducted in Rajasthan, but the results are not sufficient for systematic comparison.

2. A fresh approach was developed and applied in this project to cope with the problem of establishing comparability. See A. Przeworski and H. Teune, "Equivalence in Cross-National Research," Public Opinion Quarterly, Winter, 1967.

complex phenomena provides a much firmer basis of reliability than conventional reliance on one or a few observations purported to represent the object of investigation. Specific techniques of measurement are described in succeeding sections.

Furthermore, this study deliberately used a variety of techniques of inquiry, so it was possible to "triangulate" most of the variables, checking results derived by one method against those produced by another. The importance of such built-in controls, to verify accuracy both of data and analysis, cannot be overemphasized. The immense potentiality for error in this kind of broad gauged empirical research, which requires the manipulation of large quantities of data, was so repeatedly demonstrated that the principal investigators now look with suspicion on the results of any studies which have not incorporated effective means of control.

Lines of Inquiry

Four main lines of inquiry were pursued:

(1) An intensive interview survey of local leaders, virtually all the major political position-holders in the 30 community sample in each country. The instruments, specially constructed for the purposes of this study and repeatedly pretested, included ten multi-item scales of politically relevant values, a measure of value priorities, and questions eliciting a wide range of perceptions and attitudes concerning leadership traits, roles, influence and reference groups - community problems, divisions and conflicts - areas of government responsibility - and aspirations for country. (The questionnaire is attached to this report as Appendix A.)

(2) Collection of aggregative economic, social and political data for all the localities in the sample, most of it flushed out on-the-spot in default of relevant reliable data at central sources. This material was used to construct measures of local economic development and the degree of social mobilization of the community.

(3) Detailed case studies of political decision-making, reconstructing the history and context of decisions on controversial issues.

(4) Value content analysis of leaders' speeches and other available statements rationalizing their policies and decisions.

In addition, an inventory was compiled of published and unpublished research and data relating to (1) the system of government, structure of community power and processes of decision-making at the local level in India and the U.S., (2) the measurement of values, (3) politically relevant value orientations in India, and (4) measurement of economic development at district and local levels in India.[1]

Sources of Indicators

As a result of these investigations, the following bodies of data were secured from which to compose indices of the different variables.

Table 2
Indicators

Variables	Data Sources
I. Leaders' characteristics:	
A. Values	(1) Responses to survey (Parts II and III) (2) Content analysis (Indian and U.S. national policy statements) (3) Case studies of decisions - informants' observations; leader interviews (supplementary to survey)
B. Perceptions and attitudes	
1. community problems	(4) Survey (Part I, q. 1)
2. community conflicts and cleavages	(5) Survey (Part IV, q. 1, 2, 3)
3. spheres of local autonomy	(6) Survey (Part IV, q. 7)
4. areas of governmental responsibility	(7) Survey (Part IV, q. 6)
5. support and reference groups	(8) Survey (Part IV, q. 4, 5)
6. areas of leaders' activity and influence	(9) Survey (Part I, q. 2, 3, 4)
7. obstacles to leadership	(10) Survey (Part I, q. 5)
	Note: The decisional case studies furnish extensive additional material on leaders' perceptions derived from interviews with leaders and informants.

1. See the selected inventory of documents, Appendix D. Note especially documents IND/14, 17, 54, 62, 67, 68, 73, 74 and USA/14, 19. Lakshman's research report on local government in U.P., Gujarat and Maharashtra is attached herewith, as Appendix C2.

Table 2 - cont'd

Variables	Data Sources
C. Personal and Political Background	(11) Survey (Part V)
II. Community Characteristics:	
A. Economic resources and level of development	(12) Production and income data Note: See below section V for detailed exposition.
B. Political structure and decisional processes	(13) Substantive inventories of local government research (14) Local government manuals and reports (15) Decisional case studies (16) Survey: (see items 6, 7 above)
C. Ecological and social characteristics	(17) Survey: leaders perceptions (see items above 4, 5, 8, 9, 10) (18) Decisional case studies (19) Supplementary information secured by field investigators (20) Census data (demographic)
III. Community Integration:	
A. Activeness	(21) Aggregative data on: (a) local expenditures (b) other resource commitments of local government (c) political participation (d) functional participation (in social organizations, etc.) (e) programmatic involvement Note: See below, section VI for detailed exposition. (22) Decisional case studies
B. Responsiveness to national policies and programs	(23) Survey: Part II (local-national items) and Part IV, q. 4, 5, 6. (24) Selected activeness indicators (see item 21 above) (25) Comparison of indicators 1 & 2 above Note: See below, section VII for detailed exposition.
C. Congruence of leaders values	(26) Analysis of indicators 1, 2 and 3 above.

Analysis

The analytical procedures undertaken to determine the indices and then to discover relationships among the variables are explained in the relevant sections to follow. An overview of these procedures is presented in the appended memoranda (Appendix C-4) prepared by Allen Barton, Director of the Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University, who served as principal technical consultant throughout the project.

Sample of Units

One of the major difficulties in executing the design proved to be the selection of the sample of units. The problems have been explained extensively in previous reports (see especially Report of Roundtable III and Progress Report to AID, Nov. 7, 1966).

For India, the question of level was sharply debated with arguments advanced by various collaborators, for district, taluk or village as the primary unit to be studied. After more than a year of discussion and pilot field studies, it was finally decided to adopt a multi-phase selection procedure. Two districts in each state were chosen, distinguished primarily by level of economic development so as to insure dispersion among more and less developed units. Within each district, 5 community development blocks were selected, making 30 in all, as the primary units of observation.[1]

The selection was based on a criterion of "activeness", using the judgements of knowledgeable informants to identify, on the one hand, blocks whose local institutions were functioning vigorously and programs were getting carried out, and on the other, places where little was happening. Approximately equal numbers of each were chosen.

The decision to choose blocks was reached partly to approximate a common political functional base. Although institutions of local government and administration differ considerably from state to state in their powers and tasks, it appeared that at this intermediate level, between village and district,

1. In Gujarat and Maharashtra, blocks are coterminous with the taluk, a previous intermediate level administrative unit. In U. P. however blocks were established as separate units for purposes of implementing the panchayati raj system of local government and administration. They do not coincide with taluks - and hence, data had to be carefully distinguished between these two areas.

the scope and processes of decision-making were not too dissimilar. (See below, section IV and the paper by Lakshman reproduced as Appendix C-2). Furthermore, increased attention is centered on this level as the growing edge of the panchayat system, where development responsibilities can be more effectively concentrated and discharged than at either the village level, which provides too small a compass for coordinated action, or the district, which may be too big and far removed from those who have to carry out a program.

An important reservation about the choice of the block was that it was not the kind of unit in which one might expect to find emerging a "sense of community" - a central concern of the study. Of course, this applied even more to the district, which had originally been considered the likely unit for investigation, because of the generally broader scope of its administrative and political activities. This reservation was met in part by specifying clearly that the interest of this study was functional and political, and that for its purposes local governmental programmatic initiatives, and responses thereto, would be taken as significant expressions of sense of community.

However, it was agreed that at a later stage, a sample of villages should be selected for a more penetrating qualitative examination of social and psychological aspects of community.

In the U.S. the sampling problem was less complicated. Thanks to the facilities of the National Opinion Research Center (University of Chicago), it was possible to draw a random sample of 30 American municipalities, stratified by size and economic level, from the NORC primary sampling units. Twenty units ranged from 50,000 to 250,000 in population; ten units of 25,000-50,000 were chosen to secure rural/urban differentiation. Large metropolitan areas were deliberately excluded to keep the units more or less functionally comparable.

The choice of 30 as the number of units in each country was dictated by considerations of statistical stability.

Selection of Leaders

For purposes of the leadership survey approximately 30 respondents were selected in each unit who occupied strategic positions in the formal structure of political power (see Table 3). The number was set in part to assure a stable basis for quantitative analysis. But in practice, this also usually represented the entire group of leaders holding the designated political positions. This means that the survey included virtually the total universe of such leaders in the 30 blocks and municipalities, not just a sample.

Intensive consideration was given the possibility of including as respondents influential people outside the formal political structure. However, the informal structures of influence vary greatly among communities and to identify comparable "influentials" in a systematic and comprehensive way would have required a complex set of studies prior to selection of the sample, which there was neither time nor resources to conduct. Furthermore, given the emphasis in this study on governmental action as a major expression of community activeness, it was assumed that formal political decision-makers would almost by definition have to register the values and concerns of those who had influence behind the scenes on the political or administrative process.

In the final survey, two-to-four hour interviews were completed with 955 leaders in India and 905 in the U. S. An additional 40 interviews were conducted in Gujarat for a controlled reliability test. For pretests of the instruments, approximately 300 interviews with an entirely different selection of respondents were held in India and approximately 200 in the U. S.

Table 3

The Leaders Interviewed

India	U.S.
President and vice-president of Block Council	Administrative heads: mayor, city-manager
Chairman of Block Committees	City council: president and other members
Block development officer	Other elective officials: treasurer, clerk, department heads making significant decisions, city attorney, finance official, police chief, etc.
District development officer	Party officials: city, county chairman of all parties and other key leaders
Departmental heads at Block or Extension offices (incl. agriculture, cooperative, education, etc.)	State officials: senators, representatives
Member of Legislative Assembly	County officials: commissioners, board members, sheriff
Block representative to district panchayat	Others: chief prosecutor, superintendent of schools, president and other members of school board, chairman of planning commission, president of Chamber of Commerce, president of service club, etc.
Presidents of cooperatives in Block Council	
Chairman district panchayat	
Party executives at Block	
District party executives	
Opposition leaders in Block Council	
Coopted leaders in Block Council	

Organization of the Project:
A Joint Venture in Cross-National Scientific Collaboration

Essential to the success of this program has been its distinctive pattern of organization. The project became, in effect, an international research cooperative in which design, execution and analysis of the studies were jointly planned and conducted by teams of social scientists from four countries, under sponsorship of the International Social Science Council (the official coordinating body of the international social science professional organizations). This report specifically concerns the work undertaken by the Indian and American institutions.

The institutional foundation of this arrangement was a set of working agreements between the University of Pennsylvania and Indian educational and research institutions. The Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, under the direction of D. R. Gadgil, in cooperation with the Departments of Political Science at the University of Poona and Deccan College, undertook the initial responsibility for setting up the project in India. Ultimately, three project centers were established: at the University of Poona, the Indian Institute of Technology at Kanpur and the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies, New Delhi. In each case, the cooperating institution assumed responsibility for long term release of senior scholars as project directors, and necessary administrative and supporting services. The University of Pennsylvania served as coordinating and general administrative center.

The principal participants were:

University of Pennsylvania:

Philip E. Jacob, principal investigator
Henry Teune, associate director of research
Thomas M. Watts, senior research associate
Betty M. Jacob, administrative officer

An administrative committee was set up which included, in addition to the above, the following members of the University faculty:

W. Norman Brown, Chairman and Professor of South Asia Regional Studies
J. P. Horlacher, Chairman and Professor of Political Science
Richard D. Lambert, Professor of Sociology and South Asia Regional Studies.

University of Poona:

V. M. Sirsikar, project director
Anand Nadkarni, senior research associate
S. M. Chitnis, research associate
T. K. Attarde, research associate

Indian Institute of Technology, Kanpur:

K. K. Singh, project director
Ali Ashraf, senior research associate
B. K. Singh, research associate
S. S. Tripathi, research associate

Centre for the Study of Developing Societies, New Delhi:

Rajni Kothari, director
D. L. Sheth, project director
H. R. Chaturvedi, senior research fellow
Anand Nandy, senior research fellow
R. Roy, senior research fellow

Technical Consultants:

Allen Barton, Director, Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University
Samuel Eldersveld, Chairman, Political Science Department, University of Michigan
William A. Scott, Professor of Psychology, University of Colorado
Lester W. Milbrath, Professor of Political Science, Northwestern University
R. D. Singh, Director, Central Institute of Training and Research on on Panchayati Raj, New Delhi

In both India and the U. S., Advisory Committees were formed to bring to the project the technical and administrative counsel of distinguished social scientists and seasoned public officials. Their members were:

Indian Advisory Committee:

D. R. Gadgil, Vice-Chancellor, University of Poona, Chairman
P. K. Kelkar, Director, Indian Institute of Technology, Kanpur
Prem Kirpal, Secretary, Ministry of Education
Asoka Mehta, Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission
I. P. Desai, Director, Centre for Regional Development Studies, Surat, Gujarat.

American Advisory Committee:[1]

Robert C. Angell, University of Michigan (Sociology)
Kenneth Boulding, University of Michigan (Economics)
Hadley Cantril, Chairman, Institute of International Social Research, Princeton, N. J. (Psychology)
Philip Converse, University of Michigan (Political Science)
Alfred de Grazia, New York University (Government) and Editor, American Behavioral Scientist
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Kenneth Janda, Northwestern University (Political Science)
Harold Lasswell, Yale University Law School (Law)
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Daniel Lerner, M. I. T. (Sociology)
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Charles Osgood, University of Illinois (Institute of Communications Research)
Richard L. Park, University of Michigan (Political Science)

James Robinson, Ohio State University (Political Science)
Richard Snyder, University of California, Irvine (Dean, Graduate School of Administration)
Philip Stone, Harvard University (Sociology)
John and Ruth Useem, Michigan State University (Anthropology)
Richard Van Wagenen, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Washington, D. C.)
Myron Weiner, M. I. T. (Political Science)
William L. C. Wheaton, University of California, Berkeley (Political Science) Director, Inst. of Urban & Regional Development.
Ralph K. White, George Washington University (Political Science)

The International Social Science Council which, here, for the first time, extended its sponsorship to a project other than its own functions, assured international responsibility, providing an answer to the recent wave of suspicisons aroused by unilateral American sponsored research. Through a liaison committee, headed by its chairman, Sjoerd Groenman, Director of the Sociological Institute, University of Utrecht, Netherlands, it maintained close continuing contact with the project and thus also served as a useful referent to the international social science community.

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1. Institutional affiliations are designated according to the positions held in 1966-67. Only three members of the original committee have had to resign because of new responsibilities. They are: Dr. Charles Frankel, Dr. Ithiel de Sola Pool and Bryant Wedge, M. D.

Chronology and Work Pattern

Financial commitments under this contract were authorized on October 23, 1964. When the contract was officially signed, two immediate tasks were undertaken: (1) initial operationalization of the substantive goals, and (2) arranging with Indian institutions for collaboration.

On October 30-31, 1964, the design of the research was elaborated in operational terms at a meeting with the American Advisory Committee. As the proposed research called for a survey, special effort was devoted to the compilation and appraisal of the results of other cross-national studies. This culminated in a set of papers which were made available for the consideration of Indian scholars.

In December-January, 1964-65, conferences were held with Indian colleagues, consultants and institutional heads. The initial design was explained and modified in conformance with the contract statement "improving and facilitating current arrangements for international cooperative research..." Initial empirical investigation was undertaken in the spring of 1965, after working arrangements were concluded with three Indian institutions and the creation of a national Indian Advisory Committee, as reported in Contractor's first report to the AID Science Director, January 31, 1965. Commitments were consummated with the senior Indian scholars who agreed to work on the study, and they then proceeded to organize their research teams.

Thereafter, the development of the study was paced to a series of international roundtables, bringing the principal cooperating scholars together with key consultants at intervals of about six months. Here consensus was progressively achieved on design, methodology and work program. Each participant reported in detail on his efforts to implement the previously agreed decisions, presented the problems he had encountered, and proposed modifications in the research design and operations to meet them.

Five such roundtables were held, as follows:

Roundtable I, June, 1965:

- to elaborate the study design;
- to prepare for pretest a comprehensive questionnaire for the leadership attitudinal survey, with particular attention to the construction of scales to measure commitment to a set of values considered of high relevance to political decision-making;

- to work out a tentative basis for selecting the local communities on which the study would focus as the prime units of observation;
- to consider the kinds of aggregative data which should be collected to determine the socio-economic characteristics of communities, and their degree of integration or activeness;
- to plan how to investigate the making of specific decisions at the local level and what data to search out for this purpose.

Roundtable II, January, 1966:

- to reconsider the design in the light of the empirical experience gained, clarify the conceptualization and operationalization of variables and finally settle the common theoretical framework and research procedures to be followed;
- to review inventories of research and data relevant to the various aspects of the study;
- to appraise the results of the survey pretest and reconstruct the survey instrument accordingly; leading to a decision to undertake a further pretest;
- to reappraise the pattern of selection of units in the light of field investigation;
- to determine upon a method of analyzing local economic development data which would yield a reliable composite index of the level and rate of development for local communities;
- to make a preliminary decision on the kinds of data most appropriate to measure community activeness;
- to evaluate the results of the documentary approach to investigating local decisions and, considering the demonstrated inadequacies of the data available, to devise an alternative strategy to inventory "integrative" decisions and discover the dynamics of how these decisions came about;
- to draw preliminary guidelines for value content analysis of leadership communications.

Roundtable III, July, 1966 (preceded by preparative task groups):

- to finalize the survey instrument and all other preparations for the survey, including interview instructions and training guidelines to assure maximum comparability;
- to review the data and scoring of communities on indicators of level of economic development;
- to complete the inventory of indicators of community activeness and integration;
- to appraise the results of the pilot study of community decision-making and determine the methods to be pursued in further case studies;

- to settle the coding guidelines for content analysis, and the range of documents to be analyzed;
- to lay out the program of analyses necessary to derive from the data being collected, measurements of the key variables in the study, and to establish the interrelations among variables.

Roundtable IV, January, 1967 (divided into workshops for data processing and analysis):

- to process results of the survey, determine the value scales, and establish a common code for analyzing responses to the open-ended items;
- to process community activeness data, determine the key indicators and complete scales for measuring community activeness;
- to review results of pilot case studies of decisions; and determine final plan for case studies to be completed spring, 1967;
- to review results of pilot content analysis and determine scope of final application to be undertaken spring, 1967;
- to complete plans for all phases of the analysis.

Roundtable V, May/June 1967 (including preparative and follow-up task groups):

- to review and evaluate preliminary reports on the analysis of particular variables;
- to review and evaluate preliminary intercorrelations of variables;
- to propose and discuss tentative findings;
- to assign tasks for formal report.

Since the fifth roundtable, intensive data checking, processing and analysis has continued at the University of Pennsylvania, under the combined direction of the U.S. staff and two of the Indian scholars who came to the U.S. for the purpose of assuring accuracy in the transmission of data and insight in interpretation. Close communication with the centers in India has also been maintained throughout this preliminary assessment of the immense body of original material now available as a result of the project.

Developing Capability for Research on Social Dynamics

From the outset, the project encountered a dearth of data, methodological know-how and technical facilities for social research of this scope at the local level. There were no precedent models to follow; no ready-made relevant and reliable data banks. Techniques of attitudinal measurement and macro-analysis of socio-economic development, sophisticated as they were in some areas, were not immediately applicable to construction of the indices required in this study, and manipulation of the disparate kinds of data which had to be used. In particular, little research on social behavior in India had made use of computer facilities, hence practical experience in applying advanced forms of quantitative analysis to the solution of such problems was very limited.

An important result of this project has been the creation of a nucleus of researchers, Indian and American, who have acquired at least some of the skills necessary for modern, rigorous empirical study of social and political development. This has come about through the following activities.

1. Raw data collection and verification:

In undertaking a major new attitudinal survey to get the kind of precise information needed to measure leaders' values and perceptions, and relate them directly to the activeness of particular communities, the project carried out in India the entire complex operation of modern survey research - including the preparation, testing and translation of instruments, drawing the sample, training and supervision of field interviewers, coding and tabulating the responses. This provided opportunity for both senior scholars and assistants to learn by experience the techniques and problems of such research under the guidance of highly competent technical specialists. The fact that four pretests preceded the final survey meant that progressive refinements could be introduced as the staff evaluated its first efforts, and corrected deficiencies.

What had not been expected when the project was first proposed, was the need for equally arduous work to secure reliable economic and social data. The plan was to turn to central documentary sources (such as the census, and reports of the Planning Commission and other government agencies and institutes) for aggregated indices of economic and community development. While

some such material at the district level had recently been compiled and was generously made available, the needed data for taluks and blocks had not been systematically and generally collected. Further problems were encountered because much of the data were not uniform for the different states. Consequently investigators had to go directly to the particular blocks in the sample and hunt for comparable information which could then be aggregated into common indices. A truly vast net of primary data had to be gathered to secure a minimum common core. In the process, the staff learned the hard way how to cope with problems of original access, and detecting unreliability, the importance of precision in identifying and recording the data and some of the intricacies of constructing composite indices of diversified items. The possibilities for error even on the part of the most conscientious researchers came as a sobering surprise to all involved and alerted this group to the need for rigorous measures of data control. Repeatedly, the checking procedures employed threw up queries which sent the teams back to verify data at the source - and indeed to question and sometimes hunt behind the source. A healthy skepticism of secondary reports on socio-economic development, especially those relying on local level data, is a residue of this experience.

2. International Roundtables:

The international roundtables were organized as intensive working conferences so that the principal participants and leading technical specialists could live and work in close proximity for long enough periods to secure personal appreciation and a realistic interchange of concentrated knowledge. They were, in fact, continuing seminars, interspersed with periods of strenuous testing and application on the field, results being brought back for searching appraisal at the next roundtable. One of the major reasons for rotating the roundtables was to directly involve the supporting staffs of junior scholars in this process of mutual learning.

3. Workshops:

As the project moved to the point of major data analysis, cross-national task forces were formed to devise and carry out different types of analysis.

One of these was charged specifically with the task of operationalizing the computational procedures needed to measure the variables and establish relationships among them. It was decided to conduct this work initially at the Indian Institute of Technology, Kanpur, where computer facilities similar to those at the University of Pennsylvania made it possible to use programs which had been developed in the U. S. and given at least preliminary social science application. The workshop adapted these programs to the demands of the project, and also wrote and applied new programs. It left as a permanent legacy a computer library of tested, "de-bugged" programs immediately applicable to many of the needs of social research. Those associated with this work testify, with deep appreciation, to the exceptional competence and cooperation of the I. I. T. Computer Center staff, who were instrumental in getting these programs to run, thereby establishing Kanpur as presently the best equipped and most experienced center for such research analysis in India.[1]

4. Exchange of scholars:

In addition to group conferences and meetings, the principal participants individually engaged in prolonged period of cooperative research in each other's countries. This gave them a sense of relevance when issues of design, method, analysis and especially interpretation arose. It became increasingly apparent that adequate appraisals required a continuing cross-national perspective. Most of the scholars had insufficient knowledge to have a penetrating understanding of other cultures. But the prolonged association with each other, and at least an elemental exposure to the field of comparison, made it possible for them to communicate effectively, to establish a common conceptual framework and even to check the validity from time to time of observations made about the other country by its own investigators. Often the outside observer could offset "culture-blindness" of the national.

It is not too much to say that this pattern of collaboration brought about a degree of rigor in conceptualization, precision in methodology and uniformity in analytical procedures which goes far to meet the requirements of sound comparative research.

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1. See: A Przeworski, "Notes on Computer Programs Available to Social Scientists at IIT/Kanpur." Doc. No. RT/IV/17.

This process produced a corps of persons who know the ropes - and the perils - of this kind of down-to-earth, yet sophisticated investigation of social dynamics.

Considering the breadth of the study, the complexity of its design, the elusiveness of some of the variables (especially "values"), the need for innovative instrumentation and modes of analysis, and the problems of organizing cross-national cooperation, the accomplishments in the three years since the contract became operative testify to the competence and to the high sense of personal and intellectual responsibility of the Indian and American scholars who took part in it.

Of supreme importance has been the international cooperative character of this project. Its import as a model for the organization and conduct of cross-national research, involving developing societies, can hardly be overemphasized. Fully as significant as the substantive results, is the demonstration of the feasibility of a pattern of conducting research on highly sensitive issues of international development in times of tension. This approach has met the test of survival in the face of events and influences during the last two years which have impugned the integrity, and often brought the peremptory discontinuance of American research abroad, imperilling the ongoing contributions of technical assistance and the future of vital development projects.

In this connection, it is a source of deep gratification to those associated with this project that the Research Projects Commission of the Government of India Planning Commission has undertaken to support studies by two of the Indian centers, as a continuation of the international program and as pilot studies for similar research in other parts of India.

Considering this experience, it is the earnest recommendation of the principal investigator that <u>all</u> American supported research in India, whatever the subject, be conducted on a basis of joint collaboration, with Indian institutions and scientists sharing fully in the organization, execution, and administration of the work, and where possible, also contributing to its financial support.

II. POLITICAL VALUES OF LOCAL LEADERS

Values, or value-orientations, have a solid position in descriptive anthropology as a basic cultural characteristic. Their significance for political behavior is more ambiguous. Often assumed to be synonymous with goals, they are treated as objects of acquisition or distribution, a kind of ultimate imperative of political systems.[1] The approach to values in this research, by contrast, is distinguished by a definition which is at once operational and normative, identifying values as one, but only one, component or determinant of human action. They are the criteria in terms of which choices are made between alternative courses of action, the standards or norms actually applied by individuals (or groups of interacting individuals) in decision-making.[2]

Values, as we have explored them include broadly-based concepts of legitimacy prevalent throughout a society; role-expectations of the general public, or of influence groups perceived by a decision-maker to be specifically applicable to his conduct; or personal convictions of what is right or wrong (which may conflict with the social norms to which the individual is exposed). It is quickly apparent that political decision-making will involve a process not only of applying particular values to the issue at hand, but of ordering priorities among inconsistent or conflicting values.

It is a thesis of this set of studies that values are so important a component of political motivation that empirical explanations of political behavior are seriously deficient if they do not seek to establish the value-profiles of the actors and the extent of their influence upon the decisional processes. This is

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1. See the concepts set forth by Harold Lasswell and Abraham Kaplan in Power and Society; and by David Easton in The Political System.

2. The concepts used in this research are elaborated in Philip E. Jacob and James J. Flink, "Values and Their Function in Decision-Making", The American Behavioral Scientist Supplement, May, 1962. See also the chapter on values in Jacob and Toscano (eds.) The Integration of Political Communities. A clear critique of alternative concepts of values, from the standpoint of social research is presented by Allen Barton's monograph, Measuring the Values of Individuals. See also his working paper, "Value Measurement and the Analysis of Behavior", prepared for the First International Roundtable of the International Studies of Values in Politics (ISVIP Doc. USA/19).

especially the case with the study of development--economic or political--because the seeming independent forces of technological and institutional change, powerful as they are in shaping the environment and in turn the dispositions of men, are themselves molded, speeded or thwarted by the disposition of the human stuff through which they have to exert their social effect.

Measuring Political Values

This poses immediately, of course, the problem of measurement. Much effort under this contract has gone into devising reliable techniques of weighing the strength and impact of value-commitments which have particular political relevance. Four main methods have been tested:

A. development of multi-item scales for a number of values which are assumed to be conceptually and operationally discrete (the items consisting of various types of closed, structured questions);

B. factor analysis of a diverse set of value-laden questions;

C. coding of responses to open-ended questions designed to secure a broad and relatively unstructured view of the individual's standards for evaluating political conduct and aspirations;

D. content analysis of speeches and other documentary records of political intercourse, distinguishing value-laden expressions by substance and measuring their frequency of reference and intensity.

A. The Value Scales

The construction of the value scales was designed to meet these criteria:

(i) they should identify values which are relevant to the public decision-making functions of the respondents;

(ii) they should distinguish among such values;

(iii) they should have the power to discriminate degrees of commitment among respondents within countries;

(iv) they should be cross-nationally equivalent.

The following procedures were undertaken to accomplish these ends:

(1) Empirical identification of relevant values:

A broad spectrum of political values, as conceived by political leaders in each country, was identified empirically. A pilot questionnaire, using mainly open-ended questions, was prepared jointly by Indian and American scholars and administered in the spring of 1965 to 119 Indian and 40 U. S. leaders. They were asked, for instance, to describe the qualities of leaders they admired or disliked, and to appraise recent political actions and decisions, stating why they approved or disapproved of them. The responses were then coded for value content. This pilot study also used the well-established semi-projective cross-cultural instruments developed by Cantril and Free to elicit the hopes and fears which people hold for themselves and their country. Use was made on a limited basis of the semi-projective techniques of David McClelland to assess achievement motivation. In addition, value-laden expressions in major policy pronouncements by national leaders were selected and classified by content-analysis.

From this pool of original value-laden expressions made by the kinds of leaders with which this project is concerned, a series of presumably distinct and different values, immediately relevant to political decision-making, was identified and conceptually clarified.

(2) Preparation of a cross-culturally valid questionnaire:

Two sets of questions were then prepared to measure commitment to each value. One set was identical for both countries. The other was made quite specific to conditions, experiences and language familiar to the leaders in each country.

This was done in order to establish cross-national validity. The specific questions were designed to insure cultural relevance. Identical questions were, in the fashion of conventional surveys, expected to assure uniformity. By demonstrating statistically the equivalence of the identical and the nation-specific questions, a presumption of cross-national comparability could be made. This method, which is believed to be an innovation for assessing similar phenomena in culturally heterogeneous populations, was not originally programmed, but was devised as the international teams worked together to

resolve this most persistent dilemma confronting cross-cultural research.[1]

(3) Pretests and purification:

Three pretests were conducted with over 200 respondents in each country. After each test results were conceptually and statistically analyzed, including complete inter-item correlation of the questions. Questions which proved to have a low homogeneity ratio, that is, did not correlate sufficiently with the set of questions designed to form a scale for a particular value, were discarded. Questions which were reported to have confused respondents, or on second look by investigators appeared ambiguous, were tossed out. New ones were written and tested. Meanwhile, the value concepts themselves were refined and made more precise and comparable.

Finally, in July 1966, the standard version of the questionnaire was completed. Translation took place in August (at least two independent translations were made into the three Indian languages and crosschecked). Interviewers were trained in September. The full survey was fielded in October. All interviews were reported by January 1967 (with less than 5% rejections in either country).

(4) Composition of the final scales:

With all responses in, the process of purification was repeated. After choosing the best set of internationally identical questions, those nation-specific items which had the highest correlations with the international set were added to compose the full scale.

(5) Scoring:

Individuals were scored on a 4-point scale (strongly agree - 1; agree - 2; disagree - 3; strongly disagree - 4). Midpoint is obviously 2.5 though no option was provided for this position, or for "no opinion". The individual's score on a given value was computed by dividing his total score on all (purified) items by the number of items.

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1. This method of maximizing cross-national and cross-cultural comparability while relating specifically to the particular circumstances of each country or culture is explained by A. Przeworski and H. Teune in "Equivalence in Cross-National Research," The Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. 30, Winter, 1966-67.

In the final survey ten value scales were incorporated, each including eight or more items (see Table 4):

Table 4
Political Values - Ten Scales

1. Concern for economic development, combining a general interest in material progress and well-being with a readiness to place future economic growth ahead of immediate consumption.

2. Conflict resolution - conflict avoidance, emphasizing particularly the extent to which a desire for consensus, and the avoidance of conflict limit the willingness of leaders to proceed with programs in the community.

3. Participation; This scale includes two elements - a general concern for citizen involvement in public policy formation and decision-making; and a specific readiness to subordinate expertise and professional competence to the value of public participation in the decisional process.

4. Selflessness: willingness to sacrifice for others.

5. Localism: orientation to local, as against national interest and goals, indicating readiness to give precedence to the former when there is conflict between them.

6. Action propensity: disposition to act, despite risks, uncertainties or lack of knowledge about consequences.

7. Honesty: truthfulness and the value of public disclosure by public officials.

8. Change orientation: disposition to accept and support "new things", especially in the solution of community problems.

9. Equality: specifically limited to concern for economic equality, i. e. reducing differences between rich and poor.

10. Political responsibility: this value includes three elements: (a) the referent object of responsibility felt by a leader (nation, local community, party, special interest, etc.), (b) the degree of commitment or sense of felt obligation, (c) conception of political role of the leader. [1]

1. The conceptual history of the values for which the above scales were developed is described in the Report of the Third International Roundtable of the project (doc. RT/III/3). The ISVIP is especially indebted to Allen Barton, Director of the Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University, to Samuel Eldersveld, Professor and Chairman of Political Science,

Cross-National Comparisons on the Value Scales

The following findings emerge from preliminary analysis of mean scores on nine of the value scales for the total group of leaders interviewed in each country (see Table 5). Analysis is in progress on the tenth value.

(1) There is substantial similarity in the importance attached to honesty and selflessness as standards of public conduct (scales 4 and 7).

(2) These local leaders, taken as composite national groups, are square in the middle when it comes to committing themselves as between national or local interests when the two are in conflict. Indians tend to be somewhat more nationally oriented than the Americans (scale 5).

(3) They are on the same side of the fence in being favorably disposed toward change, but American leaders as a whole are significantly less so than the Indians (scale 8).

(4) On the other hand, Indian leaders are not prone to act (scale 6). While eager for change, they want to calculate the risks before jumping. The Americans are just the reverse. They will act (presumably to solve problems) but are cautious about change.

(5) A marked difference appears in concern for public participation in political decision-making. Indian leadership is strongly opposed to such participation and wants only the expert and the competent to make decisions (scale 3). In the U. S. leadership ends up about evenly divided.

University of Michigan, and to William A. Scott, Professor of Psychology, University of Colorado, for their major contributions as technical consultants to the methodology of value measurement used in the project. The approach generally follows that applied by Scott in his Organization and Values, a study of the values of American fraternity students.

Lester Milbrath, Professor of Political Science, University of Buffalo, also participated at the initial stage, in development of the survey instrumentation.

The entire design of the project and its execution reflects the rigor, insight and innovativeness which these colleagues brought to it in their several months of devoted effort at various points in its evolution.

The opportunity to include in the final questionnaire certain items from instruments developed by Hadley Cantril and Lloyd Free of the Institute for International Social Research, Joseph Kahl, Washington University at St. Louis, and Milton Rokeach, Michigan State University, is greatly appreciated.

(6) As might have been expected, American leaders are strongly opposed to economic egalitarianism. Indian leaders are as strongly committed in favor.

(7) Finally, the national groups diverge on the issue of conflict resolution. The Indians are clearly concerned to avoid conflict; Americans tend not to be upset over the possibility of conflict.

Table 5
Leaders' Values - India and U.S.
(Mean Scale Scores - all respondents)[1]

	India (n=952)	U.S. (n=905)
1. Economic development	1.30	2.18
2. Conflict resolution	1.82	2.87
3. Participation	3.17	2.26
4. Selflessness	1.43	1.86
5. Localism	2.57	2.29
6. Action propensity	3.39	2.52
7. Honesty	1.69	1.72
8. Change orientation	1.53	2.16
9. Equality	1.51	3.28

Establishing Priorities

A most difficult measuring problem was to establish priorities among values, that is, to ascertain which values would prevail when leaders had to choose among the various "goods" to which they felt committed.

Scale scores, of course, provide a useful overall assessment of the relative strength of commitment among values, but do not necessarily indicate which values will prevail in forced choice situations where issues are sharp and clearly pit one value against another. On the other hand many of the questions were deliberately phrased to require respondents to choose between adherence to one value or another, and turned out to have strong discriminating power. For instance,

1. The method of scoring results in a low score for those who say they agree with or accept the indicated value; a high score denotes rejection of the value. 1.00 is the maximum agreement score possible; 4.00 is the maximum score for rejection. Scoring procedure is explained above, p. 26.

Q. 4 Economic development should not be pursued if it means hardships for the people.

Q. 28 A good leader should refrain from making proposals that divide the people even if these are important for the community.

Q. 45 Widespread participation in decision-making often leads to undesirable conflicts.

Q. 71 If leaders can get things done, the people need not bother whether or not they are selfish.

Q. 93 It is necessary to forego development of one's own community to help the development of the rest of the country.

Q. 147 If a leader knows that the truth will harm someone, he should conceal certain facts.

Q. 150 It is not necessary for a leader to be strictly honest in public dealings if he knows this will interfere with getting his work done.

(phrases underlined indicate the alternative values.)

To get further understanding of a respondent's hierarchy of values, one question was asked, posing a forced choice among a set of verbal statements representing eight of the values scaled. The results were sufficiently different from the hierarchy one might have inferred from the scale scores to warrant including them in the total value-profile. (See Table 6)

Table 6
Value Priorities - Indian and U. S. Leaders

Values	India Mean*	India Rank	U. S. Mean*	U. S. Rank
1. Economic development	.947	1	.997	1
2. Conflict avoidance	.504	3	.388	5
3. Selflessness	.468	4	.172	7
4. National vs. local interests	.435	5	.088	8
5. Honesty	.795	2	.807	2
6. Participation	.193	8	.380	6
7. Equality (social and economic)	.398	6	.611	3
8. Change	.254	7	.572	4

*This table reports means of the means secured for the leaders in each community (rather than for the leaders pooled nationally.)

B. Factor Analysis

The second method used to measure values was factor analysis. Three different orthogonal analyses were performed on Indian responses to the structured value questions. A conceptually intelligible set of factors emerged (see Table 7), on the basis of which the leaders were individually scored and means and variances computed for communities, regions and country. (See Table 13)[1]

Six of the factors which emerged (see Table 7) were largely congruent with particular value scales (see Table 4) indicating that these are unusually stable and consistent elements in the leaders' orientations. They correspond to the value scales of:

(2) conflict resolution (factor II)
(3) participation (factor IX)
(5) localism (factor I)
(7) honesty (factor III)
(8) change orientation (factor V)
(9) equality (factor X)[2]

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1. In the analysis used for scoring, 98 items were rotated for 15 factors. Scoring procedure involved computation of standard scores for all items, then multiplication by the loading for each item on a given factor.

U. S. responses underwent similar analysis. In addition, they were analyzed by a factor iteration program available at the University of Pennsylvania which rotated sequentially all principal components with an eigen value greater than 1.00. A sharper and more consistent factor structure emerged from ten or fewer rotations.

Reanalysis of the 98 Indian items is planned, using this program, in order to check the factor structure on a more limited number of rotations than that previously used and secure maximum clarity and consistency.

2. This factor accounted for slightly less than 5% of the variance and was not scored.

Five factors were sufficiently parallel to those in the U.S. (having a common core of highly loaded identical items) to justify cross-national comparison.

One of these (factor III, Table 7) is a general factor which may be interpreted as a concern for "principled" conduct in public affairs, in contrast to a pragmatic or opportunistic approach which would compromise truthfulness, the public interest and ideological commitments to achieve personal or group interests.

The others are:

- the specific concern for national as against local interests (factor I),
- the disposition to accept change (factor V),
- respect for expertise in decision-making (factor IX),
- concern for economic equality (factor X).

The other five factors tend to be peculiar to India, namely:

- concern for community consensus (factor II),
- concern for preservation of integrity and cohesion in community development (factor IV),
- personal commitment to honesty and selflessness (factor VI)
- inner-directedness of satisfaction; and commitment to gradual change (factor VII),
- limited people's participation in community decision-making (factor VIII).

Table 7
Indian Leaders' Values
A Factor Analysis

	M	SD	FLD
FACTOR I: National orientation in development (10.10% of variance)			
National goals should always receive priority over the requirements of the local community	1.56	.87	.58
In case of conflict the needs of the local community should receive preference over national objectives	2.66	1.22	-.57
We should not worry so much about national problems when we have so many in our own community	2.57	1.20	-.55
Community progress is not possible if national goals always have priority	2.46	1.19	-.54
Although national affairs are important, people here should first worry about their own community problems	1.89	1.12	-.49
National goals should not be obtained at great costs to local communities	2.51	1.25	-.34
Local leaders should always be prepared to adjust their programs to national goals and policies even if this is disadvantageous for the community	1.50	.86	.38
It is necessary to forego development of one's own community to help the development of the rest of the country	2.14	1.16	.39
The economic development of the nation should take precedence over immediate consumer gratification	1.35	.78	.37
Local leaders' over concern with achieving national goals is not desirable for the development of their own area	2.44	1.20	.34

This orthogonal factor analysis, done at the Indian Institute of Technology, Kanpur, orthogonally rotated responses to 98 questions, for 15 factors. The most highly loaded items on 10 factors are reproduced in this table, percent of variance accounted for by each factor is noted in parenthesis.

M = mean score for all respondents in India for each item (n = 954) score of 1.00 indicates strong agreement with the statement; 4.00 indicates strong disagreement.

SD = standard deviation of the total group of 954 respondents for each item.

FLD = loading on the given factor.

The factors were interpreted and labelled by Professor Kailash K. Singh of I.I.T. Kanpur.

	M	SD	FLD
FACTOR II: Concern for community consensus (unity), solidarity and harmony (9.41% of variance)			
A good leader should refrain from making proposals that divide the people even if these are important for the community	2.09	1.18	.56
Any decision that threatens to alienate a sector or group in the community should be postponed	1.94	1.11	.52
A decision should not be taken until all disagreements have been fully resolved	2.17	1.18	.52
Preserving harmony in the community should be considered more important than the achievement of community programs	1.84	1.08	.46
Economic development should not be pursued if it means hardship for the people	2.88	1.22	.34
Action should be delayed until it is certain that it will bring the desired results	2.23	1.21	.36
In order to achieve community goals it is permissible for leaders to present facts in a one-sided way	2.72	1.24	.30
If there is disagreement about a program, a leader should be willing to give it up	2.38	1.20	.32
FACTOR III: Commitment to honesty and selflessness in public conduct (9.04% of variance)			
It is not necessary for a leader to be strictly honest in public dealings if he knows this will interfere with getting his work done	3.30	1.03	-.55
If a leader in local government is highly skilled, one should overlook minor instances of dishonesty	2.86	1.21	-.53
A community can develop without having selfless leaders	3.21	1.08	-.40
No one should expect a political leader to be absolutely selfless in his actions	3.17	1.10	-.47
It is their own fault that some sections of the society are backward, therefore the government should not make special provision for their uplift	3.62	.78	-.36
In order to achieve community goals, it is permissible for leaders to present facts in a one-sided way	2.72	1.24	-.33
Local officials should cover up situations which may embarrass their superiors	2.95	1.21	-.33
If leaders can get things done, the people need not bother whether or not they are selfish	2.70	1.27	-.36

Factor III (cont'd)	M	SD	FLD
If a leader knows that the truth will harm someone, he should conceal certain facts	3.18	1.10	-.33
FACTOR IV: Concern for the preservation of integrity and cohesion in community development (8.08% of variance)			
Unity of local community	1.06	.24	.60
Technical education	1.08	.28	.54
Reduction of community conflicts (Format B)	1.10	.37	.45
Efficiency in economic production	1.08	.31	.43
Subordination of ones own interest in the interest of a higher cause	1.18	.52	.38
Maintenance of friendly relations between people who have to take decisions (Format B)	1.21	.53	.32
Sacrificing oneself for the benefit of others (Format B)	1.23	.48	.33
FACTOR V: Commitment to change (7.9% of variance)			
Even if the newer ways conflict with the way things were done in the past, they are absolutely necessary and desirable	1.67	.90	.52
Changes are desirable even if they do not seem to contribute as much as one might expect	1.50	.84	.45
In every situation poor people should be given more opportunities than rich people	1.31	.67	.39
Quick decisions should be taken on important matters even at the risk of bad results	1.66	1.01	.37
Only economic development will ultimately provide the things required for the welfare and happiness of the people	1.61	.91	.36
FACTOR VI: Personal commitment to honesty and to selflessness (7.52% of variance)			
Sacrificing oneself for the benefit of others (Format B)	1.23	.48	-.47
Leaders should present the truth no matter what the consequences are	1.17	.49	-.46
Sacrificing oneself for others is the highest value a man can achieve	1.13	.40	-.42
Honesty and truthfulness must never be compromised at any cost	1.14	.49	-.37
Public decisions should be made with unanimous consent	1.42	.77	-.33
A leader should not be concerned about his own status, only about doing a good job	1.09	.38	-.34

	M	SD	FLD
FACTOR VII: Inner-directedness of satisfaction in the individual and concern for gradual (not radical) environmental change (7.22% of variance)			
One should be concerned with what he has rather than with what he could get	1.72	1.04	.51
The secret of happiness is not expecting too much out of life and being content with what comes your way	1.52	.95	.51
A community should not accept programs which upset the settled ways of doing things	2.26	1.19	.36
Public decisions should be made with unanimous consent	1.42	.77	.34
The most reasonable approach toward social development is to accept changes which do not substantially alter the established order	1.81	1.02	.31
FACTOR VIII : Limited peoples' participation in community decision-making (6.89% of variance)			
Decision-making activity need not be the concern of all people in the community	2.14	1.20	-.54
Participation of the people is not necessary if decision-making is left in the hands of a few trusted and competent leaders	2.12	1.20	-.52
Participation of all citizens in decision-making even if it takes a lot of time and expenditure (Format B)	2.09	1.10	.42
FACTOR IX: Concern for expertise (informed opinion) in decision-making (5.19% of variance)			
To have decisions made by people who are experts on the matter under consideration (Format B)	1.30	.61	.47
Only those who are fully informed on the issues should vote	1.27	.63	.45
Most decisions should be left to the judgment of experts	1.67	.95	.41
Only those who are competent on an issue should speak about it	1.48	.85	.36
FACTOR X: Concern for economic equality (4.14% of variance)			
There should be an upper limit on income so that no one earns very much more than others	1.63	1.05	.48
Discrepancies in salaries should be continually reduced	1.77	1.06	.45
The government has the responsibility to see that nobody lives well when others are poor	1.88	1.12	.39
In every situation poor people should be given more opportunities than rich people	1.31	.67	.31

C. Open-End Questions

The third approach to measuring values was to ask broad questions which would enable a leader freely to express hopes and fears for his country and community, and judgments concerning political conduct. Responses to such unstructured questions on pretests provided a pool of value-laden statements, in the leaders' own words. From these it was possible to map out the general universe of values within which the leaders saw themselves and others like them to be functioning. Also, as noted before, they guided the choice of values for scaling, and often the actual wording of the structured questions.

On the final survey, two open-end questions were included to broaden the dimensions of the leader's value-profile, beyond his responses to the pre-determined scales. One drew out the pattern of his concerns for the nation and its future. The other called for his model of admirable leadership. The questions were:

> What are your wishes and hopes for the future of our country? If you picture the future of (name of country) in the best possible light, how would things look, let us say, ten years from now? Obligatory probe (after respondent's initial answer): Anything else? [1]

> What kinds of people would you like to see as political leaders? That is, what do you think are the most important qualities for a good leader to have? Obligatory probe (after respondent's initial answer): Anything else?

It is obvious from the preliminary frequency classification reported in Tables 8 and 9 that the patterns of response are radically different for India and the U.S.

On aspirations for the national future, U.S. leaders are more preoccupied with the conduct of government, and overwhelmingly concerned with achieving world peace.

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1. This was one of the questions asked by Hadley Cantril and Lloyd Free in their major cross-national studies of "Hopes and Fears for Self and Country". See Cantril, The Pattern of Human Concerns. The authors are grateful for permission to use this question and for the original and continuing guidance and encouragement of Professor Cantril throughout the ISVIP.

Table 8
Wishes and Hopes for Country

Category (collapsed)[1]	Respondents India (n=955) Per Cent	U. S. (n=905) Per Cent
Improved welfare and standard of living	49.58	47.73
Industrial development; employment	31.76	11.49
More and better social services (education, health, family and welfare services, culture and recreation)	35.84	27.95
Aspirations concerning form and operation of government (democracy, socialism, freedom, etc.; more effective honest government)	15.51	33.25
National unity, strength, self-sufficiency, independence, prestige	38.05	20.00
World peace; better, cooperative international relations	2.93	60.00

Table 9
Qualities of the Good Leader

Honesty	52.41	55.80
Selflessness, dedication and public service	52.93	34.36
Intelligence, education, professional knowledge	19.39	55.46
Impartiality	14.67	12.59
Good relationship with people (sociability, etc.)	36.47	25.19
General leadership abilities (energy, organizational ability, decisiveness)	16.66	29.39

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1. Note that these tables present, for summary purposes, a selection of categories which are both collapsed and combined from the original highly detailed classification empirically derived from and closely reflecting the language of the original responses. Thus in Table 8, the category form of government includes all references to form, even though in the complete basic code separate categories were provided for democracy, socialism, etc. where the substance of the response differed conceptually. The national category includes several originally discrete categories, for instance, self-sufficiency which was only mentioned in India.

For this tabulation, a respondent was classified only once in a category, regardless of the length of his response or the number of different subjects mentioned relative to that category.

The complete code, and classification of responses by frequency of mention (rather than on the collapsed basis above) is available in ISVIP document No. RT/V/6 rev. 1.

Aside from expected commitment to economic and social improvement, a substantial number of the Indian local leaders strongly express an interest in the development of the nation as nation, with particular stress on national self-sufficiency and solidarity. This finding supports a conclusion from other parts of the survey that Indian local leadership is actually more nationally oriented than is often assumed, certainly much more so than U.S. leaders profess to be.

Regarding leadership, the Indians place more emphasis on moral qualities and sociability, the U.S. on professional competence and organizational ability - though both pay homage to the saintly virtues of honesty and selfless dedication to the public.

D. Content Analysis

The fourth method of measuring values was thematic content analysis of verbal communications, using techniques especially developed by the investigators associated with this project, to identify and assess values. This permitted exploration of expressions of values by leaders in the normal course of their public activity, completely apart from and unaffected by the survey interview.

A pilot study succeeded in deriving value profiles of Indian and U.S. national leadership by analysis of a very limited selection of major policy statements on development issues.[1] These provide an altogether tentative basis for comparing the values professed by local leaders with those officially espoused from the center.

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1. See K. Krippendorff, "A Preliminary Inquiry Into the Expression of Values in Political Documents", ISVIP doc. No. USA/68, for elaboration of the technique. Coding instructions are available in ISVIP doc. No. USA/72. See also, P.E. Jacob, Progress Report on Value-Content Analysis of National Leadership: U.S. and India, ISVIP doc. No. USA/71.

Note that the planned work on content analysis could not be completed because of the decision of the U.S. A.I.D. Program Officer in December, 1966, to suspend this phase of the project.

Briefly, the approach involves clear specification of substantive (rather than syntactical) elements which distinguish value-laden themes as the units for analysis. The components of a value theme or thought-unit include some or all of the following: a standard of evaluation, an object being evaluated, a referent or beneficiary of the value asserted, and certain terms denoting an evaluative act. Various formats in which an evaluative communication might be conveyed by political leadership were empirically derived from the material and set forth as guidelines for coding. These procedures permitted identification of some values conveyed by inference, or reference to the common-knowledge context in which the statement was delivered, thus widening the value content beyond explicit expressions of approval, justification and the like, and coming closer to the intentions of the author.

Classification categories were also empirically derived directly from the material analyzed: value references were clustered into conceptually distinct groups, defined quite precisely, usually in the author's own terms. On examination, many categories appear cross-nationally comparable, but some are unique for particular countries, at least on the basis of statements so far analyzed.

Several methods of measurement have been tried: frequency of reference, amount of time or space devoted to a value, strength of language used in the author's evaluative statement, and degree of specificity in the reference. Evidence from the pilot study indicates that combining the strength and specificity scores gives the best overall index of the author's stress on various values.

The tentative stage of this phase of the project must be made clear. The body of material so far analyzed is limited. The reliability of the techniques, while tested at various points during the evolution of the coding directives has not been systematically established cross-nationally. Nevertheless, the preliminary results suggest some of the dominant concerns which the national leadership chose to present to their countries in the year prior to the survey of local leaders conducted by ISVIP. (See Table 10)

Table 10
Leadership Values: National Profiles

This report is based on content analysis of ten major speeches on "Great Society" issues by President Johnson 1965-66, and ten speeches on domestic issues by Prime Ministers Shastri and Gandhi during approximately the same period.

The number of value-laden references, adjusted for strength and specifity of expression, is reported for each general category, representing the sum of the scores originally computed for the specific sub-categories. The percentage of the total score for each nation's leaders is indicated in parenthesis.

The first ten categories generally correspond conceptually to the ten values for which scales were designed in the local leadership survey. The remaining categories are either unrelated conceptually, or represent important distinctions not made in the scaled values. Note, however, that the category of equality in this classification is much more inclusive than the equality scale which was limited to a concern for economic equality.

*A special scoring technique was used in computing the emphasis on action propensity and change orientation, ranging from +2.00 to -2.00 with 0.00 representing a neutral position.

Less than 1%.

	Indian Prime Ministers		Johnson	
1. Economic development, including: a. personal income, opportunity, reward, employment b. personal security c. industrial growth d. training for new economy, industries - future oriented e. community growth - public services, facilities (urban or rural) f. general - national growth, "well-being of the people," anti-poverty, amount of production g. agricultural growth and improvement h. balanced economic growth i. economic stability.	466	(30%)	252	(9%)
2. Conflict resolution	#		#	
3. Participation	53	(3%)	55	(2%)
4. Selflessness (including dedication to cause, devotion, etc.)	34	(2%)	35	(1%)

	Indian Prime Ministers	Johnson
5. National-Local Orientation (as defined in leadership survey questionnaire; for other types of national-local references, see 15, 22, 23, 24 below)	#	#
6. Action Propensity	59 (4%)	#
	+0.65*	+0.56*
7. Honesty	#	#
8. Change Orientation	48 (3%)	28 (1%)
	+0.71*	+1.07*
9. Equality, including: a. racial b. opportunity (employment, educational, general-social) c. rich-poor d. equal protection of the laws; rights e. public services, accomodations f. responsibility g. include the Negro in our society h. of justice, freedom i. religious j. linguistic k. of castes	45 (3%)	168 (6%)
10 Political Responsibility, including: a. leadership b. "responsive to public needs" c. serving, protecting the governed; constitutional, moral responsibility; obligation, commitment d. quality, wisdom of leaders e. per se	51 (3%)	57 (2%)
11. Individualism (humane), including: a. fulfillment b. liberation of spirit c. dignity d. hope vs. despair (vs. defeatedness) e. opportunity to be creative f. initiative	16 (1%)	158 (6%)
12. Economic Freedom		

	Indian Prime Ministers		Johnson	
13. Political Freedom, including: a. rights of citizens (traditional, constitutional) b. privileges - fruits of citizenship c. limited government d. democracy	26	(2%)	123	(5%)
14. Humanitarianism (concern for physical suffering, anguish)	34	(2%)	115	(4%)
15. National Interests, including: a. generalized b. material (maintaining resources vs. growth) c. prestige, influence - world leadership d. unity, solidarity e. freedom (internal; independence) f. security g. "swadeshi", self-sufficiency, self-reliance h. past i. "new leaf", "new life" j. philosophy	296	(20%)	110	(4%)
16. Pragmatic ("Protestant Ethic"), including: a. costs - to government, taxpayers b. scope - comprehensiveness of effects; cover all aspects of the problem c. coordination - centralization of efforts; unified direction d. efficiency - no waste; ease of implimentation, flexibility e. efficacy - getting the job done; quick, visible results f. quality - getting the job done well; professionalism g. consistency - of policy h. hard work i. helping those who help themselves; worthiness j. commonsense, prudence	96	(6%)	406	(15%)
17. Rationality, including: a. realism b. regard for facts c. advice of experts d. obtain knowledge and experience for government; use of business techniques, use of science; wisdom e. search for enlightenment; truth f. logic	80	(5%)	82	(3%)

	Indian Prime Ministers		Johnson	
18. Lawfulness, including:	13	(1%)	246	(9%)
a. rule of law - general, orderliness (vs. chaos)				
b. vs. crime (specifically); for law enforcement				
c. non-violence - "orderly struggle", change; internal peace				
d. make the penalty fit the crime (for enforcement purposes, not justice)				
e. freedom from intimidation				
f. safety and security (physical) of citizens				
19. Equity	13	(1%)	85	(3%)
20. Justice	#		49	(2%)
21. Social development, including:	77	(5%)	317	(12%)
a. general				
b. education				
c. health				
d. culture				
e. natural beauty				
f. environment				
g. housing				
h. criminal rehabilitation				
i. social defence				
22. Localism	#		221	(8%)
23. Nationalism	#		36	(1+%)
24. Federalism, including	#		74	(3%)
a. creative federalism				
b. cooperation of various levels of government				

Validification

Before concluding, we must admit that none of the measures of values we have used can, by themselves, establish that the values identified do actually influence political action, that is, have an operational effect. These are measures of professed values. Independent means must be used to measure carry-over into performance. We have experimented with four such:

(1) outputs of political agencies and groups with which the respondents are associated, calculated in aggregative terms of commitments of the resources available to those bodies;

(2) outputs of such groups, identified as decisions reached (or rejected);

(3) actions of individual leaders, as described by themselves;

(4) the behavior of individual leaders, especially their decisions, as described by others.

We are least satisfied with what has been done to check the individual performance of leaders in decision-making situations, where some of the professed values come into conflict and force a leader to choose among them, demonstrating which he really puts first. As explained in previous reports[1] this was one of the important purposes to be served by the collection of decisional case histories in some of the communities where local leaders had been interviewed. These were to be built up through examination of the records of local government bodies, direct observation of proceedings, and most important, informant interviewing directed toward establishing the actual performance of leadership in critical decisional situations. Guidelines were worked out and tested with promising results in pilot studies conducted during the second year of the contract. But this phase of the work was ordered discontinued by the A. I. D. Program Officer before it was systematically implemented, and it is therefore not possible to report at this time, as had been intended, the direct impact of individual leaders' values on the actual processes of interaction in local political decision-making. The Indian investigators have been particularly concerned to execute an adequate set of these studies, considering the work they had invested in preparing for them and the importance

1. Note for instance, Report of Roundtable II (section 6 and Supplement G); Interim Report to AID Science Director, May 1, 1966, p. 7; and Progress Report to AID, Nov. 7, 1966, p. 22-24.

of exploring more thoroughly the relationship between professed values and real behavior. It is hoped that resources can be secured to make this possible.

In the meantime, results of other aspects of the project demonstrate strong relationships between group values and group actions. The collective scores (averages) on some values of the whole leadership group interviewed in different countries do correlate significantly with some of the decisional outputs of local government bodies. Also, the extent to which local leaders differ in their values (the amount of standard deviations within communities) sometimes relates to the kinds and amount of commitments made by them collectively in their political functions. These relationships are explained later in this section and in section VII.

The remarkable consistency of respondents in answering the survey gives further evidence of validity. There was only one scale item in the U. S. and none in India where respondents as a whole tended to reverse the direction originally conceived to be appropriate and take a seemingly contradictory position. There was also little evidence of individual contradictions. Factor analysis of all responses, as already seen, produced conceptually coherent clusters accounting for 79% to 80% of the variance in each country. Many of these factors were highly congruent with the preconceived value scales. All this points to the existence of well-defined value syndromes as an integral element of the leaders dispositional structure.

Corroboration of the proposition that professed values do in fact have a determinable relationship to "real" or operational values, was also indicated in certain special probes. Notably, K. K. Singh, of the Indian Institute of Technology at Kanpur, found in a study of 87 village leaders that a greater discrepancy between their estimate of the honesty of others and their own professed commitment to honesty as a principle of conduct was a distinguishing characteristic of leaders who, by other observations, were identified as "traditional" and "inner-directed" in their behavioral disposition.[1]

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1. This pilot study, undertaken in the fall of 1965 as part of this program, is reported in K. K. Singh, Ali Ashraf and Henry Teune, "Some Socio-Psychological Dimensions of Political Responsibility." (ISVIP doc. No. IND/31)

Dimensions of Diversity - The Indian Scene

A basic finding of this study is that, despite the striking homogeneity of values which is characteristic of local political leaders in both the U. S. and India, in India, subtle differences on such fundamental issues as (1) priority of national over local interests, (2) conflict avoidance, (3) urgency of change, and (4) commitment to moral principles in public conduct, have a profound effect on developmental activity in the community. Moreover, the findings demonstrate that the differences between leadership groups community-to-community, though relatively small, are more predictive of the pattern of activeness than the greater differences among individual leaders within communities.

The Area of Congruence

On first impression the similarity of Indian leaders' values appears more striking than their differences. Consider:

(1) the relatively modest variations of value scores within communities (as indicated in Table 11, column (c) reporting mean standard deviations within communities on the 9 values scaled);

(2) the even smaller variations among communities (as indicated in Table 11, column (b) reporting deviation of the average score of a community's leaders from the mean scores for all communities);

(3) the fact that on six values the leadership group of every one of the 30 blocks stands clearly committed to the value: economic development, conflict avoidance, selflessness, honesty, change, and economic equality (see Table 12)[1];

(4) on two values, action propensity and participation, the leadership of every locality (except block 23 in the case of participation) rejects the value (see Table 12).

Thus, there is a wide and pervasive area of congruence, where Indian political leadership shares the same values, or at least professes the same values, place to place in the three states studied.

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1. As explained previously, a score of 2.00 indicates agreement and 1.00, strong agreement with the items representing the value.

Table 11
Values of Indian Leaders: Congruence and Diversity

Value Scales	(a) Mean of community means (scale score)	(b) Standard Deviation of community means around (a)	(c) Mean of Standard Deviation within communities	Correlations of (a) with activeness measures I	Correlations of (a) with activeness measures II	Correlations of (b) with activeness measures I	Correlations of (b) with activeness measures II
1. Economic development	1.29	.084	.319	-.052	-.285	+.001	+.123
2. Conflict avoidance	1.84	.181	.515	-.357	+.623*	+.442*	-.606*
3. Public participation	3.17	.219	.461	-.089	+.174	-.059	+.065
4. Selflessness	1.43	.103	.323	+.173	-.414*	+.146	+.112
5. Local orientation	2.57	.153	.570	-.503*	+.058	-.211	-.054
6. Action propensity	3.39	.147	.440	+.044	+.509*	+.120	+.136
7. Honesty	1.68	.191	.443	+.054	-.450*	+.208	-.201
8. Change Orientation	1.53	.125	.393	+.361*	-.487*	-.230	+.201
9. Equality (economic)	1.50	.094	.412	+.055	+.177	-.272	+.124

*Significant at .05 level of confidence.
Signs adjusted to indicate direction of correlation with a high commitment to the indicated value; or with a high standard deviation.

Synopsis

The Area of Diversity: Values with regard to which leaders differ most -

Among communities (b)	Inside particular communities (c)
Participation	Localism-Nationalism
Honesty	Conflict Avoidance
Conflict Avoidance	

The Area of Congruence: Values with regard to which local leaders differ least -

(b)	(c)
Economic development	Economic development
Equality	Selflessness
Selflessness	

The Area of Diversity: Edge of Change

On the other hand, within the general area of consensus, Indian leaders differ in the intensity of their value-commitments. On three values - (1) conflict avoidance, (2) disposition toward change, and (3) commitment to integrity in public conduct - these differences, as will be seen, have an important bearing on development activity in their communities.

Then, on the vital question of the priority of national or local interests, there is no consensus. Individual leaders everywhere disagree on which to put first; and communities differ in who predominates. In some, the nationalists have the edge. In others, the balance tilts narrowly in favor of localists. But inter-community leadership differences on this value, though small, have a profound consequence in determining responsiveness to nationally initiated development programs.[1]

These conclusions anticipate the analysis and explanation of community activeness later in the report (see sections VI and VII) but at the risk of spoiling the ending of this detective story by premature disclosure, the specific effects of the diversity of values upon development[2] which is the major concern of this study, are summarized here:

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1. These findings are demonstrated in Table 12 which reports community differences in mean scale scores; Table 13 which reports community differences on value factor scores; and Table 40 which reports the bivariate correlation of these differences with two measures of activeness. The accompanying Table 11 summarizes the evidence for the 9 value scales.

In general, factor analysis supports the profile of diversity based on scale scores, indicating widest variation among communities on the factors identified as: national orientation, commitment to change, commitment to moral principles (integrity) and concern for consensus.

There are 16 instances in which communities stand clearly out of line with the general pattern of distribution on value factor scores (see Table 13): 7 involve factors V and VII which concern commitment to change; 5 involve factors III and VI relating to commitment to moral principles as against opportunism; and 2 involve factor II relating to the concern for consensus and the avoidance of conflict.

2. Based on the bivariate correlation of data on leaders' values with measures of activeness (see Table 40).

Table 12
Values of Indian Leaders
Community Differences I: 9 Scales

Unit	ECDE		CORE		PART		SELF	
India (N=955)	1.29		1.84		3.17		1.43	
U. P.	1.34		1.66		3.14		1.51	
Maharashtra	1.31		1.91		3.27		1.43	
Gujarat	1.24		1.94		3.10		1.35	
1	1.31	19	1.72	9	3.06	5	1.44	15
2	1.46	28	1.61	4	3.15	12	1.45	17
3	1.37	26	1.76	12	2.98	3	1.54	26
4	1.31	19	1.79	14	3.13	10	1.62	30
5	1.31	19	1.50	1	3.25	20	1.42	14
6	1.30	16	1.58	2	3.13	10	1.61	29
7	1.36	25	1.74	10	3.02	4	1.44	15
8	1.48	30	1.70	8	3.22	17	1.60	28
9	1.28	14	1.61	4	3.22	17	1.49	22
10	1.22	7	1.58	2	3.25	20	1.49	22
11	1.35	23	2.15	29	3.06	5	1.47	19
12	1.32	21	1.99	23	3.18	14	1.31	5
13	1.21	5	1.75	11	3.41	29	1.35	8
14	1.37	26	1.89	19	3.19	15	1.48	20
15	1.47	29	1.95	21	3.08	8	1.51	25
16	1.35	23	1.65	6	3.28	22	1.57	27
17	1.30	16	2.15	29	3.40	28	1.50	24
18	1.27	13	1.97	22	3.32	24	1.46	18
19	1.25	10	1.85	16	3.36	25	1.38	10
20	1.18	2	1.79	14	3.43	30	1.31	5
21	1.16	1	2.09	28	2.89	2	1.36	9
22	1.21	5	1.99	23	3.36	25	1.39	12
23	1.23	9	2.04	26	2.26	1	1.31	5
24	1.18	2	1.77	13	3.16	13	1.27	2
25	1.35	23	1.88	17	3.39	27	1.39	12
26	1.25	10	2.03	25	3.08	8	1.27	2
27	1.26	12	1.93	20	3.31	23	1.34	7
28	1.22	7	1.88	17	3.21	16	1.38	10
29	1.21	5	2.06	27	3.08	8	1.26	1
30	1.29	15	1.68	7	3.24	19	1.49	22

Note:- Value Scale Code: (See Table 4 for detailed description).

ECDE - economic development
CORE - conflict resolution
PART - participation in decision-making
SELF - selflessness

Scores: This table reports means for leaders by community, and means of community means for region and country.
Low score = accept the value commitment; high score = reject.

Rank: Rank order of communities on each scale is indicated in adjoining column.

Table 12

Values of Indian Leaders

Community Differences I: 9 Scales

Unit	LONA		APRO		HONE		CHOR		EQUA	
India (N=955)	2.57		3.40		1.70		1.54		1.50	
U. P.	2.55		3.25		1.82		1.62		1.47	
Mah.	2.55		3.39		1.74		1.42		1.52	
Guj.	2.60		3.53		1.52		1.56		1.51	
1	2.85	30	3.17	4	1.80	22	1.60	20	1.44	8
2	2.71	25	3.34	11	1.48	5	1.71	28	1.38	3
3	2.66	23	3.15	3	1.75	19	1.67	25	1.61	27
4	2.58	16	3.12	2	1.87	25	1.55	17	1.44	8
5	2.58	16	3.39	15	1.65	13	1.73	29	1.38	3
6	2.46	6	3.32	9	2.00	29	1.47	11	1.53	19
7	2.53	13	3.10	1	1.82	24	1.77	30	1.54	20
8	2.31	2	3.28	7	2.10	30	1.67	25	1.57	22
9	2.46	6	3.39	15	1.93	27	1.46	9	1.47	13
10	2.39	5	3.28	7	1.81	23	1.61	22	1.50	15
11	2.81	28	3.36	12	1.65	13	1.42	5	1.59	24
12	2.79	27	3.28	7	1.70	16	1.42	5	1.38	3
13	2.84	29	3.49	21	1.78	21	1.42	5	1.34	1
14	2.49	11	3.42	17	1.65	13	1.58	19	1.72	30
15	2.49	11	3.24	5	1.58	8	1.51	13	1.52	17
16	2.26	1	3.47	20	1.96	28	1.44	7	1.59	24
17	2.38	4	3.36	12	1.67	15	1.29	2	1.54	20
18	2.60	18	3.39	15	1.87	25	1.37	3	1.44	8
19	2.47	8	3.33	10	1.72	18	1.44	7	1.58	23
20	2.36	3	3.51	23	1.77	20	1.28	1	1.45	11
21	2.65	22	3.43	18	1.45	4	1.68	27	1.44	8
22	2.63	21	3.45	19	1.30	1	1.52	15	1.47	13
23	2.55	14	3.51	23	1.60	10	1.46	9	1.39	5
24	2.55	14	3.63	29	1.58	8	1.61	22	1.46	12
25	2.61	19	3.57	28	1.43	2	1.60	20	1.64	28
26	2.68	24	3.55	27	1.44	3	1.56	18	1.51	16
27	2.48	9	3.53	25	1.58	8	1.47	11	1.60	26
28	2.74	26	3.64	30	1.70	16	1.52	15	1.52	17
29	2.61	19	3.54	26	1.52	6	1.66	24	1.42	6
30	2.49	11	3.49	21	1.61	11	1.52	15	1.66	29

LONA - local vs. national interest*
APRO - action propensity
HONE - honesty (truthfulness)
CHOR - change orientation
EQUA - economic equality

*Low scores on local-national scale mean acceptance of local interest; high scores mean acceptance of national interest.

(1) Orientation to nation. Communities whose leaders tend to give priority to national goals over local interests are most likely to be active in a technique-oriented manner, responsive to innovations and receptive to learning (Activeness Measure I) (r = -. 50.)

(2) Orientation to change. Communities whose leadership tends to be more eager for change than others, are more active in the sense just described (r = +. 36). Communities where the leadership is less disposed toward change are also active - but in an entirely different manner (Activeness Measure II) (r = -. 49). They are manual-and land-oriented, concentrating their efforts on conventional ways of increasing agricultural production - adding irrigation, using more improved (but not mechanized) ploughs, etc. They definitely do not embrace new programs of social development.

(3) Conflice avoidance. Communities whose leaders are less concerned about avoiding conflict are more active in adopting technological innovation (Activeness I). (r = -. 36) Those more concerned with conflict avoidance and maintaining harmony are more likely to be active in the conventional way (Activeness II) (r = +. 62).

(4) Integrity vs. opportunism. Those communities in which the leaders on the average are highly action prone, but value honesty and selflessness relatively less, are the communities more likely to be active in the conventional way based on the traditional modes of agricultural behavior. (r = +. 51, -. 45 and -. 41 respectively.) (These are also the communities in which the leaders perceive it important to avoid conflicts and are relatively less enthusiastic about change.) This syndrome, involving high action propensity, high conflict avoidance, low honesty, low selflessness, and low change orientation is interesting since it seems to define an opportunistic posture toward action: a willingness to act, not necessarily honestly and not necessarily selflessly, combined with a fear of conflicts and lack of concern for a longer term social change. This syndrome seems to define those leaders who are active but active in a way not going beyond the realm of the conventional, organizationally structured and inherited, modes of behavior.

Differences Within, vs. Differences Among Communities

An important issue remains as to whether value differences within communities have more influence than differences among them. Is it the internal diversity, or homogeneity, of the leadership group that galvanizes action? Or is it the particular value-orientation of a particular community's leaders that predicts what will happen there?

This tricky problem of analysis is explored in Table 11, which relates inter- and intra-community variations on the 9 value scales to the two measures of activeness. One is at once confronted with a paradox. The range of difference within communities (column c) is obviously far greater on all values than among communities (column b). Yet on only one value - conflict avoidance - does internal diversity have a significant bearing on community activeness. Here indeed the amount of disagreement inside the community strongly correlates, positively with Activeness I, negatively with Activeness II. That is the more disagreement there is among leaders on this issue, the more likely is the community to be innovative and technique-oriented; the more the leaders are in agreement (and this means agreement to avoid conflict, as reported above) the more the community will act in a conventional land-focussed way.

On all other values, it is the inter- community differences, smaller though they be, that predict the pattern of activeness and therefore seem to have a developmental impact.

Conclusion

In general, it is not the amount of disagreement inside the communities but the resulting collective commitments of the leadership which influences the pattern of development. But to anticipate the following discussion, it can be said that the pattern of activeness is dual and that specific groups of leaders are instrumental in pursuing the different roads toward development. If the leaders of a community are nationally oriented, if they are oriented toward long-term change and are not afraid of conflicts, even among themselves, the community will be active in a technologically innovative manner. But if the leaders attempt to avoid conflicts and share this fear, if they are

not particularly concerned with change but are action prone (even those without much emphasis on honesty or selflessness), the community will also be active. It will be active differently though: in a way extending conventional patterns.

Summing up: what is the importance of differences in leaders' values for the success or failure of developmental efforts in rural India? The answer in short is - crucial and discriminating. In looking for condisitions which trigger development, one must take a close reading of the distinctive value-pattern of a community's leaders, and, in the case of the attitude toward conflict, a measure of dissensus within the leadership group.

Table 13
Values of Indian Leaders
Community Differences II - 9 Factors

Value Factor Code: (see Table 7 for detailed description)	Indication of Position on Value Dimension
I. National orientation in development	Low score (negative) = acceptance
II. Concern for community consensus, desire to avoid conflict	Low score (negative) = acceptance
III. Commitment to honesty and selflessness in public conduct	Low score (negative) = acceptance
IV. Concern for integrity and cohesion in community development	Low score (negative) = acceptance
V. Commitment to change (in the direction of economic equality and development)	Low score (negative) = acceptance
VI. Personal commitment to honesty and selflessness	High score (positive)= acceptance
VII. Inner-directedness of satisfaction; concern for gradual change	Low score (negative) = acceptance
VIII. Limited people's participation in community decision-making	High score (positive) = acceptance (e.g. favors limiting participation)
IX. Concern for expertise (informed opinion) in decision-making	Low score (negative) = acceptance (e.g. favors expertise)

Scoring:

Community factor scores are based on individual scores and represent simply the mean of the individual scores. Regional and national scores are the mean of the community scores.

Factor scores for individuals were computed as follows:

$$\text{Factor Score} = \frac{\text{Standard scores on each item x factor loadings for each item}}{\text{Number of items in each factor}}$$

$$\text{Standard Score} = \frac{\text{Individual score on an item - mean for that item}}{\text{standard deviation for that item}}$$

Factor Loading = Varimax solution for 15 rotated factors

Interpretation:

Scores can be interpreted as follows: a high (positive) or low (negative) score indicates the position of the individual or community on a given factor. Whether a high or low score indicates acceptance or rejection of the value dimension defined by the factor depends on the positive or negative direction of the factor loading and on the substantive direction of the items being scored. See above code for significance of scores on the nine Indian value factors.

If the original responses were normally distributed, mean community scores in this analysis would range between +1.96 and -1.96. Hence a community score outside this range indicates that its leadership as a group deviates on that factor from what would be expected in a normal distribution. It can therefore be considered "extreme".

Table 13

Values of Indian Leaders
Community Differences II - 9 Factors

Unit	I		II		III		IV	
India (N=955)	.29		-.05		.02		.16	
U. P.	.11		-1.00		1.13		.99	
Maharashtra	.01		.70		.22		.35	
Gujarat	.15		.13		-1.30		-.85	
1	-1.50	28	-.12	17	.21	13	.94	8
2	-.79	26	-1.04	23	-.69	20	.18	15
3	-.67	24	.14	14	.70	8	1.39	4
4	-.13	19	-.31	19	1.06	6	1.61	2
5	-.06	18	-1.76	28	.15	15	.29	14
6	-.73	6	-1.85	29	2.75	2	.67	11
7	-.02	17	-.02	16	.76	7	.58	12
8	1.97	1	-1.47	27	3.29	1	3.03	1
9	.72	8	-1.39	26	1.82	4	1.15	7
10	.86	5	-2.04	30	1.25	5	-.03	16
11	-1.83	30	2.54	1	-.88	24	.85	10
12	-1.64	29	1.70	2	-.75	23	-.23	17
13	-1.09	27	.02	15	-.40	18	-.80	23
14	.44	10	.97	7	.45	11	1.52	3
15	.08	15	1.19	5	-.22	16	1.27	5
16	1.92	2	-1.31	25	2.38	3	.85	9
17	.49	9	1.56	3	.20	14	-.28	18
18	-.25	22	.60	8	.57	9	-.42	19
19	.12	13	.41	12	.36	12	-.44	20
20	.89	4	-.65	21	.45	10	1.18	6
21	-.20	20	1.05	6	-1.37	26	.57	13
22	-.02	16	.49	10	-2.31	30	-1.34	29
23	.23	12	.23	13	-.89	25	-1.53	30
24	.37	11	-1.08	24	-.69	21	-.99	27
25	.08	14	.45	11	-1.43	27	-.66	21
26	-.77	25	.56	9	-2.06	29	-.91	25
27	1.04	3	-.60	20	-.70	22	-.71	22
28	-.52	23	-.24	18	-.64	19	-1.14	28
29	-.20	21	1.24	4	-1.58	28	-.88	24
30	-.73	7	-.81	22	-.36	17	-.93	26

Table 13

Values of Indian Leaders
Community Differences II - 9 Factors

Unit	V		VI		VII		VIII		IX	
India	.36		.12		.01		-.01		.00	
U.P.	1.45		-.49		1.29		-.20		.83	
Mah.	.50		.15		.34		.43		-.63	
Guj.	-.85		.71		-.93		-.26		-.21	
1	2.01	4	-.72	25	2.23	3	-1.13	29	1.01	5
2	1.17	7	-.23	22	1.43	6	.20	14	.99	7
3	2.23	2	1.81	1	2.29	2	-1.01	28	1.73	1
4	1.82	5	-1.53	29	2.45	1	-.68	24	1.30	2
5	.64	10	.46	12	.58	9	.20	13	.30	12
6	.27	14	-.81	26	.72	8	.23	12	.37	11
7	2.24	1	-1.13	28	1.75	4	-.86	27	1.20	3
8	2.04	3	-2.33	30	.82	7	.52	7	1.16	4
9	1.20	6	-.69	24	.52	11	.34	9	.20	14
10	.86	8	.31	16	.08	13	.24	11	.08	15
11	.69	9	-.56	23	1.44	5	-.69	25	.87	8
12	-.55	16	.25	17	.57	10	-.24	19	-.25	17
13	-1.40	27	1.04	5	-.83	22	.71	6	-1.41	29
14	.29	13	-.86	27	-.55	18	-.04	17	-.07	16
15	.36	12	-.15	21	.11	12	-.48	22	.27	13
16	-.61	17	-.14	20	-1.32	26	.76	5	-.82	25
17	-.75	21	.34	15	-.29	17	.94	3	-.88	26
18	-.93	25	.35	14	-.16	16	1.02	2	-.98	27
19	-.28	15	-.10	19	-.58	19	.87	4	-1.19	28
20	-1.79	29	1.27	2	-1.80	30	1.42	1	-1.80	30
21	-.87	23	.59	10	-.90	23	-1.36	30	.98	6
22	-.92	24	.77	8	.04	14	.12	16	-.64	22
23	-1.81	30	1.10	4	-.69	20	.33	10	-.80	24
24	-.85	22	1.21	3	-1.73	28	-.41	21	-.39	20
25	.48	11	-.03	18	-.07	15	.44	8	-.32	19
26	-.71	20	.77	7	-.91	24	-.80	26	.41	10
27	-1.47	28	.54	11	-1.76	29	-.18	18	-.29	18
28	-.63	19	.72	9	-1.08	25	-.38	20	-.72	23
29	-1.14	26	.98	6	-1.43	27	-.52	23	.49	9
30	-.62	18	.45	13	-.75	21	.12	15	-.51	21

III. THE ARENA OF LEADERSHIP - PERCEPTIONS OF COMMUNITY AND ROLE

This study has assumed that the leader's impetus to action and impact on development would be strongly conditioned by his environment, and particularly by his image of his constituency and his relationship to it. Certain features of the community, such as its economic level, political structure and some demographic characteristics have been directly assessed by objective data (see sections IV and V). But for a picture of the community's social dynamics - its problems, structure of influence, cleavages and conflicts, and the role of its leadership, we turned primarily to the leaders themselves and looked through the mirror of their perceptions.

The images were not the same, community to community or leader to leader within the same community. Some of these differences in perception seem to link up with what happens in the community, with the amount and kind of development activity that occurs. Which determines which - the leaders' perceptions or the character of the community - is of course an open question, but there is certainly a close, predictable connection.

A. Community Problems

The leader was first asked in the survey what he thought were the most important problems now facing his community.

Responses to this open-end question were classified according to a detailed cross-national code which was constructed directly from the survey material. All discrete functional categories which could be distinguished on face examination of the responses were included, keeping closely to respondents' language in labelling the categories. Cross-national comparability was ascertained by reciprocal coding, a sample of responses being coded by at least three persons, two from areas other than that of the respondent, and instructions rewritten to clarify discrepancies. International as well as intranational reliability checks were conducted at the conclusion of the coding operation.

Frequencies of reference to each category were tabulated by country and community. Then, to focus analysis on some of the major differences which appeared, certain categories were combined and the responses "collapsed", that is a respondent was counted as having mentioned a given problem only once, even if he had made several references to it in the course of his answer.

Table 14 gives the complete classification of responses from Indian and American leaders, reporting total national frequencies.

Table 15 provides a breakdown for Indian regions and blocks, using the collapsed categories and reporting the percentage of leaders in each unit who made one or more references to the given problem area.

There is an obvious contrast between the focus of Indians and Americans because of the basic differences in the physical character of their communities. Leaders in rural India are not likely to be concerned with urban problems, and the leaders of American cities do not talk much about irrigation and producing food.

But the difference in political consciousness may mean more. The Indians identified fewer of their community problems as political, suggesting that even the political elite does not envisage the political arena as a major point of confrontation for vital community problems, and the medium for their resolution. This finding ties in with others to indicate that a strong undercurrent of political disinterest, quite a different thing than strong negative criticisms of government corruption, bad administration, etc. - may hamstring the effectiveness of political institutions, both local and higher, in grappling with the problems of development.

Also noteworthy, is the very small attention devoted to inter-group conflicts and social issues as community problems. Need for the basic necessities overshadows all else. Yet the apparent unconcern over conflict is belied by other evidence (notably from the inquiry into leaders' values) indicating that many leaders abhor conflict and that a desire to avoid conflict strongly affects their approach to meeting developmental needs (see section VII). There may be an intimate connection between this deeprooted feeling and the disposition not to recognize the existence of conflict. This is a matter

for serious concern, because frank acknowledgment of social conflict and readiness to face it, is a demonstrated mark of leadership committed to promoting social and economic development and accepting the change that goes with it.

It should be noted that the respondents were given unlimited time to answer the problems question, so there was every opportunity for them to discuss anything that they thought "important". On the other hand, they were not prompted in any way to introduce particular subjects. This was a kind of free association with the topic "problems facing this community". In this context they did not choose to talk about conflict. (Later in the survey, they were directly asked about conflicts. Responses to this question are reported in the next section.

Looking at the community breakdown, there is one apparent systematic difference in leaders' outlook. In most Uttar Pradesh blocks, they are obviously less concerned than others about problems related to industrial development, and correspondingly about jobs. This is hard to explain merely in terms of the economic base of these blocks. Many blocks in the other states are just as much dependent on agriculture as those in U. P., yet more of their leaders recognize the need for some industrial growth and perceive employment as a problem. There is indeed a consistently close tie between these two elements - industry and jobs - in leaders' appraisal of community problems.

The exceptional concern in some blocks over physical utilities (see Nos. 5 (UP) and 21, 24, 25, 29 (Gujarat)) reflects the severe water shortage which beset these areas at the time of the survey.

A few distinctive situations call for particular explanation after further investigation. For instance, an unusually high percentage of the leaders in two Gujarat blocks consider the provision of social services (especially education) to be an important problem. An unusually small percentage in certain other blocks has this concern. Overall, the great concern is understandably for the base of life in these communities - food, water, and the physical implements and facilities necessary to secure these elemental requirements. Social needs and problems are secondary.

Table 14
Community Problems - Indian and U.S. Perspectives

Question: What do you think are the most important problems facing this community now?

Response categories	India (n = 955)	U.S. (n = 905)
General principles of social and economic organization	19	13
Concern for general welfare, betterment of life, economic development	33	19
Basic living standards and productivity; poverty	109	6
Need for economic stability	57	20
Lack of resources; tax problems; inequitable allocation of resources	104	329
Problems of agricultural development		
In general	199	0
Irrigation	462	0
Food	173	0
Mechanization and other improved agricultural practices	97	0
All other specific problems (agricultural)	80	1
	1011	1
Industrialization and related problems		
In general	82	9
Developing industries (large)	8	20
Developing industries (small)	75	4
Attracting industry (excluding tourism), loss of industry	0	98
Business and commerce	3	17
Employment	153	39
Shortage of qualified skills	1	15
All other specific problems related to industrialization	13	9
	335	218
Problems of Urbanization		
In general	0	18
Housing	43	126
Urban renewal	0	192
All other specific urban problems	4	148
	47	484
Utilities		
In general	2	23
Water, sewage, sanitation (incl. air pollution)	139	154
Electricity	111	9
Transport and communications	271	173
Other	6	23
	529	382

Table 14 (cont'd)

	India	U.S.
Social Services		
In general	1	49
Health and medical	61	28
Family planning & population problems	21	43
Education	283	200
Cultural and recreation	0	49
Social welfare and security	7	27
Other	1	19
	374	415
Social and cultural problems		
In general; and including problems of backwardness, traditionalism, and social inequality	73	34
Inter-group conflicts		
In general; and specific relationships not mentioned below	31	35
Conflict between new and old, modern and traditional ideas	1	6
Racial	0	97
Education	0	15
Social origin (including caste)	14	0
Conflicts of personal interest	4	16
Rural-urban	12	1
	135	170
Political problems		
In general; and specific problems not mentioned below	3	18
Problems of government administration (including inefficiency, bureaucracy, lack of coordination, lack of authority, interferences by politicians and others, lack of competent personnel, lack of time)	151	188
Problems of participation (including people's attitudes towards government, apathy, ignorance)	18	59
Problems of leaders' conduct (incl. dishonesty, personal political ambitions, interests)	50	17
Conflicts between political groups and interests (incl. party, factionalism among different governmental bodies and levels of government)	19	79
	241	331
Miscellaneous (incl. all others not categorized above)	67	14
Total Problems Mentioned	3021	2466

Note 1:- For detailed elaboration of categories see standard international code, prepared at the Third International Roundtable, Kanpur, India. ISVIP document No. RT/IV.

Note 2:- Frequencies reported are the total number of distinguishable references by respondents to the given category. One or more references may have been coded for each respondent.

Table 15

Community Problems: II. Indian Variations

Unit	Agricultural developm't		Industrial develop't		Employ-ment		Physical Utilities		Social services		Conflict	
	%	R	%	R	%	R	%	R	%	R	%	R
India (N=955)	88		17.4		15.2		44.8		35.6		4.1	
U. P. Block 1	72	24.5	7	26	7	21.5	41	16.5	35	17	3	17
2	87	6	7	26	3	27.5	47	12	37	14	7	6.5
3	73	23	7	26	13	16	63	7	37	14	3	17
4	83	10.5	7	26	3	27.5	52	9	21	27	0	26
5	90	3.5	13	18	0	29.5	80	2	33	19.5	0	26
6	70	26	7	26	0	29.5	37	18.5	37	14	10	3.5
7	86	7	3	30	7	21.5	41	16.5	41	8.9	17	1
8	90	3.5	10	22	7	21.5	21	28	38	11	14	2
9	78	13	7	26	7	21.5	15	30	33	19.5	7	6.5
10	88	5	13	18	6	25	47	12	41	8.5	9	5
Maharashtra Block 11	83	10.5	15	13.5	18	13	27	25	47	4	3	17
12	85	8	20	11	23	6.5	28	23.5	38	11	10	3.5
13	75	19.5	25	9	18	13	25	26.5	50	3	0	26
14	74	22	27	6	8	18	35	20.5	43	6.5	4	11.5
15	72	24.5	48	1	20	9	20	29	24	25	4	11.5
16	58	30	45	2	19	11	32	22	29	22	3	17
17	75	19.5	25	9	7	21.5	25	26.5	36	16	4	11.5
18	75	19.5	38	3	20	9	28	23.5	38	11	5	9
19	61	29	13	18	4	26	35	20.5	17	28	4	11.5
20	82	10.5	29	4.5	23	6.5	43	15	23	26	6	8
Gujarat Block 21	77	14.5	29	4.5	35	2	74	4	16	29	3	17
22	77	14.5	15	13.5	18	13	47	12	62	2	0	26
23	65	28	25	9	28	4	45	14	33	19.5	0	26
24	91	2	26	7	20	9	81	1	33	19.5	3	17
25	76	16.5	12	20.5	12	17	73	5	44	5	0	26
26	83	10.5	14	15.5	31	3	54	8	26	24	0	26
27	67	27	7	26	24	5	37	18.5	74	1	3	17
28	76	16.5	17	12	17	15	49	10	27	23	2	21
29	94	1	12	20.5	50	1	79	3	12	30	0	26
30	75	19.5	14	15.5	7	21.5	64	6	43	6.5	0	26

NOTE:- This table indicates the percentage of leaders in each block who made one or more references to the indicated category of problems while responding to the open-ended question on community problems (Q. I/1).

B. Community Cleavages and Conflicts

The amount of harmony in a community and the degree to which a leader perceives conflicts and divisions may influence his view as to what can be accomplished, the way he confronts community problems and consequently his impact on community outputs.

Cleavage

To provide data for a measure of cleavage, leaders were asked, "To what extent do differences such as the following tend to divide people in your community?" and presented a list of eight potential sources of division. Table 16 gives the results, comparing Indian and U.S. respondents nationally, and Indian leaders by community and region.

In both countries the leaders claimed that differences in political views divide people most, followed closely by differences in income. Cleavages of social origin are widely recognized by Indian leaders, though not as much as might be expected considering the pervasiveness of caste. (To what extent this result was affected by some sense of impropriety about admitting caste divisions, given national constitutional and policy commitments, cannot be determined from this question.) Cleavage over the desirability of change is judged considerable in India, less so in the U.S. The importance attributed to educational differences in the U.S. is noteworthy. Overall, Indian leaders see substantially more areas of sharp cleavage in their communities than do the Americans.

The striking differences within India in leaders' responses on this issue are one of the important results of the study from the standpoint of discovering the attitudinal roots of development dynamics. These differences, community-to-community and among leaders within the same community, are closely related to the activeness of communities, as will be reported later (see section VII).

The range of contrasts is immediately observable from Tables 16-18:

(1) Re total areas of perceived cleavage: The leadership group in some communities sees almost twice the area of cleavage as that perceived by leaders in others (mean scores up to 1.24 as against a low of 0.62).

While there is a definite regional distinction (U. P. leaders on the average see more areas of cleavage), it is clear that large inter-community differences exist at least within the states of U. P. and Gujarat and that one must look beyond regional characteristics for explanation.

(2) Re specific areas of perceived cleavage: In each of the eight areas, the extent of community cleavage acknowledged by the leaders of some communities is far greater than by others. But it will be noted that leaders consistently tend to see more or less cleavage in all areas, as compared with leaders of other communities. Thus, if they see differences in income as less divisive than do leaders in another community, they are likely to minimize differences in religion, education and political views as well. The less caste-conscious tend to see less political and religious division and less splitting in regard to change and income. (See Table 17 As with most generalizations, some exceptions occur and call for more specific study.) Overall there is a high and consistent correlation between the total number of areas of division perceived and recognition of each particular source of cleavage. (Table 17, line 9.)

What is suggested is a definite disposition to see or not to see cleavage, a disposition sufficiently marked to distinguish the leadership of some communities as a group from that of others.

(3) Re homogeneity of perception: Examining the degree of deviation within communities leads to an equally important distinction - the leaders of some communities are much more homogeneous than others in their perception of the areas and degree of cleavage (see Table). Leadership in Maharashtra tends to be more so than elsewhere, but there is a wide range within each region (compare on caste division, units 7 and 9 in U. P., 17 and 19 in Maharashtra, 21 and 23 in Gujarat). The significant impact of these variations on community activeness is considered in Section VII.

Table 16

Areas of Community Cleavage - I. Leaders Perceptions

Unit	Education	Income	Religion	Political views	Urban/Rural	Manager/Employee	Racial-Social Origin	Change	Sum of Areas
U.S. (N=905)	.90	.96	.47	1.02	.36	.64	.82	.77	.74
India (N=955)	.79	1.18	.76	1.21	.78	.74	.98	.95	.92
U.P.	.88	1.24	.88	1.35	.76	.86	1.09	1.13	1.02
1	.72	1.10	1.00	1.38	.38	.59	1.10	1.07	.92
2	.83	1.37	.97	1.20	.90	1.07	1.30	1.23	1.11
3	1.00	1.33	.90	1.23	.83	1.10	1.03	1.13	1.07
4	.62	.76	.45	1.07	.59	.55	.79	.59	.68
5	1.00	1.33	1.03	1.33	1.03	1.10	1.20	1.30	1.17
6	1.17	1.40	1.00	1.67	.90	.83	1.20	1.20	1.17
7	1.03	1.55	1.07	1.55	.93	1.14	1.17	1.45	1.24
8	.86	.97	.69	1.28	.58	.62	.93	1.00	.87
9	.67	1.30	.63	1.44	.74	.85	1.04	1.22	.99
10	.86	1.28	1.07	1.35	.72	.72	1.14	1.10	1.03
Maharashtra	.60	1.08	.67	1.17	.60	.68	.98	.87	.83
11	.53	1.06	.74	1.41	.59	.91	.97	.71	.86
12	.75	1.30	.65	1.43	.58	.93	.98	1.10	.91
13	.50	1.14	.75	1.46	.54	.82	.96	.78	.87
14	.62	1.04	.81	1.23	.62	.73	1.15	.81	.88
15	.32	.80	.45	.88	.52	.60	.92	.72	.65
16	.55	1.13	.61	.87	.71	.65	1.03	.94	.81
17	.57	.93	.68	1.18	.43	.54	.89	.86	.76
18	.78	1.18	.68	1.00	.70	.50	.93	.78	.82
19	.74	1.09	.61	1.17	.56	.61	1.04	1.09	.86
20	.60	1.17	.71	1.11	.74	.54	.94	.86	.84
Gujarat	.88	1.20	.74	1.13	.96	.68	.89	.87	.83
21	.84	1.32	1.00	1.39	.84	.77	1.19	.90	1.03
22	1.15	1.12	.56	.79	.91	.74	.71	.79	.85
23	1.08	1.45	.90	1.18	1.15	.73	.83	.88	1.02
24	.81	1.36	1.10	1.23	1.23	.87	1.17	.97	1.09
25	.68	.90	.56	1.27	.63	.63	.71	.76	.77
26	.63	.97	.51	.91	.49	.37	.57	.51	.62
27	1.33	1.23	.77	.90	1.37	.57	1.00	1.03	1.00
28	.85	1.29	.81	1.32	1.05	.66	.93	.95	.98
29	.47	.79	.35	.88	.97	.65	.71	.77	.70
30	.93	1.54	.82	1.39	.96	.79	1.10	1.11	1.08

NOTE:- This table reports mean scores for the leaders in each Indian community, and the mean of community means for the 3 Indian regions and the U.S. and Indian nationally. Scores were computed as follows: 2.00 if the respondent said a given difference divided people "very much", 1.00 if he said "somewhat" and 0.00 if "not at all". Maximum mean score for a particular source of cleavage would therefore be 2.00 if all leaders agreed that a difference was very divisive.

Table 17

Indian Perceptions of Community Cleavage

II. Intercorrelations of Sources of Division

Sources of Division - Differences in:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Education	1.000	.658	.537	.183	.678	.328	.273	.539
2. Income		1.000	.774	.538	.575	.629	.630	.736
3. Religion			1.000	.621	.388	.576	.783	.658
4. Political Views				1.000	-.054	.556	.575	.563
5. Urban/ Rural					1.000	.339	.227	.357
6. Managers/ Employees						1.000	.613	.690
7. Social Origin							1.000	.746
8. Desiring or Opposing Change								1.000
9. $\bar{x}$ - sum Areas of Division	.699	.911	.868	.647	.588	.769	.773	.859
10. Mean perceived conflict interfering with development	.033	.394	.653	.678	-.175	.557	.763	.570

Table 18

Indian Perceptions of Community Cleavage

III. Homogeneity and Diversity

(Standard Deviations)

Unit	Sources of Division - Differences in								
	Education	Income	Religion	Political Views	Urban/Rural	Manager/Employee	Racial-Social Origin	Change	Mean of Comm. Std. Dev.
U.S. (N = 905)	.56	.55	.57	.62	.47	.57	.58	.67	.57
India (N = 955)	.68	.69	.68	.64	.69	.68	.70	.62	.68
U.P.	.79	.75	.79	.69	.73	.75	.75	.69	.74
1	.78	.89	.83	.72	.49	.67	.71	.79	
2	.82	.66	.84	.79	.79	.73	.74	.67	
3	.78	.75	.87	.76	.69	.79	.80	.76	
4	.76	.82	.67	.79	.72	.67	.71	.62	
5	.82	.83	.84	.54	.88	.83	.79	.69	
6	.73	.66	.82	.47	.83	.78	.65	.65	
7	.77	.67	.69	.67	.64	.73	.59	.56	
8	.82	.67	.65	.78	.72	.72	.74	.70	
9	.72	.81	.78	.63	.80	.89	.88	.69	
10	.86	.78	.87	.76	.74	.69	.86	.76	
Maharashtra	.53	.62	.59	.60	.62	.58	.62	.56	.59
11	.61	.68	.61	.60	.49	.61	.51	.57	
12	.49	.60	.69	.63	.54	.61	.61	.66	
13	.50	.64	.43	.50	.63	.60	.57	.56	
14	.56	.59	.62	.64	.63	.52	.66	.48	
15	.47	.63	.50	.59	.64	.57	.69	.45	
16	.50	.66	.70	.55	.63	.54	.70	.50	
17	.50	.37	.60	.66	.56	.57	.49	.58	
18	.52	.67	.57	.59	.75	.59	.61	.61	
19	.53	.65	.57	.56	.65	.57	.69	.58	
20	.64	.70	.61	.67	.65	.60	.67	.59	
Gujarat	.72	.71	.66	.64	.73	.73	.74	.62	.69
21	.81	.78	.76	.54	.72	.79	.78	.59	
22	.73	.72	.69	.72	.70	.66	.71	.53	
23	.61	.63	.58	.63	.73	.77	.63	.46	
24	.78	.70	.69	.61	.75	.75	.72	.60	
25	.64	.73	.66	.63	.69	.79	.77	.65	
26	.64	.77	.65	.69	.69	.54	.69	.65	
27	.76	.72	.67	.60	.80	.72	.73	.66	
28	.87	.63	.67	.68	.70	.72	.75	.70	
29	.70	.76	.54	.63	.75	.76	.71	.64	
30	.70	.63	.71	.62	.73	.77	.77	.72	

Conflict

A perception of cleavage was not taken as necessarily a perception of conflict. People might be divided in one way or another but not fight each other. Or, lines of conflict might cross lines of division.

To get directly at the issue of community conflict and its bearing on affirmative development action, leaders were asked explicitly to describe major conflicts that "interfere with getting things done in your community" and to state how much these conflicts "come in the way of the development of your community". This probe took place at a late point in the interview, long after the discussion of community problems previously reported. Nevertheless, there was substantial consistency of response.

Most Indians, it will be recalled, did not mention conflict as a problem. This tendency to ignore conflict was corroborated by the large number (25%) who responded explicitly to this very pointed question, that no conflicts at all interfered with the development of their community. (See Table 19)

There is however considerable variation among communities in the percentage of those who do not recognize or admit conflict. And this largely matches up with responses on the community problems question. That minority who reported conflict on the first more general question tended to do so on this specifically conflict-oriented one ($r = 0.555$).

The importance of this finding is that recognition or non-recognition of conflict emerges as one of the most sensitive predictors of the pattern and amount of community activeness and development output. Communities whose leaders do perceive conflict are likely to be embarked on an innovative pattern of activity. Where that is not the case, the pattern will be conventional, if there is much activity at all (see section VII).

There are certain clear regional differences. In Gujarat, conflict is either at a minimum, or leaders are peculiarly unable to see it or unwilling to admit it. (Note that on the average Gujarat leaders only recognized 0.79 conflicts as against 1.19 in Maharashtra and 1.46 in U.P.; with almost 50% of the leaders denying that any conflict stood in the way of community development.

Table 19

Conflicts Interfering with Community Development

Unit	Mean degree to which conflicts interfere	Social Groups		Political Groups & Interests		No Conflicts	
		%	Rank	%	Rank	%	Rank
U.S. (N= 905	1.42	30		27		9	
India (N= 955	1.15	38		49		25	
U.P.	1.46	48		53		16	
1	1.55	14	22	79	2	10	20
2	1.80	57	8	50	13	7	24
3	1.17	37	18	50	13	33	10
4	.97	31	20	41	21	35	9
5	1.80	53	10	53	11	0	28
6	1.47	50	12	57	9	10	20
7	1.66	62	6	52	12	10	20
8	1.35	69	1	45	16	14	17
9	1.26	41	16	33	25	30	11
10	1.55	69	1	66	5	9	23
Maharashtra	1.19	55		54		10	
11	1.50	65	4	80	1	0	28
12	1.53	60	7	60	7	0	28
13	1.29	50	12	71	4	7	24
14	1.31	66	3	58	8	0	28
15	.96	40	17	48	15	28	12
16	1.00	48	14	32	26	16	16
17	1.07	64	5	64	6	4	26
18	1.15	50	12	43	19	10	20
19	1.00	57	8	44	17	13	18
20	1.06	46	15	40	22	17	15
Gujarat	.79	11		39		49	
21	1.39	35	19	54	10	19	14
22	.15	0	30	9	30	91	1
23	.85	20	21	30	27	45	6
24	1.16	10	25	72	3	26	13
25	.73	2	29	39	24	54	4
26	.80	3	27	43	19	51	5
27	.80	10	25	40	22	44	7
28	.76	12	23	29	28	56	3
29	.41	3	27	29	28	68	2
30	.86	11	24	43	19	39	8

Note:- This table indicates first, the mean degree to which leaders consider that conflicts interfere with the development of the community. A score of '0' was recorded if no conflicts were mentioned, or mentioned as not interfering with development; '1' was recorded for a response of "some", '2' for "very much". Column 4 reports the percentage of leaders who responded that no conflicts came in the way of development in their community. Columns 2 and 3 report the percentage of leaders whose responses were coded as identifying, respectively, conflicts between social groups and conflicts between political groups and interests. The communities are ranked accordingly.

Leaders differ by community in regard to the character as well as the amount of conflict perceived. In half of the communities, more leaders cite conflicts between political groups and interests than between social groups, (particularly so in Gujarat). In six communities, social conflict clearly predominates. Curiously, this distinction also seems to have some bearing on community activeness, especially in regard to the kind of responsiveness that occurs. The places where political conflict is seen by leaders to be rife, tend to be those which push ahead on the more innovative pattern of social and economic activity.

C. The Structure of Leadership

What a leader does, and especially the effect of what he does, has been widely held in sociological research to depend on the nature of the community power structure within which he functions and his position in it. The very notion of leadership implies successful understanding and manipulation of the techniques of acquiring influence with elements in a community, and hence their support for a leader in his chosen areas of activity.

In line with the motivational approach generally pursued in this project, we have attempted to measure these structural determinants of political behavior perceptually. That is, the leaders have been asked, as principal informants, to explain how they themselves view the structure of influence in their communities and estimate the extent of their own influence.

This has been supplemented by independent investigation, in selected case studies, of the actual operation of the community's influence structure in reaching or avoiding decisions on critical issues. (See below, section IV.)

On the perceptual side, five sets of questions were addressed to the leaders surveyed. They were asked to state:

(1) the areas of community life in which they were most active;

(2) the areas where they felt they had the most influence;

(3) their own most important action (in the areas of influence);

(4) the main obstacles which limited their effectiveness;

(5) the main groups, in and outside the community, to whom they turned for support, in their capacity as political leaders or officials.

The answers to these questions go far to define the role of leadership in terms of what the leader sees to be the area and limits of his competence, and the reference groups whose expectations he will try to fulfill.

Activity and Influence

In both India and the U. S., the leaders surveyed tended to see themselves as influential in almost all the areas in which they claimed to be active. This result is at odds with some studies of community power in other countries where activity and influence are measured independently, and also with evidence from the pretests in this project, in which leaders perceived the scope of their influence to be limited to only a segment of their activities. Yet on the basis of the final comprehensive survey, it seems possible to closely predict self-assessed influence from self-assessed activity. (See Table 20 Rank order correlations between areas of activity and influence are: for India, Rho = .963, $p < .01$; for U.S. Rho = .957, $p < .01$.)

One implication of this finding is that these local leaders do not compartmentalize their leadership function. They view themselves as leaders in everything they do. They do not split up their lives into spheres, in some of which they act as leader, and in others are just common citizens.

In India, this ties in with a second finding which indicates that local leaders do not specialize on particular functions, but see themselves as generalists, operating on a broad front of community life. This too flies in the face of one main stream of research, especially on American patterns of influence, which emphasizes that leadership tends to be functionally specialized, with quite different elites operating in different fields and with very little overlapping. Our observations may reflect the less structured and more integrated character of rural communities in India as compared with the largely urban American municipalities where so many of the community power studies have been conducted; also the much more limited range of public functions in Indian blocks. However that may be, it is evident that Indian local leaders are not inclined to a narrow view of their competence, but rather to treat all community business as their business - a fact of fundamental significance in human relations engineering of development programming. It would seem

Table 20

Perceived Activity and Influence of Local Leaders

Area	India				U. S.			
	Activity		Influence		Activity		Influence	
	Mean score	Rank	Mean score	Rank	Mean score	Rank	Mean score	Rank
1. Industrial and econ. development	.433	9	.617	9	.515	6	.829	6.5
2, Agriculture	.839	1	1.349	1	.061	10	.110	10
3. Housing	.429	10	.576	10	.561	4	.931	3
4, Public improvements, utilities	.674	3	1.096	3	.641	1	1.104	1
5. Health	.660	4	.948	5	.422	9	.692	9
6. Culture, recreation, sport	.512	8	.789	7	.587	3	.882	5
7. Education	.782	2	1.246	2	.509	7	.829	6.5
8. Social improvements welfare	.546	6.5	.845	6	.595	2	.958	2
9. Political organization	.605	5	.967	4	.540	5	.929	4
10. Collection and distribution of public revenue	.546	6.5	.783	8	.432	8	.821	8
Mean sum of areas of Activity	6.028		9.236		4.863		7.870	

Note: Scores were computed as follows:

(a) Activity: area in which leader claimed to be active - 1.00
area not mentioned by leader - 0.00
Maximum mean score - 1.00

(b) Influence: area in which leader claimed to have a great deal of influence - 2.00
area in which leader claimed to have some influence - 1.00
area in which leader claimed to have none at all - 0.00

Maximum mean score - 2.00

Maximum mean sum of areas of activity - 10.0
Maximum mean sum of areas of influence - 20.0

that these Indian local leaders are not ready to divide up and professionalize what decision-making powers they have. They want in on all the action.

There were few surprises, on a national basis, in the main foci of activity and influence. For Indians, it is agriculture, education, public improvements, health; for Americans, it is public improvements, social welfare, housing, culture and recreational activity. Plus, - obviously - politics, for the leaders of both countries, given the fact that all except a sprinkling of administrative officials, had successfully put foot on at least a lower rung of the political ladder.

However, differences between communities in the leadership influence pattern offer a most vital clue to the dynamics of community development in India. That small proportion of leaders who perceive industrial or general economic development as an area of their influence (note that this area ranks only 9 on an overall national basis) is apparently the catalytic agent of innovative change in the community. Where the leadership mix includes this leaven, the community chooses and moves ahead on the road of "Activeness I" - adopting improved techniques of agricultural production, responding to family planning, and seeking new knowledge. (See below, section VII.) Where this element is absent or minimal, a community may still be energetic and productive, but it will be within the conventional habits of life.

Obstacles

When local leaders take stock of what limits their effectiveness as leaders, they tend to think politically both in India and the U.S., although in India, as we have seen, they view the community and its problems mainly in non-political terms.

A large percentage see the source of their frustrations most strongly in deficiencies of governmental administration and in political rivalries and conflicts (see Table 21). They can be quite specific or quite sweeping, but always eloquent on this score. The scapegoats of political responsibility are found in the ranks of the politically responsible, but on the other side of the fence. Politicians blame bureaucracy, administrators, and "higher levels".

Officials chafe over interference by politicians. The "ins" are beset by the obstructionism and narrow self-interest of "outs". Balked minorities rail against the arrogance and self-seeking partisanship of the momentary powers-that-be.

Judging from the survey responses in the U.S. and India, the language of political gripes and alibis is evidently an international language. In style, content and emphasis, these political obstacles appear almost interchangeable between the two countries on an overall basis.

But within India, there are great differences among communities in the extent to which leaders politicize their troubles.[1] These differences turn out to reflect, and thereby to predict, consistent differences in community development, output and responsiveness. It is particularly the incidence of conflict perceived between political groups, interests and levels that correlates with the activeness of "technique-oriented" communities. The more the leaders cite such conflicts as constraints upon their effectiveness, the more effective they apparently are in goading their communities to act.[2]

Indian leaders also differ significantly, community to community in (a) whether they perceive public apathy, and lack of participation as an obstacle, and (b) whether they consider that lack of resources keeps them from being effective. These differences, however, do not relate to the extent or kind of community activeness.

On the other hand, it appears that overall obstacle-consciousness is a definite predictor of activeness. The larger the number of leaders who confidently assert that no obstacles interfere with their performance, the less active is their community likely to be. Or, to put it the other way, the more leaders that admit to being hampered by obstacles, the more active their community. If leadership is seen as a struggle, whatever the merit or facts of the leaders' complaints, something is probably happening.

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1. Buttressing this point, is the close correlation between responses citing political conflict as interfering with getting things done in the community (on the direct conflicts question discussed above) and reference to political conflict as an obstacle to leadership ($r = 0.547$, significant at $< .01$ level of confidence). Some political leaders obviously are more political than others.

2. See below, section VII. Or, perhaps one should state more cautiously the more active are the communities, regardless of what the leaders themselves do.

Table 21

Obstacles to Leadership

Unit	Gov'tal & Admin'tve Perform'ce		Public Apathy and Attitudes		Conflicts: Polit. Grps. & Interests		Lack of Resources		Backwardness		No Obstacles Mentioned	
	%	R	%	R	%	R	%	R	%	R	%	R
U.S. (N=905)	22		19		11		*		*		12	
India (N=955)	31		14		20		22		13		10	
1	48	3	31	1	17	15	38	5	0	27	7	19
2	40	5	13	16	23	9	20	15	0	27	13	8
3	57	2	20	8	13	22	30	9	0	27	10	12
4	83	1	7	24	3	29	52	2	0	27	0	29
5	30	14	23	5	13	22	43	3	3	22	7	19
6	17	27	27	4	17	15	27	11	3	22	10	12
7	38	8	31	1	17	15	41	4	0	27	10	12
8	38	8	17	11	3	28	24	12	3	22	21	4
9	41	4	22	7	4	27	30	9	0	27	7	19
10	31	13	28	3	16	18	38	5	6	19	6	24
11	33	10	9	20	68	1	9	25	0	27	0	29
12	25	22	8	21	33	6	23	13	20	9	3	27
13	25	22	7	24	46	2	14	18	18	11	0	29
14	12	30	19	10	43	3	8	27	27	6	4	26
15	28	17	0	29	20	12	4	28	16	14	8	15
16	13	29	23	5	13	22	16	16	19	10	7	19
17	25	22	14	14	43	3	4	28	7	17	7	19
18	20	25	10	19	5	26	13	20	18	11	8	15
19	17	27	13	16	17	15	0	30	26	8	13	8
20	17	27	20	8	17	15	14	18	17	13	6	24
21	26	20	3	28	6	25	22	14	32	2	22	3
22	29	15	15	13	9	24	9	25	27	6	6	24
23	28	17	5	27	15	19	15	17	30	3	10	12
24	33	10	7	24	23	9	33	7	10	16	10	12
25	29	15	17	11	37	5	12	21	7	17	24	1
26	40	5	11	18	14	20	31	8	11	15	17	5
27	27	19	13	16	27	7	10	24	30	3	17	5
28	22	24	7	24	27	7	12	21	5	20	24	1
29	32	12	0	29	3	29	62	1	38	1	15	7
30	39	7	7	24	21	11	11	23	29	5	7	19

Note:- This table reports the percent of leaders in each community, and for the country as a whole, whose responses were coded in the following categories:

(1) Governmental and administrative performance (including inefficiency, bureaucracy, and bad conduct of leaders);

(2) Public apathy, lack of participation, lack of confidence in leaders;

(3) Party rivalries, factionalism, conflicts between interest groups, and different governmental institutions and levels;

(4) Lack of resources; (5) "backwardness" of the people and the area;

(6) No obstacles limit the effectiveness of the leaders.

These categories are collapsed from the much more detailed international code, empirically derived from responses in various country. (See Table Community Problems).

*No equivalent figures for U.S.

Support

Leaders were asked to indicate from a list of 16 roughly similar groups for each country, those to whom they usually turn, in their positions as leaders, when they need support from others. These included political, administration and functional groups, at both local and higher levels, as well as the wider public.

In terms of the overall range or extensiveness of support, the Indian leaders sought a much broader base than the Americans (on the average they referred to almost 10 out of the 16 groups, compared with 4.5 noted by the U.S. respondents).

The orientation of the Indians is strongly local. The groups considered most important in order are:

(1) the local party organization
(2) co-workers
(3) majority of citizens
(4) poor people
(5) elected leaders in the community
(6) close friends and supporters
(7) respected and influential people

Note also the interesting "alliance" of party, personal, and mass associations quite in contrast to the U.S. where, to the discomfiture of exponents of the party as the backbone of American politics, party is discounted in favor of the general public. (See Table 22.)

Comparing communities in India, there are some contrasts in the structure of leadership which in turn serve as clues to the patterns and degree of activeness. Paramount is the extent to which the leadership breaks with the general dependence on local support. Where this has happened, communities are more likely to have embarked on advances in economic and social technology and general education. There is a definite inverse relationship between this kind of activeness and leadership which seeks its support from local officials, friends and supporters and others belonging to the community's "respected and influential". (See Section VII.)

The basic conclusion that emerges is the extraordinary degree to which Indian local leadership feels constrained by the expectations of the community it is supposed to lead. Collectively, its lines of attachment to

Table 22

Support Groups (India)

Explanatory Note:

This table gives the mean community score for 16 groups to which Indian leaders stated they turned for support, computed as follows: 2.00 if the respondent stated it was one of the 3 most important, 1:00 if it was mentioned, but not among the top 3, 0.00 if not mentioned.

Maximum score: 2.00.

Also reported (column 17) is the average number of groups mentioned by the leader in each community.

Maximum score: 16.

The groups are as follows:

(1) Your local party organization.

(2) Elected leaders in the community.

(3) Leaders of other organizations.

(4) Higher level party leaders.

(5) Appointed officials in the community.

(6) Respected and influential people.

(7) Your own supporters in the party.

(8) Co-workers.

(9) Appointed official at higher levels.

(10) Factory owners and managers.

(11) Trade union leaders.

(12) Majority of citizens.

(13) Certain caste or groups in the community.

(14) Poor people.

(15) Rich people.

(16) Close friends and supporters.

Table 22

Support Groups (India)

Unit	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
India (N= 955)	1.39	.98	.77	.66	.77	.86	.76	1.25
U. P.	1.31	.89	.65	.40	.98	.94	.73	1.23
1	1.21	.79	.58	.17	.93	.93	.59	1.31
2	1.38	.83	.70	.57	1.13	.87	.87	1.33
3	1.37	.93	.83	.53	1.10	1.00	.73	1.40
4	.97	1.00	.52	.21	1.10	1.07	.38	1.35
5	1.27	.93	.90	.63	1.30	1.10	1.00	1.30
6	1.47	.73	.53	.43	1.10	.77	.63	1.10
7	1.35	.83	.66	.38	.86	.83	.76	1.00
8	1.38	1.03	.52	.38	.83	1.00	.79	1.10
9	1.33	.89	.56	.33	.78	1.07	.70	1.22
10	1.38	.90	.69	.41	.62	.76	.86	1.21
Maharashtra	1.42	.86	.71	.61	.67	.83	.68	1.30
11	1.47	.85	.65	.59	.50	.68	.74	1.38
12	1.33	.78	.70	.35	.53	.58	.68	1.48
13	1.75	1.11	.82	.54	.54	.61	.71	1.04
14	1.46	.96	.62	.58	.50	.50	.58	1.30
15	1.40	.76	.68	.56	.72	.80	.60	1.24
16	1.42	.65	.52	.42	.58	.97	.32	.94
17	1.43	.93	.79	.68	1.11	.96	.79	1.32
18	1.40	.83	.65	.68	.70	1.00	.88	1.35
19	1.30	.83	.96	.96	.87	1.26	.52	1.35
20	1.23	.91	.74	.77	.63	.91	1.00	1.51
Gujarat	1.45	1.18	.96	.96	.66	.82	.87	1.22
21	1.61	1.32	1.13	1.03	.77	.94	1.07	1.29
22	1.82	1.21	.88	1.15	.47	.77	1.03	1.15
23	1.55	1.13	.90	.78	.60	.70	.88	1.10
24	1.26	1.19	1.16	.97	.61	.84	.77	1.07
25	1.37	1.22	.85	1.00	.56	.83	.78	1.44
26	1.29	1.14	1.00	.91	.83	1.09	.94	1.09
27	1.40	1.30	1.17	.80	.87	.63	.77	1.30
28	1.32	.98	.73	.88	.49	.78	.68	1.07
29	1.47	1.18	.97	1.18	.82	.91	.88	1.21
30	1.43	1.15	.82	.93	.61	.68	.93	1.50

Table 22
Support Groups (India)

Unit	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
India (N=955)	.64	.17	.28	1.16	.33	1.12	.40	.89	9.56
U. P.	.61	.19	.20	1.16	.31	1.22	.42	.99	9.21
1	.35	.00	.03	1.17	.07	1.38	.17	.69	7.00
2	.63	.17	.20	1.10	.40	1.33	.33	.97	10.00
3	.87	.27	.30	1.33	.40	1.03	.60	1.13	11.50
4	.62	.03	.14	.93	.28	1.00	.38	.97	7.59
5	.80	.13	.30	1.30	.40	1.33	.57	.97	11.23
6	.70	.20	.30	1.13	.40	1.13	.40	1.13	9.30
7	.48	.24	.31	1.45	.41	1.45	.35	.97	9.38
8	.66	.34	.17	.90	.31	1.17	.28	.83	8.45
9	.37	.37	.07	1.04	.22	1.26	.52	1.19	8.70
10	.62	.14	.17	1.24	.21	1.14	.59	1.00	8.93
Mah.	.59	.14	.27	1.28	.26	.98	.35	.79	8.92
11	.59	.09	.38	1.27	.24	1.21	.38	.74	8.74
12	.55	.13	.35	1.13	.18	.98	.20	.75	7.68
13	.54	.29	.39	1.25	.29	1.11	.25	.64	8.96
14	.54	.15	.35	1.39	.35	1.15	.31	.73	10.31
15	.56	.16	.32	1.40	.16	.84	.36	.84	8.52
16	.42	.19	.29	1.03	.10	.55	.16	.81	6.32
17	.75	.07	.14	1.46	.25	1.11	.61	.89	10.25
18	.58	.10	.18	1.20	.33	1.10	.45	.95	9.35
19	.70	.09	.17	1.26	.30	.65	.39	.61	9.26
20	.69	.11	.14	1.37	.37	1.06	.40	.91	9.77
Guj.	.71	.26	.38	1.03	.44	1.12	.44	.90	10.56
21	.84	.36	.58	1.00	.52	1.07	.58	1.19	12.29
22	.56	.21	.21	1.03	.35	1.27	.59	.79	10.50
23	.83	.23	.40	.98	.40	1.08	.38	.70	9.85
24	.68	.29	.32	1.07	.55	1.07	.39	.87	10.55
25	.63	.27	.34	.93	.37	1.00	.29	.98	9.95
26	.74	.29	.43	1.23	.49	1.34	.63	.97	11.66
27	.60	.13	.37	1.03	.40	1.17	.20	.70	9.87
28	.71	.20	.27	.76	.27	1.10	.44	.83	8.68
29	.79	.44	.59	1.20	.71	1.27	.59	.94	12.32
30	.68	.18	.29	1.11	.32	.82	.32	1.00	9.89

local centers of power (including the power of the poor) are so numerous and firm that vigorous independent initiative is hardly conceivable. Thus, any program which calls for the assumption of major decision-making responsibility at the grassroots must contend with the inward turn of the local political elite. It is a vicious circle. Their support, vitally needed to galvanize community action, cannot be won unless the community itself has first become committed. Leadership is not self-starting. Each leader "passes the buck", turning his head sideways for a nod from the one sitting next, who in turn checks for a nod from his neighbor.

The evidence suggests two points where the circle may be broken. One is the party official, to whom apparently others turn most often for the nod, at least in the sample surveyed in this study. If he himself is committed - by conviction, patronage or discipline - he could probably set wheels turning.

The second point is the man or men who, as suggested before, have somehow managed to shake loose the local chains. Rather than losing leadership thereby, they seem to gain control of the throttle of community action. By taking initiative on their own, they have been able to stimulate responsiveness in others.

IV. AUTONOMY AT THE GRASSROOTS: THE RANGE FOR ACTION IN THE LOCAL POLITICAL SYSTEM

One of the prime objectives of this inquiry was to see whether the effectiveness of local leadership in mobilizing their communities for development was related to the power they had to make important decisions.

This was a particularly significant issue in India because of the basic commitment in panchayati raj to the proposition that the strengthening of institutions of rural local government and assigning to these institutions a major responsibility for development functions would make the leaders more responsive to the national goals and programs, and in turn bring about greater participation and support. The underlying assumption was that political engineering - in the direction of decentralization and local self-government - could, regardless of existing social conditions and values, generate momentum for social change. And, it was hoped that the gamble on local responsibility could be carried forward in such a way as to increase the integration of localities with nation, rather than induce greater fragmentation and disunity in India. Hence, the design of a three-tier representative system, to tie villages to blocks and blocks to districts - with further links up the ladder to the principal legislative and administrative organs of government at the state and center levels.

The history of this experiment, though still very short, has already been vigorously studied and there is a large official and scholarly literature on the subject (a selective bibliography is included in the appended paper prepared for this project by the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies, New Delhi - Appendix C-1). It is apparent that experience has varied greatly in different parts of India and often from place to place within the same region. The tendency of observers has been to deprecate the performance of the panchayats. They note that often the new institutions merely perpetuate in different trappings the previous informal decision-making structure of the community. Landed families or leaders of the dominant caste control what goes on. Even more obvious is the fact that initiative so often lies with the

administrative officials, from either the same or higher levels. What is perhaps most damaging is the limited participation of the general population, and the attitude of most panchayat members that this is the way it should be kept. (Note in Table 5 above, the very strong opposition registered by Indian respondents to the idea that the people should take an active part in decision-making.)

Nevertheless, this gloomy view is not shared by all, nor applied to all situations. Intensive studies are still few, and usually case-study-bound, so that systematic comparisons and generalizations are hazardous. Consequently, in this project, a deliberate attempt was made to select a sample of communities which differed in the character and conduct of their local political institutions. This has made possible a set of interrelated observations which identify first, the amount of autonomy (decision-making power) statutorily granted to the panchayat; second, the practice of the panchayat in exercising these powers; third, the amount of autonomy the local leaders believe they have; and fourth, what local leaders believe should be the range of local government responsibility.

A. Statutory Powers

The three states within which the studies were conducted differ in the amount of powers and nature of functions assigned to the three tiers of panchayats. The appended report by Lakshman (Appendix C-1) explains this in detail. Briefly, Maharashtra put major responsibility on the Zilla Parishad at the district level. U. P. and Gujarat allocated a more important role to the village panchayats, including considerable taxing power. Originally the panchayat samithis at the intermediate or block level had few practical functions to perform and little real decision-making responsibility. They served mainly as transmission and reporting points between the state and central community development authorities on the one hand and the villages in these areas on the other. The paucity of powers is most marked in Maharashtra. In U. P. and Gujarat, the panchayat samithis are authorized to carry out development functions in health, education, communications and certain other areas, but have no independent revenue powers.[1]

1. Cf. Lakshman, op. cit., p.

The block, nevertheless, was deliberately chosen as the territorial-administrative unit of observation for this project and the panchayat samithi as the principal political institution from which to draw the elected portion of the leadership sample to be surveyed. One reason was that a sufficient number of areas of manageable size could then be studied in each state, to come to a conclusion as to whether regional differences (including the statutory differences in allocation of powers to the higher or lower tiers of rural government), were in any way related to differences in community activeness, apart from the value-orientations of the leaders. For instance, if the level of activeness in all or most of the blocks studied in Maharashtra was consistently higher than those in U. P. or Gujarat (and other, non-regional factors were held constant) then one might attribute at least some of the difference to the particular structuring of the local political system in Maharashtra. Another reason for choosing blocks was that this was the principal administrative unit for the kinds of local activities which demonstrated acceptance of social and economic change and responsiveness to national initiatives. Allocation of funds and program commitments are customarily made in terms of blocks, and reports on accomplishments are available on a block basis. Of more importance is the fact that the panchayat samithi in all the regions is emerging as a point of resolution of conflicting demands, and assuming an increasing role in the formulation and channelling of demands from the bottom to higher authorities, as well as determining how and whether initiatives from above will be implemented in the villages.[1] Under active consideration is statutory revision which will recognize formally what has been happening in practice - that it is local leadership at the intermediate level which will exercise effective responsibility if it is exercised at all.

For the moment, however, the statutory differences persist, and, in the manner indicated, can be assessed as an element in accounting for regional differences in development performance.

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1. Cf. Studies carried out by the Central Institute of Training and Research in Panchayat Raj.

B. Autonomy in Practice

Evaluations of the operation of panchayat institutions, based on direct observation, are still scarce. Such as they are, they tend to stress the under-use of the powers supposedly available, especially at the lower, village level. The Lakshman Report notes in particular the passivity of the panchayats in raising revenue by taxes, even where, as in Gujarat, they hold considerable taxing powers.

However, as just noted, the panchayat institutions appear to be in flux. Some are markedly vigorous, pressing forward on programs initiated at their own level, as well as effectively carrying out those propounded from above, and clamoring for more. (The extent to which this represents self-initiated action by the local representatives, or mere ratification of the ideas and vision of a dynamic and committed block development officer, is another question.) In other areas, the panchayats hardly breathe, except to vote the secretary's salary. It is these differences which are vital. Yet they are difficult to identify and measure in ways that permit quantifiable comparison.

A large commitment was made early in the organization of the project to review systematically the entire proceedings of several of the panchayat samithis over a two-year period. This involved on-the-spot examination of minutes and other records, and questioning of administrative officials and panchayat officers. Decisions were classified, frequency tabulations prepared and other bases of comparison attempted. (See Documents No. IND/39, Community-Census conducted by University of Poona center in taluks in Maharashtra; IND/39A, Census of Decisions of Panchayat Samithis in Rajasthan, conducted by Centre for the Study of Developing Societies.)

Investigators concluded that this material did not provide sufficient evidence of the actual decision-making processes of these bodies to indicate their degree of initiative and real autonomy. Decisions were often recorded as unanimous, with no report on preceding discussions and debate. Yet, it was perfectly clear from the outcome that some of the panchayats had been operating far more actively in promoting development than others - though statutory powers were identical within each state.

These firsthand observations by the project staff were confirmed by the

independent judgments of administrative officials and other persons familiar with the area.

Consequently, it was decided to rely on informed judgments in making a final selection of blocks for observation, so as to secure within each of the three states approximately equal numbers of blocks where the panchayats were thought to be functioning well and where they were held to be inactive. Then, following their several days of interviewing, and other data gathering in each block, the project investigators set down their own evaluation of the performance of the local political bodies.

What was missing here was the kind of decisional life-history of the panchayats which would put live flesh on the structural bones of these institutions and enable us to pinpoint the factors responsible for making autonomy the gateway to dynamic change in one instance and an invitation to slumber in another. At the initiative of the Indian investigators, a series of decisional case studies were planned to help fill this gap. After identifying the most critical and controversial decisions in the recent life of the community, several of them were reconstructed by checking and cross-checking accounts secured from participants and other informants. A common framework was set so that the cases could be systematically compared. One major item in the inquiry was the role of the panchayat. Did it originate the line of action leading to the decision? Did it try to avoid the issue, or to sidestep conflict? Did it stand with a given power group in the community? Did it take a strong stand opposing or favoring a development program?

Pilot decisional case studies were conducted in four blocks in Gujarat and Maharashtra in 1966 with promising results, and plans were laid for their extension to more of the blocks with the plan of inquiry refined on the basis of the previous experience, and geared into the knowledge now available about each community from the completed leadership survey.

However, in December, 1966, this entire phase of the project was ordered dropped by the TCR Program Officer, AID/Washington, insofar as AID contract csd-719 was concerned.

It has been possible nonetheless to arrange from other sources for the execution of some of the case studies planned by the Indian investigators, so

that now a total of eight have been completed and an additional set are in process in Gujarat. This arduous and time-consuming work is producing the kind of basic and penetrating information which will make possible a critical comparative appraisal of the degree of autonomy actually exercised by the respective local institutions, and to relate this qualitative evaluation to the variables which have been measured more quantitatively.

The results of this analysis will necessarily be delayed because of the termination of csd-719, but will be reported when available. (Descriptive reports of the case studies completed in India are presented in the following documents: IND/59, 71, 78 and 91.)

C. Perceived Autonomy

Leaders have to function not only within the legal and practical limits of authority, but within a mind-set of what they believe to be possible. Sometimes they may "think big" and manage to accomplish more than is supposed to lie within their power. More often, a sense of futility paralyzes their effort as they feel fenced in by restrictions greater than really exist.

This aspect of autonomy was explored in the project's leadership survey. Respondents were asked whether the local government in their community lacked enough power and autonomy to act effectively in:

solving housing problems
seeing that every man who wanted a job got one
building schools
providing clinics
supporting art and culture
providing electricity
solving problems of youth

The overall conclusion was plain.

Indian leaders, compared with those in the U.S. or other countries surveyed, considered that local government was less autonomous. That is, fewer Indian leaders believed that local government had the power to act effectively in regard to the seven problems mentioned - any of the problems. The bare figures hardly convey the intense gulf between Indian and U.S. leaders in their sense of the area of the possible. This, despite the intent of panchayati raj, but indicative of a major barrier to its successful implementation.

Table 23

Perceived Lack of Autonomy

Unit	Housing problems	Jobs	Schools	Clinics	Art & Culture	Elec-tricity	Youth problems	Mean
U.S. (N=905	.39	.51	.17	.23	.20	.26	.24	.28
India (N=955)	.70	.75	.31	.46	.38	.75	.53	.57
U.P.	.77	.89	.21	.43	.44	.91	.59	.61
1	.86	.93	.45	.62	.72	1.00	.86	.78
2	.83	.90	.20	.43	.43	.93	.47	.60
3	.63	.80	.07	.27	.27	.90	.43	.48
4	.72	.83	.24	.48	.48	.93	.55	.61
5	.80	.87	.07	.20	.17	.87	.40	.48
6	.83	.93	.20	.53	.60	.83	.57	.64
7	.83	.90	.10	.28	.35	.93	.52	.56
8	.69	.90	.21	.45	.38	.83	.62	.58
9	.74	.93	.19	.48	.48	.93	.67	.63
10	.76	.93	.38	.55	.52	.90	.79	.69
Maharashtra	.86	.92	.30	.52	.50	.89	.83	.69
11	.94	.97	.38	.68	.68	.91	.94	.79
12	.85	.93	.30	.58	.43	.78	.60	.64
13	.93	.96	.25	.50	.46	.96	.82	.70
14	.92	.96	.31	.46	.50	1.00	.96	.73
15	.76	.96	.36	.60	.48	.88	.92	.71
16	.74	.81	.26	.48	.55	.87	.81	.65
17	.93	.96	.36	.57	.50	.93	.89	.74
18	.90	.93	.30	.58	.53	.90	.85	.71
19	.87	.87	.35	.48	.44	.83	.78	.66
20	.80	.89	.17	.31	.40	.83	.74	.59
Gujarat	.54	.48	.41	.43	.22	.50	.23	.39
21	.48	.48	.48	.42	.23	.39	.26	.39
22	.53	.41	.27	.29	.12	.35	.12	.30
23	.60	.53	.40	.43	.18	.48	.23	.40
24	.36	.39	.48	.39	.10	.48	.13	.33
25	.32	.17	.20	.22	.00	.29	.02	.17
26	.46	.43	.37	.31	.31	.46	.31	.38
27	.30	.47	.50	.57	.20	.43	.20	.38
28	.96	.63	.42	.49	.32	.54	.27	.47
29	.74	.71	.65	.59	.47	.77	.50	.63
30	.61	.54	.43	.54	.25	.79	.25	.49

Note: This table reports the mean response for each community indicating that local government lacks power and autonomy to act effectively in a given area. The maximum score of '1' would occur if all leaders checked a given area.

As is brought out in Table 23, it is in regard to housing, jobs, electrification and youth problems that the greatest deficiency is felt. Schools are the point where the local leaders see the most likelihood of effective local action.

The range of difference among the leaders of the 30 blocks should be noted. Community leaders in Gujarat have a markedly greater sense of local autonomy than those in the other two states, except in regard to schools and health. In many communities in Maharashtra and U. P., leaders approach unanimity in denying that autonomy exists in such matters as housing, jobs, securing electricity and resolving problems of youth. But several communities take a more positive outlook on these issues (see units 3, 4, 8, 9, 10, 15, 16) even though the statutory limitations are presumably identical throughout each state. Obviously, autonomy must be, in part at least, a state of mind. The range of sensed autonomy is also very large in regard to schools and health (contrast scores from .07 to .65, and .22 to .68 respectively).

Some of these inter-community differences have a significant bearing on community activeness (see table 40 in Section VI). Paradoxically, communities whose leaders complain that they lack autonomy, say in regard to housing or health, tend to be the more active in undertaking development programs involving change in established practices and facilities.

D. The Desire for Autonomy

Autonomy is not only a question of law and the perception of what the law allows, but of the disposition of people to take on the responsibility for action. Do they want the initiative for solving local problems, or would they prefer someone from the outside to handle the job? What is the area in which local leaders believe they should function, the tasks that they consider local institutions should perform?

Autonomy can hardly be expected to be effective unless the leaders' desire for responsibility, as a force for social change, comes close at least to the formal grant of powers, if not pressing hard for more power.

In the leadership survey, the project tapped three dimensions of the aspiration for autonomy. Leaders were asked who they thought should undertake major responsibility for action in seven areas of local problems (the same areas on which their judgment was asked regarding the actual scope of local autonomy):

the central or state government?
local government?
local non-governmental institutions?
leave it to the people to work out personally?

Thus, a desire for autonomy vis-a-vis higher levels of government could be expressed in terms of assigning responsibility either to the panchayats, or to non-political organizations such as cooperatives; and the option of private initiative was also offered (which could of course reflect an attitude of laissez-faire, or complete shunning of responsibility).

The results, comparing Indian with American leaders, show Indians to be more dependent on higher governmental action, less eager to have responsibility assumed at the local level by whatever body. (See Table 24.)

There is substantial difference of opinion however (note the standard deviation for the total group of respondents). Differences among communities are apparent, as well as within the block leadership group. And, as will be indicated in detail later on, these differences do have a bearing on the degree of activeness. To the discomfiture of the advocates of autonomy, the tendency is for the leadership of blocks which are more active (in terms of adopting new techniques of social and economic development) to turn to the center and state governments for major responsibility.

It should be noted that the question was explicitly worded to get the leaders to leave aside pragmatic considerations of available resources and present practice, and to make their judgments on grounds of what they thought was generally wise, legitimate, or desirable - a clear "should" question.

Table 24

Aspiration for Autonomy: Who Should Do What?

Unit	Responsibility to be undertaken by			
	(1) Central Gov't	(2) Local Gov't	(3) Non-gov't local institutions	(4) leave to the people
U.S. (N=905)	1.37	2.96	1.86	.86
India (N=955)	3.32	2.44	.57	.62
U.P.	3.30	2.32	.50	.85
1	3.31	2.24	.62	.79
2	2.60	2.30	.77	1.27
3	3.37	2.07	.53	.77
4	2.93	2.93	.45	.69
5	3.13	2.53	.47	.87
6	3.33	2.17	.50	1.00
7	3.62	2.17	.38	.83
8	2.97	2.66	.52	.86
9	4.11	1.67	.56	.67
10	3.66	2.41	.21	.72
Maharashtra	3.80	2.24	.66	.25
11	3.74	2.29	.77	.21
12	4.23	1.83	.75	.18
13	3.75	2.39	.54	.07
14	3.27	3.15	.39	.19
15	4.28	1.84	.68	.20
16	4.26	1.61	.68	.45
17	3.79	2.29	.71	.21
18	4.00	2.15	.70	.15
19	3.44	2.35	.65	.44
20	3.26	2.49	.77	.43
Gujarat	2.85	2.78	.55	.76
21	3.32	2.26	.58	.84
22	2.91	2.74	.71	.62
23	2.25	2.85	.65	.88
24	2.74	2.74	.81	.80
25	2.81	2.85	.59	.56
26	3.86	2.29	.26	.51
27	2.50	3.37	.53	.53
28	2.51	3.17	.44	.90
29	3.18	2.27	.35	1.18
30	2.46	3.21	.61	.75

Note:- This table reports the mean number of functions (out of seven specified) for which respondents considered that primary responsibility should be undertaken by (1) the central or state government, (2) local government, (3) local non-governmental institutions (cooperatives, etc.), or (4) be left to the people to work out personally. Maximum score: 7:00.

V. THE RESOURCE BASE: ECONOMIC MEASURES OF CAPABILITY

It has been the fundamental assumption of this study that a society's economic and social development does not depend solely, perhaps not even primarily, on its physical resources, or the material inputs of foreign assistance, however generous or skilfully planned. The ability and the disposition to use these resources effectively, in other words, the quality of human input, is an inescapable imperative. Appropriate skills - and values - must be found or generated. It is leadership - entrepreneurial and political - which has to make the necessary blend of human material ingredients for the development mix.

The problem is that little is known about the interaction of physical conditions and human motivation. Which determines what? Can one expect that mobilizing the right kind and a sufficient amount of resources will automatically spark the initiative and discipline needed for its responsible use? On the other hand, can one expect leadership, however committed, to function responsibly or even to retain leadership, if there are no resources to work with? Obviously, what leaders and their communities do, must depend in part on the level of resources available to them. But to what extent does changing the level or character of the resources, technologically or otherwise, change actual developmental disposition and performance?

This study was designed to permit some tentative answers to these questions. As previously stated, in the first section, it called for the selection of communities which differed widely in their level of economic development. This was intended to make it possible to determine how much the resource factor affected a community's output, as against the influence of the values and other characteristics of its leaders. It would also help to show how far leaders themselves bore the stamp of the economic condition of their locale.

Securing reliable measures at the local level, however, proved difficult; especially in India. It demanded collating a very large body of primary data to provide indicators. It also called for a thorough reconsideration of techniques

of economic measurement to find procedures appropriate to the particular and extremely diverse circumstances in different parts of rural India.

This section describes the fashioning of a multi-dimension strategy of economic measurement and its application in India, to the problem of controlling for the factor of a community's resource base when assessing the impact of its leadership on local developmental performance, or "activeness" as it has been called in this project.

A. Definition of Economic Level

It was necessary first to clarify and agree on the meaning of "economic level" for the purposes of this study. Three types of definition have dominated social research: by fiat, theoretically based, and empirically derived. For reasons to be explained, the latter seemed the most appropriate point of departure for this inquiry.

Definition by Fiat

Common examples in the literature of economic development are: "let economic level be per capita income in dollars estimated in this way," "let economic level be the standard of living estimated in terms of housing and health." Examples in other areas are, "let 'governmental effectiveness' be the number of hospital beds in a country, 'communications capacity' the number of radios, newspapers and television sets."

Often the standard for assessment is some scale outside of the particular system. In the case of per capita income it is "dollars" described in value units prevailing in the international market and modified by the American government. Hospital beds can be counted; counting, of course, neatly fits hospital beds into the familiar numeric system.

There are two obvious problems with this kind of definition. One is the obvious fact that hospital beds may not be a valid way of assessing governmental effectiveness nor dollars a valid way of inferring economic wealth. The other is that the standard, being external to the system being studied, is itself not meaningful. A dollar is a dollar, but it means something quite different in wheat to an Indian peasant from what it means to an American in gasoline.

Theoretical Definition

Economists have devised several types of measures of "wealth", such as gross national product and national income. These definitions are continuously improved and are directly related to economic theory. The theory and the concept are dependent on each other.

Although this is a desirable type of definition, many of the economic definitions in the western world presuppose a market economy on a national scale or in the socialist world, a measure of value in terms of labor units. The twin assumptions of a market and a national economy are not tenable in most countries of the world, least of all perhaps in such countries as India.

Empirically Derived Definitions

The third approach to measuring economic level is to treat it as a construct and to establish empirically the phenomena which best reflect it. This involves empirical research. The logic of this type of definition and assessment is discussed in the next section of this report, on the assessment of activeness.

In brief, this type of definition involves the following: (1) describing the concept (in loose terms, economic level was taken as the total assets available and resources produced at a specific point in time); (2) hypothesizing a number of indicators of the construct in terms of some empirical phenomena; (3) checking to see whether these hypothesized indicators are indeed indicators of the concept by inter-correlating them on the assumption that the best intercorrelated sets are interdependent and this interdependence is due to the fact that they are all correlated with some single, underlying dimension (i. e. economic level); (4) discarding those indicators which do not correlate consistently with the set of indicators; and (5) transforming these indicators into a general index, which is a number reflecting the magnitude of the attribute. The result is a general measure of economic level, based on several indicators. By using these several indicators in a combined index, error hopefully is reduced - error in one indicator is cancelled out by a different error in another.[1]

1. See section I, on design and methodology, for further elaboration of the multi-measure, multi-indicator approach.

This empirical approach was necessary for the study of local economic level in India, for reasons presented below. It was probably not necessary in the United States - per capita income being a valid and accurate single measure - but nevertheless the same procedures were followed to maintain comparability.

The considerations which dictated its choice for India are:

(1) Economic variations are so great in India that single national measures are not likely to be meaningful at the local level. At least, one cannot assume that a particular measure of resources or productivity would be equally applicable to all localities. For instance, national measures of wealth, such as per capita income, are based largely on market transactions. In poor areas, little enters the market and such measures could not discriminate effectively among poor communities, to indicate those relatively better, or worse off. Further, as will be demonstrated later, measures which relate to areas where there is some industrialization simply do not apply to largely agricultural localities.

(2) There is great variation between Indian regions. Following the point made above, just because a measure would be valid in one region does not mean much in terms of another. The empirical approach makes a measure meaningful in the context of the system; in the case of this study, in the context of three particular Indian states.

(3) India is basically agricultural. Agricultural indicators are heavily influenced by geography; whereas industrial type indicators tend to be meaningful almost anywhere. One state in India produces sugar cane, a cash crop; another produces no sugar cane. Sugar cane, therefore, cannot be used as equally valid measure of agricultural wealth. One state relies on wells for irrigation and another, because of terrain, can use canals. Economic assets, therefore, cannot be validly used for comparisons across states using either water wells or canals. Agricultural type economies have systematic rather than random error in their phenomena - in the data that can be used to assess economic level.

(4) Indian data contain error. While most data are subject to some

error, in countries such as India, especially at the local level, inaccuracies pose a very serious problem. However, these inaccuracies can be viewed as random, not systematic, at least with regard to a single region or a local community. Hence, if several indicators, relevant to the region or type of community, are incorporated in a particular measure, the impact of inaccuracy in any one indicator is reduced or, hopefully, cancelled out by other indicators.

(5) Indian data are not uniformly available across the country. Even if some measure or indicator could be agreed upon as valid, the fact is that the data are not likely to exist in all regions. One reason for the lack of data was pointed out above. This is the case where phenomena of a particular kind do not occur, such as sugar cane. Another reason, and this is especially true in countries such as India, is absence of administrative uniformity in collecting and reporting data. In Uttar Pradesh, this was particularly a problem.

For these reasons, it was decided that the research strategy for assessing the economic level of local communities in India (and, for purposes of comparability, in the U.S. as well) should be empirically oriented. This empirical orientation demanded highly experimental research.

B. The Analysis of Districts

The first task was to find a basis for selecting units for study which would insure that differences in economic resources were sufficiently great to be able to control for this variable, when attempting to explain differences in community activeness and responsiveness to development initiatives.

The original intention was to choose districts as the primary unit for investigation, and most of the initial analysis on economic measures concentrated on district data. When it was decided to shift the focus of study to the block level (for reasons reviewed in section 1), the sampling pattern still called for a "first cut" to be made of districts which varied widely in their level of resources. One high, and one low district by this criterion, would be selected in each of the three states covered in this study. Then five blocks would be chosen from each district for a total of 30. In this way,

it was expected that blocks would also be differentiated economically, making possible systematic control for economic level when analyzing the interrelationships between the results of the leaders' survey and the various measures of community activeness in the blocks.

The Validity of Grouping Districts into Categories

Work under way at the Indian Statistical Institute in New Delhi by M. N. Pal and C. Subramaniam provided a basis for scoring and ranking all districts of India on the basis of socio-economic level. (Doc. IND/54) Their rankings were used in all three states. In Gujarat and Maharashtra two other approaches, based on data available from central sources, were used to group districts. These other approaches were compared to the Pal and Subramaniam rankings to determine the validity of the groupings.

Pal and Subramaniam used seventeen indicators to assess levels of socio-economic development. These indicators were grouped into the following dimensions:

Agriculture -

1. agricultural labor productivity rupees per person
2. agricultural income per acre of cropped land in rupees
3. percentage of irrigated area to total gross area sown

Secondary activities -

4. percentage share of income in mining, manufacturing and small enterprises
5. concentration of labor engaged in secondary activities in number per square mile
6. percentage share of labor force in secondary activities
7. concentration of large factories (more than 50 laborers using power or more than 100 laborers without power) in number per thousand per square mile
8. concentration of all factories in number per square mile
9. concentration of factory workers in number per square mile
10. factory workers as percent of total labor engaged in secondary activities

Tertiary activities -

11. concentration of labor engaged in tertiary activities in number per square mile
12. percentage share of labor force in tertiary activities

Urbanization -

13. percentage of total population in urban areas

Table 25

Economic Stratification of Districts in Gujarat

Rank	Districts ranked on population density, per capita income, and contributions of secondary and tertiary sectors	Districts ranked on the non-agricultural development index of Pal & Subramaniam*	Destricts ranked on the composite index of socio-economic development of Pal & Subramaniam	Level of Development
1.	Ahmedabad	Ahmedabad	Ahmedabad	High
2.	Baroda	Baroda	Rajkot	
3.	Surat	Rajkot	Bhavnagar	
4.	Kaira	Kaira	Jamnagar	
5.	Surendranagar	Surat	Mehsena	
6.	Mehsena	Bhavnagar	Baroda	
7.	Jamnagar	Jamnagar	Surendranagar	Medium
8.	Rajkot	Mehsena	Kaira	
9.	Bhavnagar	Junagadh	Junagadh	
10.	Amreli	Broach	Kutch	
11.	Junagadh	Surendranagar	Surat	
12.	Panchmahals	Amreli	Amreli	Low
13.	Sabarkantha	Kutch	Banaskantha	
14.	Broach	Sabarkantha	Broach	
15.	Kutch	Panchmahals	Sabarkantha	
16.	Banaskantha	Banaskantha	Panchmahals	
17	Dangs	Dangs	Dangs	

Note: The two underlined districts are those selected.

*Non-agricultural development is based on the three dimensions excluding the agriculture dimension.

14. average size of a town in thousands of persons
15. concentration of urban population per square mile of total area
16. concentration of city population (each city has a population of 50,000 persons or more) per square mile of total area

Pal and Subramaniam then intercorrelated the indicators in each of their four dimensions. On the basis of these intercorrelations, they obtained a principal component solution (factor analysis). Principal components were then used to score the districts on each of the four dimensions. In addition, all four measures of the dimensions were combined for a general measure of socio-economic development. The combined index was computed after each of the four scores were transformed into standard units of measurement. These scores were then used to rank the districts and to categorize them into very low, low, medium, high and very high.

Gujarat

A somewhat different body of data were collected for all 97 districts in the three states of Gujarat, Maharashtra and U. P. by the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (Doc. IND/17). These data were used to group districts in Gujarat. Then a summary ranking of all districts in Gujarat was made on the basis of the following indicators: population density, per capita income, and contributions of the secondary and tertiary sector to the total income of the district. Lakshman then compared this ranking and grouping to rankings based on two of the measures developed by Pal and Subramaniam (Doc. IND/74). Table 25 displays the comparisons of rankings and groupings of the measure designed at the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies with one dimension of the Pal and Subramaniam study, and with their composite index of socio-economic development.

It shows that although there are some differences in ranking on the three measures, the positions of the two districts selected for stratification of blocks retain their categorizations of high and low on all three measures.

Maharashtra

In Maharashtra the Pal and Subramaniam classification was compared with two others, by Nadkarni of Poona (Doc. IND/67) and Levine in Philadelphia.

Levine ranked all districts in Maharashtra on the following six, intercorrelated indicators: doctors per capita, hospital beds per capita, establishments using electricity per capita, total banks per capita, income per employed person, percentage of females literate. The intercorrelations for these variables are :

Table 26

	doctors	hospitals	elect.	banks	income	females literate
doctors	1.0	.40	.27	.07	.19	.34
hospitals		1.0	.56	.46	.58	.63
establishments with electricity			1.0	.41	.49	.60
banks				1.0	.07	.68
income					1.0	.28
females literate						1.0

In addition to ranking districts on each of the six indicators, Levine took a mean rank in order to group the districts on a single dimension. Clearly this is a "social welfare" measure.

Nadkarni took eight selected indicators of economic level. These were (1) proportion of workers engaged in agriculture to total workers, (2) cultivable area per agricultural worker, (3) net area sown per agricultural worker, (4) proportion of gross irrigated area to net sown area, (5) proportion of area sown more than once to net sown area, (6) per capita gross value of agricultural output, (7) number of establishments using electricity, and (8) number of workers per 100,000 employed in registered factories. A summary of mean rank was developed on these eight indicators.

Nadkarni's measure is a clear measure of agricultural wealth: the measures developed by Levine, and Pal and Subramaniam tend to be dominated by urban factors. The table below gives the ranking of the highest 8, the medium 9, and the lowest 8 on each of three measures. The Pal and Subramaniam measure is the general index of socio-economic development, discussed above.

Table 27

Economic Stratification of Districts in Maharashtra

	Nadkarni Analysis	Levine Analysis	Pal and Subramanian Analysis
Poona	H	H	H
Nagpur	H	H	H
Thana	L	H	H
Amravati	H	H	H
Wardha	H	H	M
Nasik	H	H	H
Akola	M	H	M
Sholapur	H	H	H
Jalgaon	H	M	H
Kolhapur	M	M	H
Satara	M	M	M
Ahmadnagar	H	M	M
Sangli	M	M	M
Kolaba	L	M	M
Buldhana	L	M	M
Bhandara	H	M	M
Dhulia	M	M	M
Ratnagiri	L	L	L
Yeotmal	L	L	L
Chanda	L	L	L
Aurangabad	M	L	L
Osmanabad	M	L	L
Bhir	M	L	L
Nanded	L	L	L
Parbhani	M	L	L

Code:- H = High
M = Medium
L = Low

(Underlined districts are those selected for investigation in this study.)

These measures, although quite divergent, agree about the general position of the districts. Nadkarni's measure, of course, disagrees most because of the strictly agricultural nature of his indicators. However, there is general agreement on the general categorization of the districts. One selected district, Kolhapur, however ranks medium on two of the measures and high on the third. Its "urban character" is reflected in the measure that places it 'high'.

Uttar Pradesh

Other than in a general study of dimensions of economic development which will be reported later, the grouping of U. P. districts was based on the Pal and Subramaniam rankings. The districts selected as units of study were: Sitapur, ranked 'low', and Saharanpur, 'very high'.

C. Measuring the Economic Level of Blocks

Although some attempt was made to roughly stratify all blocks within the selected districts in Maharashtra and Gujarat (IND/75), this was not possible in U. P. In U. P., taluks, the major unit for reporting data, and blocks, the units being selected, are not coterminous. Hence, to stratify U. P. blocks on economic level, would have required collecting data on-the-spot for each block, a major field task in itself, before units could be selected and the main survey of this project begun. The strategy adopted was to choose blocks on the basis of informed judgments that their economic level was similar to the general level of the district. Actual scores on economic level would be computed after appropriate data for these particular blocks were gathered during the survey.

Selection of Indicators

A variety of indicators were compiled for all blocks in the relevant districts of Gujarat (79 variables) and Maharashtra (18 variables). For the reason just mentioned, data for U. P. was limited to just the sample of blocks selected for this study.

Of those indicators which were gathered in all three states, 15 were chosen as meaningful for comparison across states (after taking account of the "sugar-cane problem" noted above). See Table 28 . Data on only 5 of these was actually available for all 30 blocks.

Table 28

Economic Level Indicators for Blocks (1961-62)
Three Indian States

Indicator	Blocks Reported	States Reported
Net area irrigated/net area sown	30	All
Area under cashcrops/area under foodgrains	30	All
Gross cropped area - Not cropped area/Net cropped area	30	All
Net area sown/total geographic area - Net area sown	30	All
Uncultivated fallow/Total geographic area	20	G; M
Density of population per square mile	30	All
Proportion of workers in the primary sector to total working population	20	G; M
Percent of urban population to total population	20	G; M
Proportion of workers in the modern secondary sector to total working population	20	G; M
Proportion of workers in the tertiary sector to total working population	20	G; M
Households with three or more rooms as percent of total	20	G; M
Percent of households living in pucca houses, to total number of households	20	G; M
Villages with schools as percent of total number of villages	20	G; M
Per capita value of agricultural production	20	UP; M
Per acre value of agricultural production	20	UP; M

Code:- States Reporting -
Gujarat = G
Maharashtra = M
Uttar Pradesh = UP

After the indicators were inter-correlated, five of them were dropped: area under cash crops, uncultivated fallow, density, proportion of workers in primary sector, and proportion of workers in the secondary sector. The last two were excluded because they were inversely correlated, as expected (-.498) and could not readily be incorporated into a single measure indicating a single dimension. The first two indicators were dropped because of generally poor correlations with the other items. Density, which was generally well correlated with other indicators, was not used for the reasons that it did not strictly

indicate economic level and it was used to estimate data missing for other indicators.

Missing data was a problem. Best estimates were made on the regression line. This method of estimation relies on one correlated variable which is used to predict the most likely score for a particular case. Density, correlating positively and negatively with many indicators and available for all 230 blocks was used frequently to estimate scores for the missing cases.

The intercorrelated sets of indicators were used to develop composite scores for economic level. Rather than use factor analysis, as was used in scoring blocks on activeness, a cluster scoring method was chosen. The method is simple. It is to take the best set of intercorrelated indicators, compute standard scores for the individual cases -

$$\text{standard scores} = \frac{\text{mean for the indicator - the score for the case}}{\text{standard deviation for the indicator}}$$

and then average the several scores on individual indicators for a general composite score. In effect this means that each indicator selected has an equal weight in the final score.

Various analyses of economic level discussed here, as well as others not presented, showed the possibility of several, slightly different or substantially different dimensions of economic development. Although the goal was to have a single measure for a single dimension, the question remained, which dimension? Several clusters of indicators were manifest in the intercorrelations of the 15 indicators presented in Table 28 . It was decided to try to score blocks on three clusters and to have three scores, each of which could be evaluated independently in terms of its role in explaining activeness and values.

Measures

Measure I: Agricultural utilization:

The first measure was based on three indicators, all of an agricultural nature. This measure was selected both because of the intercorrelations and also because data were available for all 30 blocks. There are no estimations in this measure.

Table 29

Indicators of Agricultural Utilization

	Gross cropped/Net	Net sown/total
Net area irrigated/ net sown	.516	.440
Gross cropped area/ net cropped area		.063
Net area sown/ total area		

Although two correlations are high, one is low. The low correlation, however, is consistent in the direction of its relationship.

Measure II: Socio-Economic Development:

This is a more general measure of economic level, conceived broadly and including social elements, such as housing.

Table 30

Indicators of General Socio-Economic Development

	Tertiary	Three rooms	Pucca houses	Villages with schools	Net irrigated/ net sown
% Urban population	.474	.542	.359	.309	.324
% workers in tertiary sector		.330	-.252	.011	-.072
% households with 3 or more			.144	.439	.695
% households living in pucca houses				.478	.312
% villages with schools					.442

Although the percentage of workers in the tertiary sector does not correlate well with several of the other indicators, it was retained because of its general importance in measures of economic level for districts.

Measure III: Agricultural Value:

This measure uses one of the indicators of Measure I, and thus is not independent of it. It is called agricultural value. Two measures are of rupee worth of agricultural production. Both of these measures of value, however, were only available for U. P. and Maharashtra.

Table 31

Indicators of Agricultural Value

	Per capita value	Per acre value
Net area irrigated to net area sown	.562	.523
Per capita value of agricultural production		.969
Per acre value of agricultural production		

The correlations here are high and significant, but in one case - agricultural value per capita and per acre - somewhat redundant.

Block Scores

Table 33 displays the scores for each block selected for the study on each of the three measures. The scores are arranged by state and district. Ranks of the block are reported for each measure, fcr all three states as well as ranks for blocks within each state.

Interrelationships of the Measures

Table 33 shows that U. P. blocks generally rank high on all three measures, particularly Measure I. Gujarat blocks rank relatively high on the measure of agricultural value. Reasons for this pattern may in part be found in the selection process. It should be recalled that U. P. had no data on blocks until after the units were chosen. Also, in Maharashtra, two more blocks were selected from the low district than from the high, and the high district was not as highly developed economically as some other districts. These are possible sources of bias, resulting from the selection.

The three measures were inter-correlated. Table 32 gives the inter-correlations for the three composite measures.

Table 32

Intercorrelations Between the Three Measures of Economic Level for Blocks

	II	III
Measure I	.579	.748
Measure II		.164
Measure III		

Table 33

Economic Scores of Blocks Selected For Study

	Measure I			Measure II			Measure III		
	Scores	State Rank	Nat'l Rank	Scores	State Rank	Nat'l Rank	Scores	State Rank	Nat'l Rank
Uttar Pradesh									
Saharanpur									
1	1.341	2	2	.849	3	4	2.344	2	2
2	2.575	1	1	1.180	1	2	2.004	3	3
3	.933	4	4	.962	2	3	.152	5	7
4	1.099	3	3	.105	8	14	2.627	1	1
5	-.003	9	14	-.295	9	18	1.296	4	4
Sitapur									
6	.080	8	10	.139	7	13	-.344	10	17
7	.378	6	6	.285	5	9	-.173	7	11
8	-.045	10	16	-.313	10	22	-.340	9	16
9	.489	5	5	.190	6	11	-.010	6	8
10	.362	7	7	.658	4	6	-.324	8	15
Maharashtra									
Kolhapur									
11	.114	1	9	.202	4	10	-.370	3	18
12	-.002	2	13	1.388	1	1	-.254	2	12
13	-.605	4	23	-.249	6	17	-.150	1	10
14	-.629	6	25	-.516	10	25	-.567	4	22
Ratnagiri									
15	-.404	3	20	.439	2	7	-.781	8	28
16	-.623	5	24	.427	3	8	-.669	5	25
17	-.753	7	27	-.325	9	23	-.771	6	26
18	-.832	9	29	.182	5	12	-.870	9	29
19	-.895	10	30	-.295	7	18	-.877	10	30
20	-.761	8	28	-.297	8	20	-.778	7	27
Gujarat									
Baroda									
22	-.712	10	26	-.950	8	28	-.517	8	21
25	.357	1	8	.811	1	5	-.650	10	24
27	-.454	8	21	-1.204	10	30	-.384	6	19
28	.023	3	12	-.370	5	24	-.275	4	13
30	-.019	4	15	.028	2	15	-.592	9	23
Panchmahals									
21	-.493	9	22	-.522	6	26	-.420	7	20
23	.074	2	11	-.881	7	27	1.138	1	5
24	-.164	6	18	-.301	4	21	-.296	5	14
26	-.097	5	17	-1.033	9	29	.989	2	6
29	-.336	7	19	-.016	3	16	-.131	3	9

These intercorrelations show that measures I and III, although different in two indicators, are probably very similar in what they are measuring. Measure II is a general measure of socio-economic level and Measure I has been interpreted as a measure of agricultural utilization. They are significantly correlated. Both of them in some way seem to depend on organized effort. Measure III is largely agricultural production. A block can score high on this measure by having a lot of small farmers producing well. In short, organized effort required for irrigation and utilization of land for farming, for building houses, and providing schools for villages, is something quite different than having a more traditional form of agriculture producing well. The agricultural value measure perhaps reflects traditional sectors of Indian agriculture.

D. Implications from the Research

Comparability of Measures of Economic Level

A basic goal of the research on economic level was comparability. Only if the indicators, and the measures based on the indicators, were comparable across India, - or at least for the 30 blocks in the 6 districts of the three states in which the study was conducted - could they be said to be valid.

The approach taken was to obtain comparability by selecting identical indicators in the three states. As a result, several presumably useful indicators had to be excluded, as has been pointed out, either because data were not available or else the indicator was not meaningful in one or another state on *prima facie* examination.

Was the assumption that identical indicators would provide a comparable measure of economic level justified? The analytical implication was that all indicators selected for scoring, be well inter-correlated for all three states, this despite early recognition that the states vary greatly in their mode of agricultural production - the element common to many of the measures of economic level. Should the opposite assumption have been made, namely that the indicators of economic level are heavily influenced by the system in which they are observed (the Indian states, for example), then the intercorrelations for purposes of selection should have been computed only within the

state or region rather than for all states and every region.

The assumption can be evaluated empirically. Additional data were collected and analyzed at the block level for Gujarat and Maharashtra at an early point in the research. Analysis proceeded without U. P. data on several indicators, inclusive of the 15 selected for analysis and the 10 chosen for scoring. Table 34 displays comparative correlations between economic level indicators for three different, but overlapping, universes of Indian blocks. The first is the set of the 30 blocks selected for this study; the second is 39 blocks in three districts in Gujarat; the third is 75 blocks from six selected districts in both Gujarat and Maharashtra.

Table 34

Comparison cf Correlations of Indicators of Economic Level of Blocks: All States, One State, and Two States

		Tertiary	Three Rooms	Pucca Houses	Schools
Percent of workers in the tertiary sector	Three states (30 blocks)		.33	-.25	.01
	Gujarat only (39 blocks)		.36	.44	.33
	Gujarat and Maharashtra (75 blocks)		-.03	.36	.65
Percent households with three or more rooms	Three states			.14	.44
	Gujarat only			.09	.13
	Gujarat and Maharashtra			.11	-.36
Percent of households					.48
Pucca construction					.26
Percent of villages with schools					.05

The correlations for the three universes of Indian blocks differ substantially. One conclusion is obvious. The intercorrelations depend a great deal upon the universes selected for correlational analysis. In Table 34 the universes were defined as states. The conclusion at least for these

states is that the best set of indicators for assessing economic level will be different for one state, two states or three states. Once again the explanation for these differences perhaps is that the blocks, being agricultural are very sensitive to system variations arising from the environment which is not homogeneous across the three states in the study. Tobacco is grown in one state, but not another; variations in weather make one type of household construction essential in one state, but not in another. In contrast industrial based measures tend to be free from the heavy hand of the environment. Industrial goods move in an extensive market.

All of the indicators presented in Table 34 were used in the economic level Measure II. The differences in correlations show that this measure at least is very dependent on the nature of the state, or perhaps regional characteristics within the state. The comparability of this measure of economic level must be viewed with some suspicion.

What can be concluded from this finding for further research on measures of economic level or for evaluations of existing measures? One implication is that the measure should take into account known differences at least at the state level. One alternative is to use the state or a defined region as the basis for selecting and validating indicators. This is possible at present at the state level in India. Scores on economic level for Gujarat could be based on the best indicators for Gujarat. These scores could then be compared to similar scores for U. P. Although different indicators would be used in order to provide for the different influences of land, water supply, weather, these measures could be interpreted as equivalent. The same method, perhaps with some modifications, that was used to assess values cross-nationally, could be used to assess economic level across states or regions in India. (See sections I and II of this report).

This method, which takes into account important system differences, was considered. It was not possible because of the paucity of data on blocks in U. P. Data on only 10 blocks were gathered. It would have been necessary to have more data on more blocks than was feasible in this project.

Whatever the difficulties, it would appear that in a country as large and diverse as India, the strategy of economic measurement must differentiate

the indices, used at least as among states, and perhaps for regions within states as well. After all, most Indian states rank with the larger countries of the world in size, and have as much internal heterogeneity. Valid comparisons require that the measures not only be equivalent but authentic, that is, relate accurately to the conditions of the areas under study. The conclusion of this research is that in India one cannot assume that measures of economic development which depend on uniform indicators meet the test of relevance and hence of validity. Hence the necessity of adopting more sensitive procedures for selecting indicators and establishing their equivalence - along the lines as previously suggested of this project's cross-cultural methodology of measurement.

The Multiple Dimensions of Economic Level in India

The procedures adopted to measure local economic levels in this research were designed to obtain a single composite measure on the basis of which hopefully, all units - blocks as well as districts - could be meaningfully scored, ranked and grouped, wherever they were located and regardless of local characteristics. This assumed that economic level was a phenomenon which could be validly identified on a single dimension, or at least that, if ranked on several dimensions, units would end up in about the same relative position on each dimension. As we have seen, this result was generally obtained in the measurement of districts. But there were strong underlying implications that economic level in India is multi-dimensioned, and that the dimensions are substantially different, so different indeed as to throw doubt on the validity of any uniform measure applied across the board to all kinds of localities. Sampling procedures which do not take this into account in the construction of national or even regional economic indices are highly suspect.

Several independent analyses of data gathered in this study point to this conclusion, which is also in line with findings of Pal and Subramaniam (IND/54) and a pioneer analysis of Maharashtra districts made by Mrs. Mukherjee of the Gokhale Institute.

The most obvious disparate dimensions are (1) urban/industrial, and (2) agricultural. This is borne out by the intercorrelation indicators for

72 districts in U. P. and Gujarat (Table 35).[1] Note the striking independence of the two dimensions as reflected in the high negative correlations between urban and agricultural sector indicators.

Table 35

Dimensionalities of Urban-Agricultural Indicators of Economic Level (1961-1962 Data)

(U. P. and Gujarat, N = 72)

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Urban sector measures	1. Per capita income		.89	.73	.66	-.67	-.43	-.70	-.64
	2. Income per employed person			.83	.80	-.84	-.62	-.67	-.58
	3. % urban population				.80	-.85	-.77	-.70	-.46
	4. % workers in the industrial sector					-.93	-.78	-.63	-.46
Agricultural sector Measures	5. Workers in agricultural sector						.83	.60	.52
	6. Contribution of agricultural sector to total income							.50	.25
	7. % illiterates								.43
	8. Number of land holdings								

Factor analysis of a large number of economic level indicators for the 25 districts of Maharashtra (excluding Bombay) (Table 36) revealed a larger variety of underlying dimensions, reflecting a broad range of behavioral and demographic differences. Table 37 describes and interprets four of these out of a nine factor rotation. (Some of the other factors are not readily interpretable.)

1. Maharashtra was excluded from this analysis because certain data were differently defined.

Table 36

Socio-Economic Indicators for Maharashtra Districts

Variable No.	Variable Identification
1.	Population
2.	Population density
3.	Agricultural workers as percent of population
4.	Urban population as percent of total
5.	Cultivatable area in 1962
6.	Cultivatable area in 1960
7.	Agricultural output per worker
8.	Establishments using electricity
9.	Percentage of men literate
10.	Percentage of women literate
11.	Percentage of school-going boys aged 6-11, 1962
12.	Percentage of school-going boys aged 6-11, 1960
13.	Percentage of school-going boys aged 11-14, 1962
14.	Percentage of school-going boys aged 11-14, 1960
15.	Percentage of school-going girls aged 6-11, 1962
16.	Percentage of school-going girls aged 6-11, 1960
17.	Percentage of school-going girls aged 11-14, 1962
18.	Percentage of school-going girls aged 11-14, 1960
19.	Average number of persons per room
20.	Number of primary teachers per room
21.	Number of primary students
22.	Number of secondary teachers
23.	Number of secondary students.
24.	Total number of banks
25.	Population in 1951
26.	Population covered by Community Development Program (CDP)
27.	Population contribution to CDP
28.	Government expenditure on CDP
29.	Per capita income
30.	Income per active inhabitant
31.	Active population as percent total population
32.	Percentage of workers in the primary sector
33.	Percentage of workers in the secondary sector
34.	Percentage of workers in the tertiary sector
35.	Percentage of income from primary sector
36.	Percentage of income from the secondary sector
37.	Percentage of income from the tertiary sector
38.	Number of doctors per 1000 population
39.	Percentage illiterate above age 10
40.	Percentage of landholdings below one acre
41.	Percentage of landholdings above 50 acres
42.	Mileage of roads per unit population, 1962
43.	Mileage of roads per unit population, 1960

Table 36 (cont'd)

Variable No.	Variable Identification
44.	Ratio of area irrigated to total area sown, 1962
45.	Ratio of area irrigated to total area sown, 1960
46.	Numbers of seats for technical training per unit population
47.	Hospital beds per capita, 1962
48.	Hospital beds per capita, 1960
49.	Percent of district budget for education
50.	Percent of district budget for CDP
51.	Percent of district budget for public health
52.	Percent of district budget for public works
53.	Percent of district budget on social welfare
54.	Number of beneficiaries of aid to Economically Backward Classes (EBC) at secondary level
55.	Number of beneficiaries at university level
56.	Total number of aid recipients in EBC program
57.	Amount of aid in Rs. per student through EBC, secondary level
58.	Amount of aid in Rs. per student through EBC, university level
59.	Average reimbursement per student at all levels of EBC
60.	Total amount of livestock
61.	Total amount allocated to Backward Class Welfare (BCW) scheme
62.	Percent of total Rs. allocated to BCW actually used
63.	Change in cultivatable area from 1960 to 1962
64.	Establishments using electricity per capita
65.	Change in total percentage of school-going children aged 6-14 from 1960 to 1962
66.	Student-teacher ratio, primary
67.	Student-teacher ratio, secondary
68.	Total students, primary and secondary
69.	Total teachers, primary and secondary
70.	Student-teacher ratio, all levels
71.	Number of banks per capita
72.	Ratio of population covered by CDP to total population, 1951
73.	Population contribution to CDP per capita
74.	Government expenditure on CDP per capita
75.	Ratio of total government expenditure to population contribution
76.	Percentage of landholdings either above 50 acres or below one acre
77.	Change in road mileage from 1960 to 1962
78.	Change in amount of area irrigated to total area sown, 1960 to 1962
79.	Change in number of hospital beds per capita, 1960 to 1962
80.	Total percent of district budget allocated to social functions
81.	Amount of livestock per rural inhabitant
82.	Actual amount of BCW funds used

Table 37

Interpretations of Factors of Socio-Economic Development for Maharashtra Districts

(Nine Rotations - Principal Component Analysis)

Variable Number	Variable Description	Factor Loadings*	Notations
FACTOR I: Education			
9.	% men literate	.814	
10.	% women literate	.772	
11.		.823	
12.	/ Variables 11-18 all deal	.796	
13.	with percentage of	.885	
14.	school aged children	.877	
15.	attending school /	.896	
16.		.883	
17.		.841	
18.		.862	
39.	% illiterate above age 10	-.840	Negative loading consistent
71.	Number of banks per capita	.725	Not relevant (NR)
80.	% district budget for social functions	.725	
31.	Active population as % total	-.697	(NR)
57.	Total aid EBC, sec. level per pupil	.664	
43.	Mileage roads per pop., 1960	.641	(NR)
49.	% district budget for education	.618	
78	Change in % irrigated land	.609	(NR)
21.	Number primary students	.584	
20.	No. primary teachers	.564	
68.	Total student, primary and secondary	.558	
42.	Mileage of roads per pop., 1962	.550	(NR)
81.	Livestock per rural pop.	-.550	(NR)
70.	Overall student-teacher ratio	.520	
69.	Total teachers, primary and secondary	.518	
FACTOR VI: Social Welfare			
82.	Total amount BCW funds used	-.936	
61.	Total amount allocated to BCW	-.905	
53.	% district budget on social welfare	-.826	
37.	% income from tertiary sector	-.538	

*Loadings above .500 are reported.

Table 37 (cont'd)

Variable Number	Variable Description	Factor Loadings	Notations
FACTOR II: Urban-Rural			
3.	Agricultural workers as % population	-.924	Negative Loading consistent
4.	Urban population as % pop.	.913	
23.	Number of secondary students	.901	
32.	% workers in primary sector	-.912	Neg. loading consistent
34.	% workers in tertiary sector	.905	
22.	Number of secondary teachers	.897	
47.	Hospital beds per capita, 1962	.891	
48.	Hospital beds per capita, 1960	.887	
33.	% workers in secondary sector	.771	Neg. loading consistent
35.	% income from primary sector	-.751	
8.	Establishments using electricity	.658	
30.	Income per active pop.	.657	
36.	% income from secondary sector	.638	
54.	Number recipients EBC, secondary	.679	
55.	Number recipients EBC, university	.670	
56.	Total recipients EBC	.687	
64.	Establishments with electricity per capita	.611	
10.	% women literate	.526	
38.	Number doctors per capita	.547	
46.	Number seats for technical training per capita	.588	
69.	Total teachers, primary and secondary	.549	
74.	Government expenditure on CDP per capita	-.500	(NR)
FACTOR VII: Agricultural Land Distribution			
7.	Agricultural output per worker	.774	
40.	% landholdings below 1 acre	-.715	
76.	% landholdings below 1 or above 50 acres	-.747	
19.	Average number persons per room	.622	(NR)

The implication of this research is that economic development in India cannot be conceived as a single phenomenon. In this heterogeneous country it means one thing in one area, something else in another. Even at the district level, maybe even amcng blocks within districts, differences in the character of the economy are so basic that the pattern of development is reflected in quite different dimensions - education, urban-industrial, social welfare, agricultural landholdings, to mention only those reported here.

It is probable that the blocks chosen for this investigation were sufficiently homogeneous, that the essentially agricultural indicators which were used to measure development were appropriate. But this will be subjected to further assessment as additional data permit a more comprehensive analysis.

For more extensive investigations, covering more diversified areas and units, it seems imperative that several measures of economic level should be used and kept independent so that the discreteness of the dimensions will not be artificially blurred. Otherwise, serious errors will occur in estimating past economic achievement and making future predictions.

E. Applications

The purpose of the research on economic indicators was to obtain an empirically based definition and measure of economic level in India - a measure which would be both valid and comparable across regions. The measure would indicate the resource base of a local community. The overall design of the research called for a systematic assessment of the importance of the resource base in determining the pattern of relationships between characteristics of leaders, particularly their values, and community activeness. Several intellectual and methodological problems had to be solved, however, tentatively in assessing the resource base in India. One is the difficulty in getting comparable measures. Another is the empirical fact that the phenomenon of economic level is a multi-dimensional one. Both of these problems were discussed in this section. In addition, there were several practical problems encountered in the mechanics of gathering, collating and analyzing the data.

The result of the analysis was a "number" indicating, with some validity, the magnitude or position of blocks on single dimensions of economic level for all three states. The capacity to assign numbers, indicating differences in the attribute of economic level, to local political units can be used for several purposes by policy oriented organizations.

1. Descriptive information

The numbers themselves can provide a basis for assessing the magnitude of the "problems" of promoting economic development. An accurate, comparative index of economic level should provide a basis for knowing how much of a problem there is in one country compared to another or in one region compared to another. This information can provide a guideline for allocation of development resources.

2. Assessment of the impact of development programs

One of the continuing tasks of organizations working on the problem of development is to assess rapidly and accurately the results of a particular development program. Part of the impact of a program may be seen in improvements in the immediate area of activity. For instance, the impact of agricultural education might be an increase in agricultural production; of a program distributing improved wheat seeds, an increase in wheat production over a period of time. But the importance of developmental programs, however, is often their spill-over of multiplier effects. Improved seeds may not only generate more bushels of wheat, but improve health levels which in turn will reduce absenteeism; reduction of absenteeism perhaps then will increase productivity of factories. A general, reliable index of economic level will provide a basis for evaluating these spill-over effects of development programs.

3. Setting development targets

With a general index of economic level, targets for economic development can be set. A general measure applicable to all regions in a country may provide a basis for realistic planning goals.

4. A scientific variable in social science research

A valid index of economic level can play a crucial role in the development of social theory. Most social behavior is constrained by the economic base of a social unit. It is therefore essential to have economic level as a control variable in almost every study of social and political systems. If such a measure is available, it will be possible to answer questions such as "what is the impact of economic level on political integration, on civil tranquility, susceptibility to ideology?" To provide such context was the goal sought in this project which prompted so intense an effort to define and secure valid measures of local economic level in India.

VI. DYNAMIC COMMUNITIES: PATTERNS OF ACTIVENESS

The central problem of the entire project has been to determine the development impact of leadership. What difference does a community's leadership make in the amount and direction of local efforts to improve physical and social conditions in the community? This is partly a question of responsiveness to the development programs put forward by national and state governments - how extensively and effectively do the blocks use resources made available to them from the outside? But it is even more a question of the generation of local initiative. What does the community undertake to do on its own? What resources of their own do they mobilize either to qualify for outside help by fulfilling a matching requirement, or to carry out their independently conceived projects? Still another issue, especially important for India with its social cleavages, is the breadth of local participation in development efforts. Does the community pull together, transcending caste, economic and political divisions?

The measurement of "community activeness" therefore was an imperative task. It proved to be among the most difficult.

The Concept of Activeness

In keeping with the strategy of cross-cultural comparability to which the project was committed, it was necessary to establish the concept of activeness in terms which would make it equivalent wherever investigated, in American municipalities as well as in rural India, in U. P. as well as in Maharashtra. We had to find a denominator which was conceptually the same, even though the manner in which activeness was expressed would be totally different because social circumstances were so different.

In common sense terms the investigators agreed that what they were trying to examine as the principal dependent variable was the total activity within the community, over a number of years, including actions both of the

local government and of the general population. Ideally, this would have been demonstrated by a time-motion inventory of everything that everyone in the community had done.

This was obviously impracticable, and also not sufficiently focussed on development activity for the purposes of this study. Consequently, the concept was defined operationally as follows: "Activeness is the aggregate of individual and collective behavior directed to or having consequences for increase in community facilities and the extent of individual involvement in solving problems at a collective or community level." Two kinds of behavior are distinguished: collective behavior which refers to actions of community institutions, particularly the local government, in generating community facilities and in increasing the opportunities for individual involvement; and individual behavior which involves personal participation in socio-political institutions and community programs. The first is a question of resource mobilization, where acceptance or rejection by individuals in the community is not at issue; the second is specifically a question of popular involvement, which in turn has no necessary impact on the level of available community facilities and services.[1]

Assessing Activeness

Two goals dominated the strategy for assessing activeness. On the one hand, it was important to have comparable cross-national measures, something which could be achieved if identical data were available and indicated identical things; on the other, it was essential that the measures validly reflect the phenomena in each country, which perhaps could not be achieved by using identical indicators even if they were available. The first goal would be attained but at a cost for the other, just as a common intelligence test facilitates comparisons between negroes and whites, but at the cost of getting a valid measure of intelligence for one or the other group.

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1. See Dod. RT/V/7, pp. 2, 3 for elaboration of this definition.

The strategy of assessment was to use those indicators that best reflected the phenomenon in India or the U.S. Within as contrasted to between country standards were used. The basis for determining scores for a particular unit was where that unit fell in comparisons to other units within the same political system, not where it fell in comparison to all units in the study regardless of country. The goal was to have parallel measures so that a high score in India could be treated as equivalent to a high score in the U.S. The parallel measure was to be achieved by using a common procedure and by adjusting the scores to within country standards.

Abandoning common criteria for cross-national comparability in the assessment of local political unit activeness was mandated by several facts and arguments: (1) data on local political units, almost without exception, are not identical in any two countries; (2) multiple observations were being made anyway in each country, providing a basis of differentiation around national tendencies; (3) no cross-national standard, such as a dollar, was available for resource mobilization or participation, and even if there were some, problems of transformation would be immense; and (4) the behavior of political units or of people holding political roles needs to be understood or interpreted in context, that context being the particular political system.

Assessment is, therefore, of a general, comparable concept, measured by manifestations peculiar to specific political systems. The concept is homogeneous, although the indicators - the ways in which the concept is manifested, are heterogeneous. The meaning of specific indicators, it is assumed, is best interpreted in the context of the particular political system in which it is observed. Governmental expenditures are governmental expenditures. But in one country they are mandatory and reflect little choice; in another they are discretionary and perhaps reflect, better than anything else, the decisions of local governments.

The first step in the procedures is to postulate relationships between the two dimensions of activeness on the one hand and a number of accessible indicators on the other. As examples, high popular involvement would be related to high voting turnout and an indicator of high resource mobilization would be a large number of schools built. The task is to select only those

indicators which indeed reflect the defined phenomena and not something else, or at least better reflect the phenomena than anything else (contain more "true" than "error"). But what is the standard by which the indicators can be evaluated? One step in this procedure is to pick enough indicators (have enough hypotheses) so that the probability of having true indicators is increased. The standard for each indicator is how it relates to the total set of indicators - all items being taken as the first best estimate of the phenomena or at least as a better estimate than any single item. The effect of this evaluation is to obtain a set of inter-related items so that the "true" contained in the several indicators overwhelms the "error" that could be contained in any one indicator. The final task is to devise an approximate weight for each indicator according to how probable it is that it indicates the "true" rather than "error". Thus the standard for the validity of the measures taken together is the degree to which individual indicators are related to all other indicators - all of the indicators being the standard.[1] The relationships are observed within the specific political system, not across some or all systems.

The specific procedures are: (1) to postulate a set of relationships of specific indicators to activeness, the selection process being somewhat disciplined by availability of data and the likelihood of getting similar data in other countries; (2) to collect the data for a number of political units; (3) to inter-correlate the indicators; (4) to exclude indicators which correlated poorly on the whole with the other indicators; (5) to exclude indicators which behave peculiarly, such as being high in only one state in India; and (6) to factor analyze the final set of indicators to obtain clusters of indicators and weights reflecting how well an indicator fits with a general cluster of indicators.

In operation terms, the goal was to obtain several weighted indicators which could be used for measuring three phenomena - resource mobilization, popular involvement, and a combination of the two; and which should be reasonbly well correlated within a particular country.

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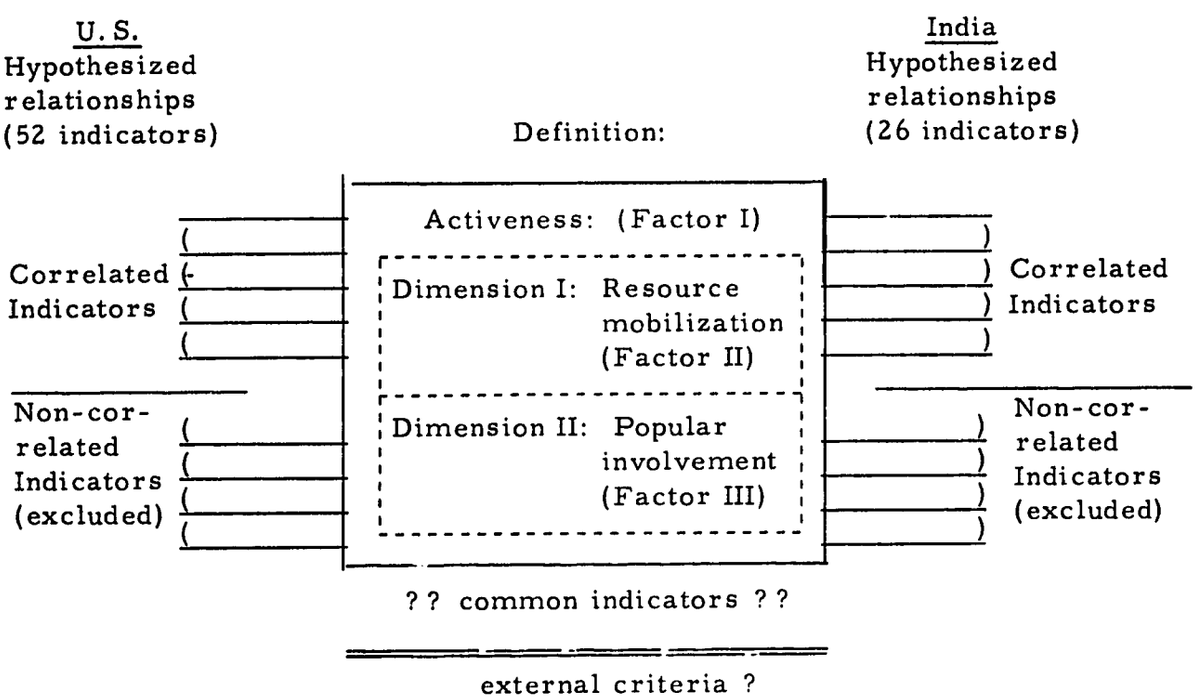
1. For further discussion on this, see Teune, "Measuring Characteristics of Complex Social Aggregates," Document USA/82.

The diagram below displays the procedures of assessment in summary form.[1] An external criterion for cross-national validation is still desirable, although no specific plan has been determined except for judgmental ratings which were done in a preliminary way in India.

Assessment of Activeness



Measures of Activeness

The types of measures used in India and the U.S. stand in sharp contrast because the Indian units are primarily agricultural and the American units are all cities. There are other obvious contrasts, resulting from the nature of the units and perhaps more importantly, the differences in political systems.

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1. The logic of measurement presented here is "construct validity", validity being partially established by the homogeneity of indicators within countries. The validity of constructs, however, is judged from a variety of evidence and several kinds of validation other than the homogeneity of the indicators. Another logic of measurement would be simply to treat the items, not as measures or indicators of a phenomenon, but as a set of defining properties.

In India all of the measures reflect gross activity for a period of years - average gross activity or average increment in activity per year being used in all but one case. Averaging gross or incremental activity per year, such as average inoculations per year, should reduce the influence of certain extraneous events, particularly consequences of agricultural production in India, such as wide fluctuations in rainfall. The number of indicators originally used in India was substantially larger than those selected for final scoring. A large number of exclusions were necessary because of unevenness in data collected in the three states, particularly in the case of U. P. Most of the data were gathered in the field rather than from central sources because the most recent data possible were required in order to mesh the activeness measures with the terms of office of leaders interviewed.

A major assumption used for India but not for the U. S. was that of "infinite need". Present levels, area, population, and cultivable land, were not used for standardization. Even though this assumption could be justified by the fact that most of these units have similar size dimensions, the more important justification was that no block would be in a position to reduce its efforts in building schools, distributing fertilizers, or inoculating the population. In every block, in short, there was equal opportunity for effort, if not equality of need. A secondary assumption for the Indian indicators was that popular involvement should be viewed as individual response to developmental or community wide programs, such as vaccinations, or use of contraceptives. This behavior is believed to be more reflective of individual involvement in community affairs than conventional western measures of involvement, such as voting or joining organizations.

American indicators are of three types - local governmental revenues and expenditures, voting, and activity of some organizations. Several of the indicators are of an incremental nature - increase or decrease in voting, or expenditure. Several of them reflect present levels. Many of them were gathered in the field.

The tables below (38 A, 38 B and 39) present the selected indicators, the factor loadings for each indicator, and the dimension that the indicator

was hypothesized to indicate - resource mobilization or popular involvement. The factor loadings presented are factors interpreted as "mixed". For India it is the first two of four factors rotated, and for the U.S. the second of four factors rotated.

Communities were scored on the basis of the factor loadings. Standard scores were computed for each community on each indicator; this score was multiplied by the factor loading; these weighted scores were then summated; and the summated score in turn was divided by the number of loadings, producing an average score on the several items and the score for activeness.

The Dual Pattern of Indian Activeness

What emerges from this many-facetted measurement of activeness in Indian rural areas is that two entirely different modes of action prevail, and that a community which is dynamic along one of these lines is almost certain not to be on the other.

We had expected to find differences in the degree of activeness, i.e. more in some blocks than in others. Indeed the sample, as noted before, was intentionally chosen to insure just this. But that the fundamental structure of activeness, the basic pattern of what people do when they are active, should vary so radically, was news.

The difference is established by the factor analysis of indicators presented in Tables 38A and 38B. Factor I, it will be seen, is technique-oriented. It is heavily loaded with items having to do with the adoption of scientific methods of agriculture, animal husbandry, population control and public health, and indicates also a rise in adult literacy and exposure to public communication (through the presence of radio facilities). Factor II includes none of these as significant components but demonstrates a major commitment of manual effort to the physical cultivation of the land - with corresponding support of cooperatives (which function in these areas primarily to assist cultivators in securing the simple tools, seeds and basic supplies they need for rather elemental farming.) Rejection of family planning practices, such as insertion of loops, and the lack of motorized equipment such as pumping sets, are strong negative components of this measure.

Table 40 shows that blocks whose performance is high on one dimension are low on the other. It is as though they had faced a forced choice between mutually exclusive channels of social performance, to go "New" and gamble on applying innovations proposed by the planners and intellectual elite, or to stay conventional and work harder to apply the tested means of sustaining life and community in the past.[1]

Then there are, of course, the low achievers on both measures.

Certain econological characteristics distinguish the "new" technique-oriented active community from the one which is committed to continuing the close ties of hand to land. It tends to be more heavily populated, to have less area under cultivation and to have a lower agricultural production. Again, it should be stressed that all the units studied are rural. By definition, blocks consist of rural areas - collections of villages and small towns - with many major urban centers (such as municipal corporations) being separate political-administrative units whose activities are not reflected in block data. However, it is possible that accessibility to urban centers may have affected the pattern of activeness and this is now being explored.

A strong regional distinction is apparent. All the blocks in Uttar Pradesh score high on the "old" pattern of activeness, none on the "new". The reverse is true for most blocks in Maharashtra. Yet, so far as is known, the process of selection was comparable in all three states, and there is nothing peculiar about the U. P. blocks, except that they are generally in areas where irrigated land may constitute a more predominant part of the economic base.

The most striking differences among the two sets of active communities are to be found in the nature of their leadership. These distinctions are to be analyzed in the concluding section of this report.

Tables 38A, 38B, 39

Measures of Community Activeness

India and U.S.

NOTES

(1) Dimension: items were originally hypothesized to relate to two dimensions:

a. resource mobilization = RM
b. popular involvement = PI

(2) Other measures of activeness in India: two other factors account for 14.2% and 7.8% of the variance respectively on indicators of activeness in the sample of Indian taluks. One (measure III) is heavily loaded on popular involvement items, the other (measure IV) is loaded on resource mobilization items.

(3) Intercorrelations of the 4 Indian activeness measures at the community level:

	I	II	III	IV
I	x	-47	-29	-45
II		x	25	20
III			x	22
IV				x

Orthogonal factor analysis under most circumstances should produce either independent or uncorrelated dimensions. The two correlations of -.47 and -.45 show independence. The correlations of .25, .20 and .22 are low and thus unrelated.

(4) The activeness measure reported for the U.S. is the second largest of four factors rotated, accounting for 12.7% of the variance. It contains the most inclusive set of highly loaded items in the four factors.

Table 38A
Indian Activeness - Factor I

(variance accounted for - 23.4%)

Indicator	Dimension	Factor Loading
1. Average supply of chemical fertilizer per year 1962-65	RM	.940
2. Average number of adults made literate per year, 1962-65	PI	.909
3. Average number of inoculations of cattle per year, 1962-65	PI	.843
4. Average number of sterilizations (male and female) per year, 1962-65	PI	.744
5. Average increment of village radios per year, 1962-65 (base year 1961-62)	RM	.708
6. Average number of smallpox vaccinations per year, 1962-65	PI	.605
7. Average increment of motor-run pumping sets per year, 1962-65 (base year 1961-62)	RM	.540
8. Average number of artificial inseminations per year, 1962-65	PI	.439
9. Average number of latrines built per year, 1962-65	PI	.019
10. Average number of manure pits dug per year, 1962-65	PI	.012
11. Number of loops inserted, 1965-66	PI	.004
12. Average increase in the proportion of numbers of cooperative societies, 1962-63/1965-66 (base year 1961-62)	PI	-.042
13. Average increment in school enrollment 1962-65 (base year 1961-62)	PI	-.053
14. Average number of new schools opened per year, 1962-65	RM	-.077
15. Average increment in proportion of the supply of improved seeds, 1962-63/1965-66 (base year 1961-62)	RM	-.104
16. Average increment in the proportion of paid-up share capital of cooperative societies, 1962-63/1965-66 (base year 1961-62)	PI	-.120
17. Average number of improved ploughs distributed per year, 1962-65	RM	-.150
18. Average increment of area irrigated per year, 1962-65 (base year 1961-62)	RM	-.157
19. Average number of drinking wells constructed per year, 1962-65	PI	-.178

Table 38B
Indian Activeness - Factor II

(variance accounted for - 19.0%)

Indicator	Dimension	Factor Loading
1. Average number of improved ploughs distributed per year, 1962-65	RM	.877
2. Average increase in the proportion of members of cooperative societies, 1962-63/1965-66 (base year 1961-62)	PI	.805
3. Average increment of area irrigated per year, 1962-65 (base year 1961-62)	RM	.744
4. Average increment in the proportion of paid-up share capital of cooperative societies, 1962-63/1965-66 (base year 1961-62	PI	.568
5. Average number of artificial inseminations per year, 1962-65	PI	.374
6. Average number of manure pits dug per year, 1962-65	PI	.253
7. Average number of new schools opened per year, 1962-65	RM	.241
8. Average number of inoculations of cattle per year, 1962-65	PI	.210
9. Average increment in proportion of the supply of improved seeds, 1962-63/1965-66 (base year 1961-62)	RM	.036
10. Average supply of chemical fertilizer per year, 1962-65	RM	-.042
11. Average number of adults made literate per year, 1962-65	PI	-.119
12. Average number of latrines built per year, 1962-65	PI	-.143
13. Average number of sterilizations (male and female) per year, 1962-65	PI	-.145
14. Average number of drinking wells constructed per year, 1962-65	PI	-.155
15. Average increment in school enrollment, 1962-65 (base year 1961-62)	PI	-.252
16. Average increment of motor-run pumping sets per year, 1962-65 (base year 1961-62)	RM	-.314
17. Average number of smallpox vaccinations per year, 1962-65	PI	-.337
18. Average increment of village radios per year, 1962-65 (base year 1961-62)	RM	-.535
19. Number of loops inserted, 1965-66	PI	-.605

Table 39

U. S. Activeness - Factor II

(variance accounted for - 12. 7%)

Indicator	Dimension	Factor Loading
1. Change in intergovernmental revenue, 1959-63, per capita	RM	.715
2. Mean turnout of voters in local elections, 1959-66, pop. 21 and over	PI	.636
3. Change in revenue from property taxes, 1959-64, per capita	RM	.619
4. Mean turnout of voters on referenda, 1960-66, pop. 21 and over	PI	.514
5. Mean turnout of voters in presidential elections, 1960-64, pop. 21 and over	PI	.452
6. Non-patient hospital revenue, 1965, per capita	RM	.385
7. Value poverty program, 1965, per capita	RM	.384
8. Change in expenditure: public health and hospitals, 1960-65, per capita	RM	.256
9. YMCA - total number of board and committee members, 1965, total pop.	PI	.237
10. Change in expenditure: parks and recreation, 1960-65 per capita	RM	.121
11. Increase in per pupil expenditure, 1960-65	RM	.113
12. Change in United Fund contributions raised, 1960-65, per capita	PI	.103
13. Expenditure: public health & hospitals, 1965, per cap.	RM	.079
14. Change in expenditure: libraries, 1960-65, per capita	RM	.061
15. Expenditure: libraries, 1965, per capita	RM	.048
16. Per pupil expenditure, 1965	RM	.006
17. YWCA contributions, 1965, per capita	PI	.004
18. YMCA contributions, 1965	PI	.001
19. % change in the number of YMCA volunteer group leaders, 1960-65	PI	-.025
20. Members League of Women Voters, 1965, pop. over 21	PI	-.044
21. Total general expenditure, 1964, per capita	RM	-.136
22. Expenditure: parks and recreation, 1965, per capita	RM	-.189
23. Change in expenditure: law and order, 1960-65, per capita	RM	-.193
24. United Fund contributi ons raised, 1965, per capita	PI	-.285
25. Change in turnout of voters in presidential elections, 1960-64, pop. 21 and over	PI	-.393
26. Expenditure: law and order, 1965, per capita	RM	-.473
27. % change in Boy Scout members, 1960-65	PI	-.521
28. Boy Scout adult volunteers, 1965, pop. over 21	PI	-.701

Table 40

The Active Community in Rural India

Ecological characteristics of the taluk:	Type I	Type II
1. Size	relatively large (r. 38)*	smaller (r . 45)**
2. Density	relatively high (r. 45)	insig
3. Agricultural production		
Measure I	insig	high (r. 61)**
Measure III	insig	high (r. 53)**

Note (1)* correlation with Activeness measure I (adjusted for direction)
** correlation with Activeness measure II (adjusted for direction)

insig correlation does not meet . 05 level of confidence (r. 361).

Note (2) Agricultural production measure I is a factor score heavily loaded on three items: area under irrigation, gross cropped area, and area sown. Measure III is heavily loaded on gross cropped area, per capita value of agricultural production and per capita yield. See section for detailed exposition of the construction of these measures.

Pattern of activeness:	Measure I	Measure II
1. Supply of chemical fertilizer	high	---
2. Increment of irrigated area	---	high
3. Improved ploughs distributed	---	high
4. Increment of motor-run pumping sets	high	low
5. Cattle innoculations	high	---
6. Cattle artificial inseminations	high	---
7. Increment in adult literacy	high	---
8. Increment of village radios	high	low
9. Sterilizations (human)	high	low
10. Vaccinations (human)	high	---
11. Loops inserted	---	low
12. Increase in members of cooperative societies	---	high
13. Increase in paid-up shares in cooperative societies	---	high

Note: (re pattern of activeness) high - refers to a positive factor loading above . 400; low - refers to a negative factor loading (-. 400 or below); blank indicates loadings on this item lie between these limits. See Table for exact loadings.

Table 40 (cont'd)

Composition of leadership	Pattern I	Pattern II
1. Age	younger (r -.46)*	insig**
2. Education	tendency to higher (r .36) homogeneous (low SD/r .46)	tendency to lower (r .32) not homogeneous (high SD/r .55)
3. Membership in Congress Party	insig	low % (r .52)
Leaders' Values		
1. Concern to avoid conflict		
(mean scale score)	reject (r .36)	agree (r .62)
(mean factor II score)	reject (r .58)	agree (r .55)
homogeneity (SD on scale score)	varied (high SD/r .44)	homogeneous (low SD/r .61)
priority (relative to other values)		
mean score	low (r .38)	insig
variance	homogeneous (low variance/r .62)	insig
2. Concern for national over local interests		
mean scale score	national orientation (r .50)	insig
mean factor I score	national orientation (r .58)	insig
3. Change orientation		
mean scale score	accept change (r .36)	reject change (r .49)
mean factor V score	insig	reject radicalism (r .70)
4. Concern for expertise as against public participation in decision-making		
mean factor IX score	insig	reject expertise (r .59)
5. Principled conduct in public life (as against pragmatic opportunism)	insig	tendency to opportunism, e.g. relatively low on commitments to selflessness (r. 41) and honesty (r .45)
selflessness scale (mean)	insig	
honesty scale (mean)	insig	
factor III (mean score)	insig	relatively weak commitment to integrity factors (r .47 and r .40 respectively)
factor VI (mean score)	insig	

Table 40 (cont'd)

Leaders' Activity and Influence (self-estimate)	Pattern I	Pattern II
1. In industrial and general economic development:		
activity	high (r. 52)	low (r. 49)
influence	high (r. 60)	low (r. 46)
2. In agriculture:		
activity	insig	high (r. 36)
influence	insig	high (r. 67)
3. In community services:		
activity	insig	high (r. 49)
influence	insig	high (r. 60)
4. In cultural activities:		
activity	insig	low (r. 48)
influence	insig	insig
5. In political organization:		
activity	insig	low (r. 64)
influence	insig	low (r. 55)
Leaders' Reference Groups		
1. Commitment to party interests	high (r. 36)	low (r. 41)
2. Seek support from:		
- local officials	low (r. 40)	high (r. 64)
- local influential people	low (r. 48)	high (r. 36)
- local friends & supporters	low (r. 40)	high (r. 50)
- poor people	insig	high (r. 42)
- higher party leaders	insig	low (r. 54)
Leaders' Perception of Community Conflict, Divisions and Problems		
1. Issues which divide:		
- political views	insig	high (r. 39)
- superiors vs. subordinates	insig	high (r. 38)
- change	insig	high (r. 53)
2. Conflicts which interfere with development:		
- between political groups	high (r. 47)	insig

Table 40 (cont'd)

Leaders' Perception of Community Conflict, Divisions & Problems (cont'd)	Pattern I	Pattern II
3. Obstacles to leadership:		
- conflicts between political groups	high (r. 70)	low (r. 42)
- problems of government performance	insig	high (r. 50)
- public apathy, ignorance	insig	high (r. 60)
- backwardness	insig	low (r. 59)
- lack of resources	insig	high (r. 53)
4. Community problems:		
- development of industry; employment	insig	low (r. 57)

Leaders' Perception of Government Responsibility		
1. Who should act on community problems?		
- private initiative ("leave to the people")	reject (r. 55)	agree (r. 53)
2. Felt lack of local government autonomy:		
- re housing	high (r. 36)	insig
- re health services	high (r. 30)	insig
- re schools	insig	low (r. 51)*

*e. g. leaders believe local government does have sufficient power to act on building schools.

VII. LEADERSHIP FOR DEVELOPMENT

The task now is to explain. Why is it that communities act differently? What causes some to be receptive to new techniques of living, others to work hard but in settled ways, and some to hardly move at all? Can we isolate from the array of possible influences shaping the behavior of these people, those, that make this peculiar difference, that really trigger developmental effort?

The answer suggested by statistical analysis of this project's data confirms the original expectation which prompted the study. It is leadership: leadership with a certain cast of values, and a distinctive perception of its role in the community.

Neither available resources nor available governmental powers have a comparable determining effect. Indeed it is difficult to find evidence that the economic level (reflecting all previous inputs) and the amount of political autonomy (reflecting implementation of the panchayat system) have any direct impact on local development. Regardless of their resources and powers, one group of leaders somehow mobilizes (or is mobilized by) its community in one direction. With similar capabilities, another group moves in another direction.

Political responsibility is a subtle amalgam of human dispositions, apparently acquired by a variety of personal and social interactions. At least in rural India, in three states, it is not bought by material goods, nor manufactured by political processes.

From the standpoint of social engineering, this finding complicates the programming of development. It implies that the direct and relatively simple manipulation of resources is not likely to touch the vitals of the problem of human mobilization. The more indirect but nonetheless manageable approach through governmental adaptations, such as decentralization and the strengthening of local institutions of self-government, is also not promising, though the time of experimentation has been too short to be decisive.

The thrust of the evidence is that development must either find the people, ready-made, who can lead development; or find and provide the experiences which nurture the disposition toward responsible leadership. This study already provides some guidelines to finding the people. It is just beginning to explore the processes of change and growth in leaders' values.

Techniques of Explanation

The statistical basis of explanation in this study rests on three forms of analysis: (1) bivariate correlation, (2) partial order correlation, holding constant for certain variables, and (3) regression analysis, using a step-wise program which enables the relative influence of different variables to be calculated. These techniques and the rationale therefor are discussed in the memoranda by Allen Barton attached to this report as Appendix C-4.

(1) 180 variables were intercorrelated for each country as the foundation for determining significant relationships. These included all scores and variances for values (both scales and factors); leaders' perceptions of community conflicts and cleavages, their own areas of activity and influence, reference groups and loyalties, and scope of government responsibility and local autonomy; and several measures each of economic level and community activeness.

This 180 x 180 matrix was examined first for significant correlations with the activeness measures (0.361 or above being significant at the .05 level of confidence).

These are reported in Table 40.

(2) 80 variables were then selected for partial order correlation with the first two activeness measures (those which were most inclusive and accounted for most variance), while holding constant for economic level (using the first measure described in section V, which was based on complete data for all 30 blocks).

Results are reported in Table 41.

Table 41

Leadership and Development

Correlations with control for economic level.

Note:- Column 1 reports significant bivariate correlations between selected leadership characteristics and activeness measures I and II. At .05 level of confidence, r = .361.

Column 2 reports correlations for the same variables after controlling for economic level (Measure I, cf. section V). At .05 level of confidence r = .367.

	Correlation	
	Bivariate (1)	Partial (2)
ACTIVENESS I		
Leaders' Values:		
(1) concern to avoid conflict:		
mean scale score	-.357	-.343
mean factor score	-.575	-.570
priority (relative to other values)	-.380	-.395
(2) concern for national over local interests:		
mean scale score	.503	.583
mean factor score	.584	.622
(3) change orientation (mean scale score)	.361	.355
Leaders' Influence:		
(1) in industrial and general economic development	.600	.596
Leaders' Reference Groups:		
(1) seek support from local officials	-.398	-.390
(2) " " " local influential people	-.477	-.472
ACTIVENESS II		
Leaders' Values.		
(1) concern to avoid conflict:		
mean scale score	.623	.512
mean factor score	.546	.496
(2) commitment to change:		
mean factor score	-.704	-.506
(3) principled conduct in public life:		
mean scale score - (honesty)	-.450	-.468
mean factor score - (public integrity)	-.470	-.539
Leaders' Influence:		
(1) in industrial and general economic development	-.464	-.407
(2) in agriculture	.674	.485
(3) in community services	.603	.501
Leaders' Reference Groups:		
(1) seek support from: higher party officials	-.539	-.379
local party officials	.644	.535
local influential people	.356	.387
Leaders' Perception of Community Cleavage:		
(1) issues which divide: change	.532	.436

(3) Finally, several combinations of 40 variables were selected for step-wise regression, with the two activeness measures (40 being the maximum which could be run on this program). All these variables met the initial significance test in the bivariate correlation.

One combination included all items up to 40 in descending order of magnitude of correlation. Other combinations deleted items for which we had reason to distrust reliability, or which were of limited conceptual significance.

Results of the most discriminating of these regression analyses are reported in Table 42.

An additional word should be said about what this form of analysis does. It picks the best correlated variable, presents how much of the total variance it explains, produces partial order correlations holding this variable constant, looks at the partial order correlations, picks the variable with the highest partial correlation, holds constant for this variable as well as for the preceding one, and continues this process until 99% of the total variance in the dependent variable is explained. The result is a multivariate, hierarchical structuring of variables predicting a single variable. If one wanted to know the one variable that best predicted a phenomenon, what would it be? If one wanted to know the two variables, or three best variables, what would they be?

The Dual Pattern of Leadership in India

What emerges from all this is an unmistable duality of Indian local leadership, which dovetails exactly with the two patterns of community activeness described previously.[1]

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1. See Tables 40, 41, 42. Corresponding analyses are still in process for the U.S., so we are unable to report cross-national comparisons at this time.

Table 42

Predicting Community Activeness

Multiple Regression Analysis

This table reports results of step-wise regression analysis of the relative influence of selected variables having significant bivariate correlations at .05 level of confidence with two measures of community activeness (see section VI for description of these measures). The 10 variables accounting for the largest increment in variance, after controlling for the previous variables, are listed; the total variance accounted for after adding each variable is given.

ACTIVENESS I

	Variable	% of variance (multiple R^2)
1.	Leaders influential in economic development activity	.360
2.	Leaders high value for nation (factor I score)	.569
3.	Homogeneity of leaders' education (low variance)	.720
4.	Homogeneity re amount of perceived community conflict (low variance)*	.786
5.	Age of leaders (younger)	.819
6.	Density of population in the block (higher)	.836
7.	Homogeneity re amount of perceived community division in education (low variance)**	.851
8.	Support not sought from close friends and supporters (i.e., negative correlation)	.874
9.	Disagreement over the value of conflict avoidance (high variance on scale 2 score)	.884
10.	Leaders' high value for nation (scale 5 score)	.892

* tendency is to perceive more conflict, though this is not statistically as significant as the low variance.

**tendency is to perceive little division over education, though this is not statistically as significant as the low variance.

ACTIVENESS II

1.	Leaders' high value for conflict avoidance (scale 2 score)	.388
2.	Leaders' tendency to reject expertise in decision-making (factor IX score)	.649
3.	Leaders influential in community services	.719
4.	Leaders not influential in economic development	.777
5.	Heterogeneity in education (high variance)	.809
6.	Lower commitment to honesty (truthfulness) (scale 7 score)	.883
7.	Leaders not influential in political organization	.899
8.	Support sought from close friends and supporters	.909
9.	Homogeneity re value of conflict avoidance (low variance on factor II)	.916
10.	Homogeneity re value of conflict avoidance (low variance on scale 2)	.924

The two kinds of community leadership are in many respects just the opposite of each other, for instance, one being highly committed, the other much less so to the same values; one defining an area of influence and activity in which the other claims almost no part; one looking inward for its principal reference groups, the other ignoring the very same sources of support.

In addition, each type has certain distinctive traits which the other does not reject, but simply does not share; for instance the national orientation of those who lead "Activeness I" communities, and the opportunism of the "Activeness II" leaders.

Labels are dangerous, but to try to capture the essence of the differences between these two groups, we might identify the first as innovators and the second as harmonizers.

The Innovators

Drawing a profile from the various analyses, the innovators - those who lead in the communities which are most active in adopting scientific improvements and programs of social development, - look as follows:

(1) they place priority on national goals and development; worry less about immediate local needs and problems;

(2) they are less inclined to hold up action for the sake of harmony and consensus in the community;

(3) the search for new solutions to problems appears to them more urgent; leaving "things as they are", less tolerable;

(4) they are politically conscious, in at least two senses:
- they see political conflicts in the community as a concrete obstacle to effective leadership and an impediment to the development of the community,
- at the same time, they are more personally committed to advance political party interests;

(5) they are governmentally oriented, in at least two senses:
- they take a dim view of leaving community problems up to "the people", rather than turning to government for action,
- they are more keenly aware of the lack of power for local government to function effectively in such areas as housing and health;

(6) they profess less attachment in their leadership role to local reference groups, such as local officials, influential people and even personal friends;

(7) they tend to be more active and influential than others in the area of industrial and general economic development;

(8) they are younger;

(9) they are more educated and more homogeneous in their level of education than the leaders of other communities.

The Harmonizers

These leaders who, it should again be stressed, are associated with communities which are also active, but active in the conventional ways of a manual agricultural society, have the following attributes:

(1) they are greatly concerned to avoid conflict, secure consensus and maintain unity in their communities. There is wide homogeneity on this value - all leaders tend to be harmonizers in this kind of community;

(2) these same leaders are unusually conflict conscious, asserting more than others, that conflicts beset their communities, and interfere with their development;

(3) they are also cleavage-conscious, noting many differences which divide people in their communities;

(4) they are far less convinced of the desirability, or necessity of changing the established ways of coping with community problems;

(5) they attach less importance to expertise in making decisions about public matters;

(6) they are less insistent on leaders adhering strictly to principles, such as truthfulness in public conduct, or placing public interest above self-interest.

(7) they tend to blame and to shun government:
- they see "bureaucracy", maladministration, corruption (outside, or up above) as a major obstacle to their leadership,
- they favor leaving problems up to the people to resolve, rather than calling upon any level of government, even local, to take a hand;

(8) somewhat paradoxically, they also deplore public apathy and ignorance as an obstacle to leadership;

(9) they are unusually attached to local bases of support - official and non-official (including "poor people" as well as the "respected and influential");

(10) conversely, they are allergic to political party and political life;
- they profess not to seek support from higher party leaders,
- they state minimal concern for advancing party interests,
- far fewer than in other communities claim membership in the Congress Party,
- they don't recognize or admit partisan conflict to be an obstacle to their leadership,
- an unusually small number indicate that they are either active or influential in political organizations;

(11) these people are preeminently agriculturalists; and they quite clearly concede they are neither active nor influential in general economic development. They do take a lively hand in the area of community services;

(12) their age has no bearing on the activeness of their communities, but in education, they are more heterogeneous.

Rich Man, Poor Man: The Non-Impact of Economic Factors

A surprising finding is the remarkably small influence of a community's economic resources upon its pattern of activeness. The relative affluence or poverty of a community seems to have very little effect upon its output and performance compared with the impact of its leadership. Nor does the profile of leadership change much with the economic status of the community. The close linkage between pattern of leadership and pattern of activeness is almost untouched by the resource factor.

This conclusion is most obvious with respect to the innovative and technique-oriented pattern of activeness None of the three measures of the economic level of blocks, correlated with Activeness I at a reasonable level of confidence (.05). Further, after controlling for the first and most reliable economic measure on a partial order correlation, there was virtually no change in the relationship of leader characteristics to community activeness. The same profile had the same significant association with activeness, whether or not communities were economically better or worse off.

Initially, economic level appeared to have much more to do with the second pattern of activeness. On two of the measures, the more productive

communities had a higher record of this kind of activeness, r = 0.60 and 0.53 respectively with 0.36 being significant at .05 level of confidence. However, this may reflect a possible overlap between the variables. Irrigation is a component of both the economic and the activeness measures - % of irrigated area at a base period is used as an indicator of economic level; increment in irrigated area over a four year period is part of the activeness factor. If there is a positive association between the total amount of irrigated area and effort devoted to extending irrigation, the measures are obviously partially contaminated.

It was therefore especially important to control for economic level in this instance, in assessing the influence of the leadership elements on Activeness II. Table 41 indicates that the relationship has not been substantially altered. Most of the associations, which emerged on the bivariate correlation, remain significant, though somewhat weakened. On two issues, the leaders' outlook is sufficiently dependent on the economic status of the community that it ceases to have an independent influence: (a) the degree to which leaders are suspicious of change, and (b) the degree to which they judge conflicts to be an actual bar to community development. But on other matters, and particularly the deep-rooted concern to avoid conflict, the basic value profile of the harmonizers remains the predominant determinant of activeness in the conventional community, rich or poor.[1]

These results presume the adequacy of the economic measures, used in these analyses. They are admittedly set on a narrow data base and do not adequately reflect non-agricultural dimensions (see the critique in section V). Refinement and elaboration are called for. Nevertheless, they do relate specifically to the blocks under observation - there is no intermediate sampling error to decrease reliability. And though few in number, the indicators are multiple and demonstrated to be sufficiently homogeneous to constitute discrete composite factors.

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1. These conclusions were confirmed by the step-wise regression analyses. As will be noted in Table 42, economic level does not emerge as one of 10 variables accounting for over 92% of the variance on Activeness II.

Subject to contradictory evidence on the basis of more reliable measures, we believe the conclusion should stand that the local economic level has a minimal impact on developmental responsiveness in Indian rural communities.

Response to Nation

The most sensitive index to developmental change that has emerged from this study within the Indian context is the appeal of nation. This underlies and seems to tie together the syndrome of values and perceptions held by the leaders of communities which are receptive to new ideas, new techniques and new styles of living.

The potency of national commitment is not immediately obvious in the Indian countryside. It is not expressed in strident professions of allegiance or patriotic fervor. It edges in rather unobtrusively at a low level of assertiveness. And it has no dramatic impact, except momentarily when the country finds itself unexpectedly at war. What happens in the day-to-day routine of decision-making is that the somewhat nationally-oriented leaders quietly give ear to proposals from a development officer or higher level official. With a sense of responsibility going beyond the maintenance of local harmony, they find it possible to support action even though it may arouse controversy, and bring opposition from those who want to keep things as they are.

The response to nation almost necessarily entails a leader's readiness to incur conflict and live with it, when family, caste and community attachments are as strong as in rural India today. (Witness the high negative correlation between the value for nation and conflict avoidance - Table 43.) This is not a situation such as apparently prevails in the U.S. where leadersh p can bank on a broad consensus of compatibility between local and national interests - "what's good for us is good for the nation." Even a modest Indian nationalist must soon choose between harmony in his community and action to promote national unity, progress and self-sufficiency. He faces a basic contradiction between the integration of his own community

and its integration with the nation. National integration and development, he comes more and more to realize, must be bought at the price of local disintegration, or at least some weakening of customary bonds.

He therefore cannot depend for psychological or political support on local groups. As he shifts roles nation-ward, he cuts loose from both the formal and informal structure of power in the community. However, on the basis of the evidence in this study, these leaders have yet to find a firm alternative frame of reference to sustain their growing national orientation. (Note that there are no positive associations between the indices of national disposition and recognized support groups.) These leaders evidently embark almost unconsciously on a voyage whose outcome they do not foresee. Starting with a mild attachment to the ideal of Indian nationhood, they become involved in a sequence of mutually reinforcing steps, ending up with the consistent, well-knit profile of the "innovators" previously depicted.

This study did not undertake the kind of longitudinal, intimate biographical inquiry which would clarify when the appeal of nation first took hold and how it evolved in particular individuals. It did, however, identify several facets of national-orientation, and showed their interconnection with other values and characteristics of local leaders. Further, it demonstrated, as we have already seen, a close relationship between attitude and performance, between a concern for nation expressed in words, and responsiveness to national initiatives expressed in decisions, outputs, and community involvement (the first measure of community activeness is in effect a performance measure of responsiveness to some of the major national development programs.)

Table 43 reports inter-connections between some of the indicators of leaders' disposition toward nation, and their communities' responsiveness as demonstrated by Activeness Measure I. It includes the following variables:

1. Concern for national goals over local interests (mean score on national-local scale).
2. Orientation to national development (mean score on Factor I).
3. Priority given national goals over seven other values (Q. III/1).

4. Primary support expressed for interests of the nation as against welfare of local community, party, or friends.
5. Preference for central (or state) government responsibility for action on community problems.
6. Concern for community harmony, and conflict avoidance (mean score on factor II).
7. Responsiveness to national development programs by local government and community (Activeness Measure I).

Table 43

Response to Nation

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Value for Nation (scale)		.942	.340	.189	-.056	-.447	.503
2. Value for Nation (factor)			.418	.330	.132	-.578	.584
3. Priority for national goals				.466	.323	.000	.193
4. Support for national interest					.480	-.069	.312
5. Preference for central & state government resp.						-.262	.310
6. Conflict avoidance							-.575
7. Action on national programs							

R = .361 at .05 level of confidence

The variables reported in Table 43 have by no means the same degree of power or reliability as indicators of national orientation. The composite nature of the national value scale and factor (the latter containing of course all 98 items from Part II of the survey, with respective loadings) and the fact that the scale and factor are highly congruent, makes them quite trustworthy. The same cannot be said of variable 3, whish is based on a forced choice response among eight specific statements, each

purporting to express a relevant value. The measure of value for nation is thus a single item, necessarily phrased in general terms. Its failure to relate significantly to hard performance is hardly surprising. Variable 4 is subject to further examination because it also is part of a forced choice, in which administrative and elected officials were given alternative options: the elected members of the panchayat were asked whether they felt more responsible to advance interests of party, friends, the local community or the nation as a whole. For Indian administrators, department was substituted for party, which might have split their vote for nation. The full effect of this has not yet been calculated.

The attitude toward the proper level of government responsibility for local action deserves close study. It was a sound and discriminating question (see section IV for a detailed report). What it demonstrates here is that there is no connection between leaders' concern for national goals and programs and whether they believe action on community problems should be undertaken mainly by local institutions or higher government bodies. The inference is that there are many who would hold, in keeping with the philosophy of panchayati raj, that responsibility toward nation is fully compatible with local initiative - indeed that this is the way it should be, with responsibility growing upward and outward from a base of community self-reliance.

Implications for Development Strategy

The import of these findings should be assessed from the perspective of at least three parties: (1) the planner, (2) the practitioner, or man charged with field initiatives and operations, and (3) the analyst. The competence of this Contractor lies in the third area, and it would be presumptuous for him to play Solomon in the others. However, it appears that a study of this scope and rigor has not previously been made of the role of local political leadership in the development process, and that the results may therefore have a payoff both for planning and program commitments, if properly appraised by those with experience in these functions.

Evaluation

Our recommendation then is: An evaluation of (a) the validity of the findings, (b) their relevance beyond the immediate areas where the study was conducted, (c) the extent to which they confirm or contradict present national development and international assistance policies and programs, (d) practicable adaptations of such policies and programs to make them more effective, in the light of evidence produced by this research. In our judgment such evaluation should involve direct interchange among the three types of personnel mentioned, and include individuals who have had prolonged and recent experience with development efforts at the local level in India.

Prediction

Assuming agreement with the basic conclusion of this study that the dispositions of community leaders have a determinative influence upon responsiveness to developmental initiatives, far in excess of either economic or systemic factors, a policy question must be faced of whether resource allocation should be governed by the predictability of impact. This is obviously only one criterion, perhaps not decisive in the judgment of decision-makers. But to the extent that probability of success or failure of programs is to be considered in their adoption, judgments can now be better informed through the use and further refinement of some of the instruments devised and tested in this study. The most relevant and reliable, as predictors of local development action are:

(1) Scales of leaders' values, especially for national orientation, concern for conflict avoidance, eagerness for change, and commitment to integrity in public conduct.

(2) Measures of leaders' perceptions of community conflict and cleavage, and of their areas of influence, and support.

(3) Measures of several dimensions of community activeness and associated ecological characteristics.

Differential Programming

The lesson constantly brought home through the various facets of this study is the diversity of India and Indian behaviors. The triteness of the observation, to Indians and to the informed foreigner, should not

obscure its immediate significance for development strategy. It rules against uniformity of plan - of resource commitment - and of operational implementation. It demonstrates the need for adapting plan allocations and operations to particular environmental circumstances and patterns of social action.

We wonder whether planning and programming has taken adequate account of:

(1) the basic difference in patterns of community activeness which appeared in the course of this study;

(2) the more subtle but decisive difference in patterns of leadership - reflecting distinctive values, orientations, perceptions, loyalties and demographic characteristics;

(3) the multi-dimensional character of the processes of economic and social development, making it totally unacceptable to apply a common index or composite of indices to measure socio-economic achievement in different kinds of localities;

(4) the strong regional cast to these dimensions of local activity.

The implication is overpowering that such differences so vitally condition the responses of local leaders and their communities that developmental programming must either adapt to these differences, or somehow find the means of altering them. The frustration of so much effort testifies to unawareness of the problem, unwillingness to undertake differential programming or unavailability of practicable measures of estimating the relevant differences. To the latter problem, this study can make some contribution.

Change

How to change things - patterns of community conduct or the values of leaders - was not the task of this project. This was not an experiment in social change in the sense of systematically observing the effects of certain stimuli or inputs over a period of time upon human attitudes and behavior.

On the other hand, it was "quasi-experimental" and did permit observation of various conditions and attributes that accompany certain kinds of change, with corresponding inferences that given these circumstances, such changes might be expected.

Our conclusion, in line with the comment made just previously, is that social and economic "development" is a many-facetted phenomenon, involving less the manipulation of men through the manipulation of goods, than the emergence of sensitive and responsible men who then take hold of the goods in ways they find appropriate to their conception of the welfare of the community.

The right men are more likely to be found than produced. This study has found some of them and suggests ways of finding more.

APPENDICES

A. Leadership Survey Questionnaire

B. Indian and U.S. Value Scale Items (Purified)

C. Special Reports:

(1) Values of Local Political Leaders in Indian Communities. (K.K. Singh)

(2) The Local Self-Government System in Gujarat, Maharashtra and Uttar Predesh. (G.R. Lakshman)

(3) Indicators of Economic Development for Blocks in India. (Anand Nadkarni)

(4) Plans of Analysis. (Allen H. Barton)

D. Selected Inventory of Documents and Data

Appendix A

LEADERSHIP SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

for the Study of

The Interaction of Social Values and Political Responsibility

in Developing Countries*

This instrument has been prepared for use in interviewing local political leaders in developing countries. It is designed to ascertain (1) values and aspirations which are relevant to the decisions the respondents make as political leaders; (2) the range of their leadership activities and perceived influence; (3) their perception of community problems, conflicts, and cleavages, particularly as these bear on community development; (4) support and reference groups on which they depend in the fulfillment of their leadership functions; and (5) their concept of governmental and political responsibility.

Three pretests were conducted in four regions of India (Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Maharashtra, Gujarat), with sixty to two hundred respondents in each pretest. For comparative purposes, the questions were also pretested in the U.S. with similar types of leaders. Inter-item correlational analysis has determined scale reliability: and content analysis has been used to assess the conceptual significance of responses to open-ended questions. Results of these analyses were appraised by the senior Indian and American research associates, U.S. consultants and representatives of the International Social Science Council at three Roundtables convened under auspices of the I.S.S.C. which is sponsoring the study.

In this final, standard version, items are presented in a topical format related to the particular concepts they are intended to measure; cross-referencing indicates their sequence in the version to be administered in the field; and the pretest history of the items is noted under "Source."

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The following notes indicate the major changes incorporated following the last major pretest conducted during spring 1966, and the rationale for these changes.

Part I. Problems and Leadership Activities

Question 1: This question remains unchanged and is intended to define the leader's perception of his situational context.

Questions 2 and 3: The list of areas of activity and influence is derived from inventories used in each country during the pretest. These functional areas were also selected because of their particular significance in community development, and as customary subjects of local governmental and political decision-making. In the pretest, there was a marked difference in the extent to which answers to the questions concerning areas of influence coincided with those concerning areas of activity. Because of this discrepancy, it was decided to retain both sets in order to permit a differentiation of leaders according to the degree to which they assert influence in all the areas in which they profess activity.

Question 4: Reworded to pinpoint what the leader conceives to be his area of most significant political action and his style of action; self-perception of role.

Question 5: Reworded to secure perception of efficacy as related to leadership role.

Part II. Value Scales

1. Economic Development: This variable was originally defined as material progress -- the value of increased quantities of material goods. The best international set from the fall 1965 pretest had poor conceptual consistency, containing such varied dimensions as "efficiency," "technical competence," "economic progress," and "future economic development." At the Philadelphia Roundtable the value was reconceptualized and subdivided into "material progress 1" (the value of material goods), and "material progress 2" (future economic

development in contrast to immediate consumption). After the second international pretest, these two sets of items were analyzed both separately and together. It was found that the separate sets did not scale and that the items which did scale were a mixture of those measuring economic well-being and future growth. The questionnaire committee therefore decided to construct a single set of items to measure a value now reconceptualized as "economic development," and to drop the timing of development (long term versus short term) as a separate diminsion.

2. Conflict Resolution-Avoidance: This value was initially conceptualized as the value of social harmony. Although the items in the first pretest scaled fairly well, at the Phildadelphia roundtable it was decided to pinpoint something more theoretically relevant than social harmony. The concept was redefined as "consensual harmony" even though many of the earlier items were kept. The theoretically relevant dimension of the concept was the willingness of leaders to proceed with programs even though there would be conflict.

After examining the items, the questionnaire committee decided that the important dimension -- avoiding conflict -- seemed to scale well. There was discussion about whether consensus implied a lack of conflict. In conclusion, the decision was made to lable these items as conflict resolution, to incorporate some of the consensus items, and to write new items which related directly to the value of resolving or avoiding conflict.

3. Participation: Initially this value was described as that of "self-management, initiative of citizens, and citizen participation." The first pretest produced a somewhat satisfactory scale, but it seemed to be conceptually heterogeneous. The Philadelphia roundtable found that the items contained both the value of "professionalism" and that of "citizen participation" and recommended that these two values should be kept separate. Many new items were written. In the analysis of the second pretest, these two scales were examined simultaneously. Although a somewhat satisfactory scale of professionalism was secured, there were two scales of citizen partici pation (one composed entirely of positive items and the other composed of the

negative items, with one exception). Another analysis, after running all the items together on the computer, produced a single highly scalable set. Hence, the professionalism and citizen participation scales were collapsed.

4. Selflessness: Items for selflessness have been included in all of the pretests. Conceptually, this value denotes the "willingness to sacrifice for others." Revisions were made at Philadelphia and the international set of items was by and large retained for the final version.

5. Local-national Orientation: This value (or as some prefer, "orientation") has been the most difficult to assess cross-nationally. Although a larger number of questions were prepared and tested, a fully satisfactory set which would make it possible to compare Indians with leaders in other developing countries and the U.S. was not secured even after the second pretest.

Furthermore, some of the Indian respondents seemed to find it conceptually and cognitively compatible to be highly oriented to both national and local community simultaneously. At the Philadelphia roundtable it was therefore decided to reconstruct the scale so as to avoid forcing respondents to make a choice between local and national priorities on every item. On the third pretest, the Indian set came out quite satisfactorily, both from the standpoint of internal coherence and of comparability.

6. Action Propensity: With regard to personality characteristics of leaders, no items were expressly written for this purpose, at first. The proposed plan was to use some of the better known scales which have been used cross-nationally to assess achievement-motivation, innovation, future-orientation, authoritarianism and the like. At the Philadelphia roundtable it was decided instead to combine a variety of items from other studies, as well as some new items, in an effort to create a new composite scale of "traditionalism-modernism." Skepticism prevailed about whether this goal would be realized. However, there did emerge a limited set of items with a very satisfactory international mean inter-item correlation of .34, though not aptly described as a traditionalism scale. Item-by-item examination led to a reconceptualization of this set as "action propensity" -- the disposition

of people to act despite risks, uncertainties, or lack of knowledge about consequences. This conclusion was sustained by factor analysis of all the items in the original set.

7. Honesty (Truthfulness): Analysis at the Philadelphia roundtable of the results of the open-ended value questions showed a high verbal importance attached to honesty. A new set of items was carefully written to conform to a homogeneous concept. These scaled very well and some of the conceptually miscellaneous items were dropped. This value should be reconceptualized as "truthfulness" or the value of public disclosure.

8. Change Orientation: The decision was made at Philadelphia to assess change orientation. It was hoped that one of the factors from the "traditional-modernism" items (as it was then termed), would produce a set of items on the disposition for change or "new things." No such set clearly emerged. The concept of change orientation, however, was felt to be of such theoretical importance that a new set of items should be included in the final version of the questionnaire without pretesting. In order to insure that at least four items would scale internationally, the new items were generally designed to be redundant.

9. Equality: The items originally written to assess equality were conceptually heterogeneous, containing such dimensions as equality for women, impartiality, and economic equality. At Philadelphia a new set of items was written with a more limited and precise focus. The result as a highly satisfactory international set, perhaps the best of all the scales. As these items also seem conceptually homogeneous, most of the items were retained.

10. Political Responsibility: Political responsibility was considered one of the fundamental variables in the original design. Its conceptualization was the subject of extended discussion at the roundtables; and considerable field work was invested in India, in seeking to operationalize various aspects of the concept. It was recognized that the concept was multi-dimensional. Hence, it was stipulated that the leadership survey would incorporate items

which would tap several of these dimensions. Some such items were pretested, notably those concerned with the referent object of responsibility felt by a leader (nation, local community, party, special interests, etc.). A substantial set of additional items was prepared to measure (1) the degree or sense of felt obligation, and (2) the conception of political role held by the leaders; but these could not be pretested in all countries prior to the Third Roundtable.

The ten items, reproduced in this version of the questionnaire, were selected as a potential international set. Other items, specific to India and the U.S., have been added after some experimentation so that an adequate scale of political responsibility is assured.

11. Individualism: Though items for this value were included in the pretests, a fully satisfactory scale could not be achieved, and considering the pressure of time and the length of the questionnaire, it was decided to drop the attempt to measure this value.

Part III. Values, Qualities, and Aspirations of Leaders

This part has been condensed, due to time limitations.

Question 1: Reworded to relate specifically to the eight values finally selected for scaling (Part II) and to reflect the precise definitions set for these values. Designed to secure an indication of the individual's professed hierarchy of values; to be compared with the priorities revealed by their relative position on the scales.

Question 2: Worded to conform exactly with the question posed by Cantril and Free in their survey of "Hopes and Fears for Self and Country," permitting direct comparisons of local leaders' aspirations with those of the general population and national level leaders sampled by Cantril and Free in corresponding countries.

Question 3: Retained unchanged from previous pretests to secure a broad, unstructured view of the leader's evaluative frame of reference in assessing political conduct.

Part IV. Conflicts and Cleavages; Support and Reference Groups; Government Responsibilities and Autonomy

Questions 1 and 2: Reworded to link specifically the identification and assessment of community conflicts to the principal dependent variable of the study's design, community activeness and development.

Question 3: Unchanged.

Question 4: Simplification and condensation of several pretest questions designed to define the leader's primary focus of political responsibility.

Question 5: Systematic elaboration of reference groups, concentrating on customary bases of support in leadership functions; questions concerning consultative reference groups were dropped because of time limitations. The lists of groups are chosen to permit cross-national comparisons of five different orientations, to (1) party, (2) government structure, (3) interest groups, (4) general public, and (5) specific segments of the population, (workers, peasants, rich people, intellectuals, etc.). It should be emphasized that no cross-national comparison is intended among particular reference groups.

Question 6: Reworded to tie in with the functional areas chosen for special attention analyzing community activeness; and to enable respondents to indicate their preference for non-governmental responsibility (by individuals or voluntary associations).

Question 7: Designed to secure leader's perception of local autonomy (a principal independent variable in the design) and his explicit estimate of the relationship between autonomy and local governmental effectiveness in major areas of community concern.

Part V. Background Data

Political Career

Because of the non-comparability of most aspects of political careers among the countries involved in the survey, the collection of most such material is left optional and nation-specific.

Type of position is predetermined by the pattern of selection of respondents.

Time in office and political heritage (similarity of father's political experience) are considered cross-nationally relevant.

Inquiry concerning party affiliation requires nation-specific wording.

Socio-economic Characteristics.

Most queries are necessarily nation-specific.

Occupational data will provide some indication of status.

Length of local residence and educational accomplishment are considered likely to have high relevance to the incidence both of certain values and types of behavior among local political leaders.

Translation

The questions were translated into Hindi, Guvarati and Maharati by the following procedures. On the pretests the English version was first translated into each of the languages then different persons translated the questions back into English. Discrepancies were resolved by consultation among the senior Indian research associates. The final version of the questionnaire was independently translated by two persons from English into the three languages, with discrepancies again resolved by the principal Indian scholars.

In general, the aim in translation was to secure a vernacular which would meaningfully convey to the respondents the intent of the question, as conceived by the joint research group. Certain modifications in wording were, therefore, tolerated, region to region, to meet linguistic and other conditions peculiar to the region.

Adaptation for Administrative Officials

In India, certain questions were modified for interviews with administrative officials, to recognize their non-political status as civil servants.

When the term "leader" or "political leader" was used in a question, the term "official" or "government official" was substituted. In Part IV, question 4, the reference to "political party" was omitted for officials, and their degree of commitment to "your department's

policies and programs" asked instead. In Part IV, question 5 the choice of support groups was changed for officials as follows:

(1) "your department" substituted for "your local party organization";

(7) "supporters in the department" for "your own supporters in the party"; and

(16) "close friends" instead of "close friends and supporters".

In the U.S. no distinction was made between the versions for officials and political leaders.

LEADERSHIP SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

(Standard English Version)

Code for abbreviations

Country to which question is applicable			Source of question		
INTL	=	Both India and U.S.	I	=	First Pre-test
IND	=	India only	II	=	Second Pre-test
US	=	United States only	I & II	=	Both first & second pretests
			New	=	New items (prepared for 3rd RT)
Direction			US-Ind Spec.	=	Special U.S.-India pretest
P	=	Positive			
N	=	Negative	Rev.	=	Revised pretested items

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Part I: Problems and Leadership Activities — Source

1. What do you think are the most important problems facing this community now? — I; II

2. Here is a list of areas of activities of community leaders. Will you check those on which you are particularly active? — I (Rev) II (Rev)

List A - Activity

_____(1) Industrial and economic development--new plants, electrification, employment, labor supply, etc.

_____(2) Agriculture--mechanization. fertilization, cooperatives, etc.

_____(3) Housing--urban renewal, slum clearance, zoning, etc.

_____(4) Public improvements, services and utilities--transportation, roads, streets, parks, sewage, etc.

_____(5) Health--hospitals, sanitation, dispensaries, epidemics, etc.

2. (cont'd) Source

_____(6) Culture, recreation, and sports - libraries, clubs, theatres, etc.

_____(7) Education-including social education, school construction, curriculum problems, adult education, etc.

_____(8) Social improvements and welfare-child and women welfare, problems related to racial, ethnic, caste, religious, civil conflicts, crime, delinquency, care for the old, handicapped, poor people, etc.

_____(9) Political organization activity - party, political associations, nominations, recruitment, etc.

_____(10) Collection and distribution of public revenue - tax Collection, budget distribution, etc.

3. We would also like to know in which areas you feel you have influence on what is accomplished. Would you examine the same list of activities and indicate those in which you feel you have a great deal of influence, only some, or none at all. II (Rev)

List B - INFLUENCE

	Great Influence	Some Influence	None
(1) Industrial and Economic Devel.			
(2) Agriculture			
(3) Housing			
(4) Public improvements, services and utilities			
(5) Health			
(6) Culture, recreation and sport			
(7) Education			
(8) Social improvement and welfare			
(9) Political organization activity			
(10) Collection and distribution of public revenue			

4. In the areas where you feel you have a great deal of influence, what was the single most important recent action here in which you participated, and how did you participate? I(Rev) II(Rev)

5. What do you feel are the main obstacles, if any, which limit your effectiveness as a local leader? II(Rev)

Part II - VALUE SCALES

The following 3 formats will be used in administering these questions:

FORMAT A -

Below are some questions faced in the daily life of political leaders. Please examine the list closely and check the extent to which you agree or disagree with them.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
(1) _____				
(2) _____				
(3) _____				
(.)				
(.)				
(n) _____				

FORMAT B -

How important do you think it is to achieve or avoid each of the following when making political decisions?

	Very Important to achieve	Somewhat important to achieve	Somewhat important to avoid	Very Important to avoid
(1) _____				
(2) _____				
(3) _____				
(.)				
(.)				
(n) _____				

FORMAT C -

Hypothetical situations presenting choices of action.

_·_·_·_·_·_·_·

Unless otherwise noted in the list of questions which follows, Format A will be used.

Economic Development	# in version for field use	Country applicable	Direction	Source
1. The economic development of the nation should take precedence over immediate consumer gratification.	1	INTL	P	I & II Rev.
2. A high standard of living should be the most important (ultimate) goal of a society.	10	INTL	P	II
3. The long term economic development of the nation should be considered as its most important goal.	22	INTL	P	I
4. Economic development should not be pursued if it means hardships for the people.	30	INTL	N	New
5. After obtaining a certain standard of living further concern with economic growth is not required.	42	INTL	N	New
6. Only economic development will ultimately provide the things required for the welfare and happiness of the people.	51	INTL	P	New
7. It is not necessary for the political leaders to be concerned about the economic development of the community.	62	IND	N	II
8. One should encourage private industrial enterprise among small industries.	72	IND	P	II Rev.
9. Efficiency in economic production. (Format B)	88	IND	P	I & II Rev.
10. Technological education. (Format B)	97	IND	P	I & II Rev.
15. It is not necessary for political leaders to be concerned about the economic development of the community.	62	US	N	II
16. A rising standard of living is not an important sign of progress.	72	US	N	I & II
17. There is too much emphasis in our country now on obtaining a high economic growth rate.	81	US	N	New
18. Economic progress. (Format B)	86	US	P	I & II

Conflict Resolution-Avoidance	# in version for field use	Country applicable	Direction	Source
23. If there is disagreement about a program, a leader should be willing to give it up.	2	INTL	P	II
24. Public decisions should be made with unanimous consent.	11	INTL	P	II
25. It is desirable in reaching political decisions to reconcile as many conflicting interests as possible.	31	INTL	P	I
26. Leaders who are over concerned about resolving conflicts can never carry out community programs successfully.	43	INTL	N	New
27. Preserving harmony in the community should be considered more important than the achievement of community programs.	49	INTL	P	New
28. A good leader should refrain from making proposals that divide the people even if these are important for the community.	54	INTL	P	New
29. Reduction of community conflicts. (Format B)	90	INTL	P	II
30. Maintenance of friendly relations among the people who have to make the decisions. (Format B)	94	INTL	P	I & II
31. Any decision that threatens to alienate a sector or group in the community should be postponed.	63	IND	P	New
32. A decision should not be taken until all disagreements have been fully resolved.	73	IND	P	New
33. Use of violence. (Format B)	87	IND	N	I & II
37. A leader should modify his actions to keep consensus.	63	US	P	II
38. Conflict is sign of a healthy community.	73	US	N	II
39. It is important for a leader to get things done even if he must displease people.	83	US	N	II

6b.

Participation	# in version for field use	Country applicable	Direction	Source
44. The complexity of modern day issues requires that only the more simple questions should be considered publicly.	3	INTL	N	II
45. Widespread participation in decision-making often leads to undesirable conflicts.	12	INTL	N	II
46. Most decisions should be left to the judgment of experts.	20	INTL	N	II
47. Only those who are fully informed on the issues should vote.	23	INTL	N	II
48. Only those who are competent on an issue should speak about it.	32	INTL	N	II Rev.
49. Participation of the people is not necessary if decision-making is left in the hands of a few trusted and competent leaders.	44	INTL	N	New
50. To have decisions made by people who are experts on the matter under consideration. (Format B)	91	INTL	N	I & II
51. Participation by everyone in decision-making regardless of their knowledge of the issues involved. (Format B)	93	INTL	P	I & II
52. Decision-making activity need not be the concern of all the people in a community.	56	IND	N	New
53. Allowing too many (all) people to have their say in community matters will only interfere with getting things done.	64	IND	N	New
54. A citizen should always be willing to participate in community affairs even if he feels his opinion does not count.	74	IND	P	New
55. Protecting leaders from day-to-day interference by the people. (Format B)	83	IND	N	II
56. Participation of all citizens in decision-making even if it takes a lot of time and expenditure. (Format B)	86	IND	P	II

Participation (cont'd)	# in version for field use	Country applicable	Direction	7b. Source
61. Citizen panels should be established to review the day-to-day operations of administrative agencies, such as the fire and police departments.	56	US	P	II
62. An issue should be presented to the general public only after experts have made a decision on it.	64	US	N	New
63. Even if it takes twice as long to reach a decision, it is nonetheless important that everyone has his say.	74	US	P	II
Selflessness				
67. Everybody should look after his own interest first.	4	INTL	N	II
68. A leader should not be concerned about his own status, only about doing a good job.	15	INTL	P	I & II
69. Sacrificing oneself for others is the highest value a man can achieve.	24	INTL	P	I & II
70. One should work to the best of his ability regardless of whether his services are adequately rewarded.	35	INTL	P	New
71. If leaders can get things done, the people need not bother whether or not they are selfish.	47	INTL	N	New
72. Sacrificing oneself for the benefit of others. (Format B)	89	INTL	P	I
73. A society where a person can pursue his own interest without being required to sacrifice for others. (Format B)	92	INTL	N	II
74. Subordination of one's own interest in the interest of a higher cause. (Format B)	95	INTL	P	I & II
75. No one should expect a political leader to be absolutely selfless in his actions.	66	IND	N	II

Selflessness (cont'd)	# in version for field use	Country applicable	Direction	Source
76. A community can develop without having selfless leaders.	75	IND	N	New
77. A leader can never hope to serve the people if he does not sacrifice all his personal interests.	81	IND	P	New
78. To sacrifice one's own opportunities in life if necessary for the sake of the well-being of one's community. (Format B)	98	IND	P	New
82. Only impractical idealists will sacrifice themselves for others.	66	US	N	I & II
83. A man should not be expected to provide for others in greater measure than for himself.	75	US	N	II
Local-National Orientation				
87. National goals should not be obtained at great costs to local communities.	8	INTL	P	II
88. Although national affairs are important, people here should first worry about their own community problems.	13	INTL	P	II Rev.
89. Community progress is not possible if national goals always have priority.	19	INTL	P	II
90. We should not worry so much about national problems when we have so many in our own community.	28	INTL	P	New
91. The existence of local governments can be justified only in terms of their contribution to national objectives.	33	INTL	N	New
92. Local leaders should always be prepared to adjust their programs to national goals and policies even if this is disadvantageous for the community.	39	INTL	N	New
93. It is necessary to forego development of one's own community to help the development of the rest of the country.	45	INTL	N	I & II

Loc. - Nat. Or. (cont'd)	# in version for field use	Country applicable	Direction	Source
94. It would be better if the national government would allow the local community to do more things for itself.	52	IND	P	New
95. National goals should always receive priority over the requirements of the local community.	55	IND	N	New
96. In case of conflict the needs of the local community should receive preference over national objectives.	60	IND	P	New
97. Local leaders' over concern with achieving national goals is not desirable for the development of their own area.	65	IND	P	New
98. A man does not have to go outside of his community to find opportunities for a full and happy life.	70	IND	P	II
99. A man owes his primary responsibility to his own local community.	79	IND	P	II
100. Improving conditions of life in your own community is the best way to serve the nation.	82	IND	P	II
101. Unity of local community. (Format B)	96	IND	P	I & II
109. Local government officials must realize that they stand or fall on the performance of the national government.	52	US	N	I & II
110. When in doubt, local officials should always resolve a government's conflict in favor of what they feel to be the national objectives.	55	US	N	I & II
111. The interest of particular communities should not be allowed to go so far as to interfere with national goals.	60	US	N	II
112. National laws should take precedence over all other laws and social practices.	65	US	N	II
113. Although we may not understand why national leaders make certain decisions, usually their decisions turn out to have been correct.	70	US	N	II

Loc. - Nat. Or. (cont'd)	# in version for field use	Country applicable	Direction	Source
114. Local government should not attempt to gain a share of central funds for desirable, but not essential local needs.	79	US	N	II
115. On the whole, questions of national importance should come first in the minds of local government officials.	82	US	N	US Spec.
116. Local governments, under present conditions, should be allowed to care for their own affairs.	85	US	P	US Spec.
Action Propensity				
124. I prefer to stop and think before I act even on trifling matters.	5	INTL	N	II
125. I usually check more than twice to be sure that I am not overstepping my tasks.	16	INTL	N	II
126. One should be concerned with what he has rather than with what he could get.	25	INTL	N	II
127. The secret of happiness is not expecting too much out of life and being content with what comes your way.	36	INTL	N	II
128. Only irresponsible leaders would risk community resources for possible but not certain future gain.	41	INTL	N	II
129. Quick decisions should be taken on important matters even at the risk of bad results.	48	INTL	P	New
130. Action should be delayed until it is certain that it will bring the desired results.	57	INTL	N	II Rev.
131. Long deliberation over an issue should be avoided if it causes delay in action.	67	IND	P	New
132. Rather than doing things in a hurry, it is better not to do them at all.	76	IND	N	New
133. Delaying action on important matters before complete information is available. (Format B)	85	IND	N	II

Action Propensity (cont'd)	# in version for field use	Country applicable	Direction	Source
138. There is no progress without risk.	67	US	P	II
139. With things as they are today, an intelligent person ought to think only about the present and not worry about what is going to happen tomorrow.	76	US	N	II
140. Untried, but possibly desirable programs. (Format B)	87	US	P	II
Honesty (Truthfulness)				
144. Honesty and truthfulness must never be compromised at any cost.	6	INTL	P	II
145. Leaders should present the truth no matter what the consequences are.	17	INTL	P	II
146. If a person is requested by his superiors to present a false impression of certain matters, he should be willing to comply.	26	INTL	N	II
147. If a leader knows that the truth will harm someone, he should conceal certain facts.	37	INTL	N	II
148. Local officials should cover up situations which may embarrass their superiors.	50	INTL	N	II
149. In order to achieve community goals, it is permissible for leaders to present facts in a one-sided way.	58	INTL	N	II
150. It is not necessary for a leader to be strictly honest in public dealings if he knows this will interfere with getting his work done.	68	INTL	N	II
151. If a leader in local government is highly skilled, one should overlook minor instances of dishonesty.	77	INTL	N	II

Change Orientation	# in version for field use	Country applicable	Direction	Source
156. A community should not accept programs which upset the settled ways of doing things.	7	INTL	N	New
157. People who are dissatisfied with the way things have been done forget that doing things in a new way may bring about even worse conditions. .	14	INTL	N	New
158. One cannot learn how to improve things by continually referring to the way problems were solved in the past.	18	INTL	P	New
159. If society is to progress, newer solutions to problems are essential.	27	INTL	P	New
160. The most reasonable approach toward social development is to accept changes which do not substantially alter the established order.	34	INTL	N	New
161. There is nothing inherently superior in the past.	38	INTL	P	New
162. The people in this community must continually look for new solutions to problems rather than be satisfied with things as they are.	46	INTL	P	New
163. Even if the newer ways conflict with the way things were done in the past, they are absolutely necessary and desirable.	59	INTL	P	New
164. Changes are desirable even if they do not seem to contribute as much as one might expect.	69	INTL	P	New
165. While changes are desirable, they should never be implemented at the cost of our past values and traditions.	78	INTL	N	New
Equality				
166. Rich people should pay more for the support of community projects than poor people.	9	INTL	P	II

Equality (cont'd)	# in version for field use	Country applicable	Direction	Source
167. There should be an upper limit on income so that no one earns very much more than others.	21	INTL	P	I & II
168. The government has the responsibility to see that nobody lives well when others are poor.	29	INTL	P	II
169. Underprivileged people (low income people) should not be given any special consideration .	40	INTL	N	II
170. In every situation poor people should be given more opportunities than rich people.	53	INTL	P	II
171. Avoiding spending on luxuries is necessary to minimize distance between social groups.	61	INTL	P	II
172. Discrepancies in salaries should be continually reduced.	71	INTL	P	II Rev
173. It is their own fault that some sections of the society are backward; therefore, the government should not make special provision for their uplift.	80	IND	N	II
174. Equal provision of funds for higher education of women as for men. (Format B)	84	IND	P	II
177. Young people with special talents should be favored for exemption from the armed services.	80	US	N	New
178. No one should be denied the opportunity for a college education.	84	US	P	New

Political Responsibility	# in version for field use	Country applicable	Direction	Source
(The use of this scale is optional for each country)				
A. Sense of commitment				
180. It is quite justifiable for a leader to avoid taking clear-cut positions on important issues if it threatens his career	99	INTL		New
181. Only a highly impractical leader will work for his convictions at a cost of popular support.	100	INTL		New
182. It is better for a leader to lose his position than to do things against his better judgment.	101	INTL		New
183. Even though the citizens may not appreciate what a leader has tried to do for them, the leader is obligated to work in their interests.	102	INTL		New
184. A leader should first consolidate his own political position before expressing his views on sensitive political issues.	103	INTL		New
B. Degree of obligation or representative relationships to citizens				
185. A leader is obligated to follow the wishes of the community even if he thinks the citizens are mistaken.	104	INTL		New
186. A local leader should only implement the demands and expectations of the citizens and not act independently.	105	INTL		New
187. The most important thing for the leader is to follow his convictions even if this is different from what the constituency expects.	106	INTL		New
188. If the leader is himself convinced of what is the best action, he must try to implement this even though he has to use some pressure on the citizens.	107	INTL		New
189. It is permissible for a leader to act sometimes in an unauthorized manner if he is convinced his action is ultimately for the good of the people.	108	INTL		New

Part III - VALUES, QUALITIES AND ASPIRATIONS OF LEADERS

Source

1. (a) Below is a list of values and ideals which some leaders feel are important. Please tell us which three of these are most important for you, if you were to make a choice. II Rev.

List C

Most important

_____(1) To work for economic development of society. (US: to work for higher standard of living for people.)

_____(2) To avoid conflict and maintain good relations among people.

_____(3) To sacrifice your own interests for the interests of others.

_____(4) To give priority to the national goals over the requirements of the local community.

_____(5) To keep public leaders honest and truthful about public affairs.

_____(6) To promote citizen participation in deciding about community affairs.

_____(7) To equalize differences and distinctions based on economic and social discrimination.

_____(8) To look for new solutions to problems rather than be satisfied with things the way they are.

1. (b) Now, please tell us which one of these you have chosen is most important for you.

(Number _____)

2. What are your wishes and hopes for the future of our country? If you picture the future of (name of country) in the best possible light, how would things look, let us say, ten years from now? Cantril, II

OBLIGATORY PROBE: Anything else?

/Note: in translation - secure exact wording of this question as used in each country for Hadley Cantril's survey of "Hopes and Fears for Self and Country"./

3. What kinds of people would you like to see as political leaders? That is, what do you think are the most important qualities for a good leader to have? I Rev. II

OBLIGATORY PROBE: Anything else?

Part IV - CONFLICTS AND CLEAVAGES: SUPPORT AND REFERENCE GROUPS: GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBILITIES AND AUTONOMY

Source

1. In many communities there are conflicts which interfere with effective action to meet community problems. What are some major conflicts, if any, that interfere with getting things done in your community? — I & II Rev.

   (Name one or two)

2. To what extent do these conflicts come in the way of the development of your community? — I & II Rev.

   _____very much
   _____some

3. To what extent do differences such as the following tend to divide people in your community? — I & II Rev.

List D - Cleavages in the Community

	Very much	Somewhat	Not at all
(1) Differences in education			
(2) Differences in income			
(3) Differences in religious belief or affiliation			
(4) Differences in political views			
(5) Differences between city and country (urban-rural)			
(6) Differences between managers and employees			
(7) Differences in racial and social origins			
(8) Differences between those desiring social change and those opposing it.			

4. (a) Of the following groups, whose interests and welfare do you as a community leader feel the most strongly committed to advance? — II Rev.

   /alternative: "public official" for "community leader"/

Please choose one:
_____(1) your political party
_____(2) your friends and loyal supporters
_____(3) the people in your community
_____(4) the nation as a whole
_____(5) another group; specify which _____

Source

4. (b) What is the next most important group for whose interests and welfare you feel responsible? II Rev.

_____

5. (a) When you as a leader (official) are in a situation in which support from others is necessary, to whom do you usually turn? Please check? II Rev.

List E

	USA	INDIA
_____(1)	Local party leaders	Your local party organization
_____(2)	Local elective officials	Elected leaders in the community
_____(3)	Local newspapers	Leaders of other organizations (cooperatives, voluntary associations, etc.)
_____(4)	Higher level party leaders	Higher level party leaders (ministers, party bosses, etc.)
_____(5)	City manager or top administrative officials at local level	Appointed officials in the community
_____(6)	Local civic, professional or reform groups concerned with local politics	Respected and influential people
_____(7)	Special groups in local party organization	Your own supporters in the party
_____(8)	Administrative colleagues at own level	Co-workers

5. (a) (cont'd)

USA	INDIA
_____(9) State, county or higher administrative officials	Appointed official at higher levels
_____(10) Local business groups such as Chamber of Commerce	Factory owners and managers (urban)
_____(11) Local trade unions	Trade union leaders
_____(12) Public or citizens generally	Majority of citizens
_____(13) Local ethnic religious or racial groups	Certain caste or groups in the community
_____(14) Lower income or lower social status people	Poor people
_____(15) Well-to-do people (wealthy upper class)	Rich people
_____(16) Close friends and supporters	Close friends and supporters

5. (b) Of these you have checked, which three are the most important? II Rev.

6. Regardless of how things are done now and who now has the resources to do the things on this list, who in your opinion should have the major or primary responsibility to undertake them? I & II Rev.

List F - Areas of government responsibility

	Central or state govt should do most	Local govt should do most	Local non-govt institutions should do most	Leave it to the people to work out personally
(1) Solve housing problem				
(2) See to it that every man who wants a job gets a job				

6. (cont'd)

(3) Building schools

(4) Providing clinics, dispensaries, health centers

(5) Supporting art (painting, music)

(6) Providing electricity services

(7) Solving problems of youth (juvenile delinquency, vocational guidance

Source
New

7. In which of these areas does the local government here lack enough power and autonomy to act effectively?

	Local government lacks powers and autonomy	
	Yes	No
(1) Solving housing problems		
(2) See to it that every man who wants a job gets a job		
(3) Building schools		
(4) Providing clinics, dispensaries, health centers		
(5) Supporting art (painting, music)		
(6) Provide electricity services		
(7) Solving problems of youth (juvenile delinquency, vocational guidance)		

Part V - BACKGROUND DATA

		Source
1.	Present position:	I
2.	How many years have you held your present position as (title) ?	New
3.	(India) Was your father active in public life or politics? If YES, in what way? /for administrative officials in Gujarat and Maharashtra: "Was your father in government service? If YES, in what way? /	New
	(U.S.) Did your father ever hold a governmental or political position before you did? If YES: A. What was that? (What was his most important position?)	New
	If NO: B. Did any members of your immediate family hold governmental or political positions before you did?	
4.	(India) Which political party do you support?	I Rev.
	(U.S.) What political party do you usually support?	I Rev.
5.	(India) What has been your main occupation?	I Rev.
	(U.S.) What has been your principal occupation during your life? Occupation _____ Industry _____	I Rev.
6.	What was the principal occupation of your father? (U.S. - occupation and industry are distinguished)	New
7.	How many years have you lived in this /place (Uttar Pradesh) /taluk (Gujarat) /village (Maharashtra) /city (U.S.)	I
8.	Were you born in this /place (Uttar Pradesh) /taluk (Gujarat) /village (Maharashtra) /city U.S.) (India) If not, was it somewhere near here? or far? (U.S.) If NO: Were you born in this state or outside of this state?	New
9.	(India) How old are you?	I Rev.
	(U.S.) In what year were you born?	I Rev.
10.	(India) What was the highest examination you passed?	I Rev.
	(U.S.) What was the highest grade of regular school you completed?	I Rev.

11. Sex: Male _____ Female _____

12a. (India) What was the first public position you held? I
Position: Period for which held:

(U.S.) What was the first governmental or political position you held? I Rev.
When did you start as (title, first job)?

12b. (India) Since then, how many other public positions have you held? I
Position: Period
Position: Period
(up to five positions)

(U.S.) Approximately how many other governmental or political positions have you held - not counting your first job and your current position? I Rev.

If ONE or TWO, ask: What were they?
If THREE or MORE, ask: What were the two most important (not counting your present post)?

A. Job Titles
B. Ask for each:
Approximately about how many years did you hold that job?

13. (India) Religion: I
(U.S.) What is your religious preference? I Rev.

Questions asked in India only:

1a. Do you read newspapers? If YES, how often? New

Uttar Pradesh and Maharashtra	Gujarat
(1) Daily	Daily
(2) Sometimes	Often
(3) Never	Sometimes
(4) cannot read	Hardly ever

b. Do you listen to news on radio? If YES, how often?

Uttar Pradesh and Maharashtra	Gujarat
(1) Daily	Daily
(2) Sometimes	Often
(3) Never	Sometimes
(4) Doesn't have radio	Hardly ever

2. Asked of those living in villages: New
Have you ever stayed in a city for sometime?
If YES, how long?

3. Caste:

4. Ask of administrative officials in Gujarat and Maharashtra and all respondents in U.P.:

What kinds of people would you like to see as government officials? That is, what do you think are the most important qualities for a good government official to have?

Questions asked in Gujarat only:

1. If your son is thinking of engaging in politics, would you:
   (1) encourage him?
   (2) not encourage him?
   (3) not tell him anything about this matter?

2a. In your view, what are the problems facing our nation?

b. (Interviewer restates the first problem mentioned and ASKS):
Why do you think (statement of problem) is important?

c. (Same query re second problem mentioned)

d. (Same query re third problem mentioned)

3. What do you want the central government to do about these problems?

In U.S. only

Interviewer records: RACE

University of Pennsylvania
Report to U.S.A.I.D. .
Contract csd/719
22 October 1967

APPENDIX B

LEADERSHIP SURVEY

Indian and U.S. Value Scale Items

(purified)

Explanation of abbreviations

Country to which question is applicable:

INTL	=	International
IND	=	India
US	=	United States
*	=	former international item; but scaled only for country indicated

Direction

P	=	Positive
N	=	Negative

Printout Identification (on Kanpur Correlation Matrix of Proposed Purified Scales, RT/IV/2)

i	=	scaled internationally
n	=	scaled for particular country

FORMAT A

Below are some questions faced in the daily life of political leaders. Please examine the list closely and check the extent to which you agree or disagree with them.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
(1) _____				
(2) _____				
(3) _____				
(.) _____				
(.) _____				
(n) _____				

FORMAT B

How important do you think it is to achieve or avoid each of the following when making political decisions?

	Very important to achieve	Somewhat important to achieve	Somewhat important to avoid	Very important to avoid
(1) _____				
(2) _____				
(.) _____				
(n) _____				

FORMAT C

Hypothetical situations presenting choices of action.

Unless other wise noted in the list of questions which follows, Format A will be used.

No. of question as listed in standard version of questionnaire (RT/III/4B)		Country applicable	Direction	# in version for field use
Economic Development				
1.	The economic development of the nation should take precedence over immediate consumer gratification	INTL	P	1
2.	A high standard of living should be the most important (ultimate) goal of a society	INTL	P	10
3.	The long term economic development of the nation should be considered as its most important goal.	INTL	P	22
6.	Only economic development will ultimately provide the things required for the welfare and happiness of the people	INTL	P	51
9.	Efficiency in economic production. (Format B)	IND	P	88
10.	Technological education. (Format B)	IND	P	97
17.	There is too much emphasis in our country now on obtaining a high economic growth rate.	US	N	81

No. of question as listed in standard version of questionnaire (RT/III/4B)		Country applicable	Direction	# in version for field use
Ec. D (cont'd)				
18.	Economic progress. (Format B)	US	P	86
Conflict Resolution				
23.	If there is disagreement about a program, a leader should be willing to give it up.	INTL	P	2
24.	Public decisions should be made with unanimous consent.	INTL	P	11
27.	Preserving harmony in the community should be considered more important than the achievement of community programs.	INTL	P	49
28.	A good leader should refrain from making proposals that divide the people even if these are important for the community.	INTL	P	54
31.	Any decision that threatens to alienate a sector or group in the community should be postponed.	IND	P	63
32.	A decision should not be taken until all disagreements have been fully resolved.	IND	P	73
29.	Reduction of cummunity conflicts. (Format B)	IND*	P	90
37.	A leader should modify his actions to keep consensus.	US	P	63
39.	It is important for a leader to get things done even if he must displease people.	US	N	83
29.	Reduction of community conflicts. (Format B)	US*	P	90

No. of question as listed in standard version of questionnaire (RT/III/4B)		Country applicable	Direction	# in version for field use
Participation				
44.	The complexity of modern day issues requires that only the more simple questions should be considered publicly.	INTL	N	3
46.	Most decisions should be left to the judgment of experts.	INTL	N	20
47.	Only those who are fully informed on the issues should vote.	INTL	N	23
48.	Only those who are competent on an issue should speak about it.	INTL	N	32
49.	Participation of the people is not necessary if decision-making is left in the hands of a few trusted and competent leaders.	INTL	N	44
50.	To have decisions made by people who are experts on the matter under consideration. (Format B)	INTL	N	91
51.	Participation by everyone in decision-making regardless of their knowledge of the issues involved. (Format B)	INTL	P	93
45.	Widespread participation in decision-making often leads to undesirable conflicts.	IND	N	12
52.	Decision-making activity need not be the concern of all the people in a community.	IND	N	56
53.	Allowing too many (all) people to have their say in community matters will only interfere with getting things done.	IND	N	64
62.	An issue should be presented to the general public only after experts have made a decision on it.	US	N	64

No. of question as listed in standard version of questionnaire (RT/III/4B)		Country applicable	Direction	# in version for field use
Selflessness				
68.	A leader should not be concerned about his own status, only about doing a good job.	INTL	P	15
69.	Sacrificing oneself for others is the highest value a man can achieve.	INTL	P	24
70.	One should work to the best of his ability regardless of whether his services are adequately rewarded.	INTL	P	35
72.	Sacrificing oneself for the benefit of others. (Format B)	INTL	P	89
74.	Subordination of one's own interest in the interest of a higher cause. (Format B)	INTL	P	95
75.	No one should expect a political leader to be absolutely selfless in his actions.	IND	N	66
76.	A community can develop without having selfless leaders.	IND	N	75
77.	A leader can never hope to serve the people if he does not sacrifice all his personal interests.	IND	P	81
78.	To sacrifice one's own opportunities in life if necessary for the sake of the well being of one's community. (Format B)	IND	P	98
71.	If leaders can get things done the people need not bother whether or not they are selfish.	US*	N	47
Localism-Nationalism				
87.	National goals should not be obtained at great costs to local communities.	INTL	P	8
88.	Although national affairs are important, people here should first worry about their own community problems.	INTL	P	13

No. of question as listed in standard version of questionnaire (RT/III/4B)		Country applicable	Direction	# in version for field use
89.	Community progress is not possible if national goals always have priority.	INTL	P	19
90.	We should not worry so much about national problems when we have so many in our own community.	INTL	P	28
92.	Local leaders should always be prepared to adjust their programs to national goals and policies even if this is disadvantageous for the community.	INTL	N	39
93.	It is necessary to forego development of one's own community to help the development of the rest of the country.	INTL	N	45
95.	National goals should always receive priority over the requirements of the local community.	IND	N	55
96.	In case of conflict the needs of the local community should receive preference over national objectives.	IND	P	60
97.	Local leaders' over concern with achieving nation goals is not desirable for the development of their own area.	IND	P	65
99.	A man owes his primary responsibility to his own local community.	IND	P	79
111.	The interest of particular communities should not be allowed to go so far as to interfere with national goals.	US	N	60
112.	National laws should take precedence over all other laws and social practices.	US	N	65
113.	Although we may not understand why national leaders make certain decisions, usually their decisions turn out to have been correct.	US	N	70
115.	On the whole, questions of national importance should come first in the minds of local government officials.	US	N	82

No. of question as listed in standard version of questionnaire (RT/III/4B)		Country applicable	Direction	# in version for field use
Action Propensity				
124.	I prefer to stop and think before I act even on trifling matters.	INTL	N	5
125.	I usually check more than twice to be sure that I am not overstepping my tasks.	INTL	N	16
126.	One should be concerned with what he has rather than with what he could get.	INTL	N	25
127.	The secret of happiness is not expecting too much out of life and being content with what comes your way.	INTL	N	36
130.	Action should be delayed until it is certain that it will bring the desired results.	INTL	N	57
132.	Rather than doing things in a hurry, it is better not to do them at all.	IND	N	76
128.	Only irresponsible leaders would risk community resources for possible but not certain future gain.	US*	N	41
Honesty (Truthfulness)				
144.	Honesty and truthfulness must never be compromised at any cost.	INTL	P	6
145.	Leaders should present the truth no matter what the consequences are.	INTL	P	17
146.	If a person is requested by his superiors to present a false impression of certain matters, he should be willing to comply.	INTL	N	26
147.	If a leader knows that the truth will harm someone, he should conceal certain facts.	INTL	N	37
148.	Local officials should cover up situations which may embarrass their superiors.	INTL	N	50

No. of question as listed in standard version of questionnaire (RT/III/4B)		Country applicable	Direction	# in version for field use
Hon (cont'd)				
149.	In order to achieve community goals, it is permissible for leaders to present facts in a one-sided way.	INTL	N	58
150.	It is not necessary for a leader to be strictly honest in public dealings if he knows this will interfere with getting his work done.	INTL	N	68
151.	If a leader in local government is highly skilled, one should overlook minor instances of dishonesty.	INTL**	N	77

**This item not included in the scale for India.

Change Orientation

159.	If society is to progress, newer solutions to problems are essential.	INTL	P	27
162.	The people in this community must continueally look for new solutions to problems rather than be satisfied with things as they are.	INTL	P	46
163.	Even if the newer ways conflict with the way things were done in the past, they are absolutely necessary and desirable.	INTL	P	59
164.	Changes are desirable even if they do not seem to contribute as much as one might expect.	INTL	P	69
158.	One cannot learn how to improve things by continually referring to the way problems were solved in the past.	IND*	P	18
161.	There is nothing inherently superior in the past.	IND*	P	38
161.	There is nothing inherently superior in the past.	US*	P	38

No. of question as listed in standard version of questionnaire (RT/III/4B)		Country applicable	Direction	# in version for field use
Equality				
167.	There should be an upper limit on income so that no one earns very much more than others.	INTL	P	21
168.	The government has the responsibility to see that nobody lives well when others are poor.	INTL	P	29
170.	In every situation poor people should be given more opportunities than rich people.	INTL	P	53
171.	Avoiding spending on luxuries is necessary to minimize distance between social groups.	INTL	P	61
172.	Discrepancies in salaries should be continually reduced.	INTL	P	71
169.	Underprivileged people (low income people) should not be given any special consideration.	IND*	N	40
173.	It is their own fault that some sections of the society are backward; therefore the government should not make special provision for their uplift.	IND	N	80
174.	Equal provision of funds for higher education of women as for men. (Format B)	IND	P	84

Values of Local Political Leaders in Indian Communities

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Measurement of the values of local political leaders and officials perhaps constitutes the single most important contribution of the International Project on Values in Politics. Several overlapping interests are reflected in this tremendous research involving more than twenty scholars from four countries -- having distinct socio-political systems and ideologies. The primary concorn of this project has been to study the values that enter into and reflect the decisional process of local political institutions and communities and to relate them to their performance and to the level and rate of economic development of the region to which them belong.

Values, defined as what is desirable, include both preferences and shared normative standards. They are assumed, and with good reason, to influence the way people think and act. This, of course, does not imply that other circumstances or factors do not influence behaviour or that achievements, is considered desirable. The contention is that as long as it can be distributed in the units under study, it may be very useful to treat values as antecedents conditions and institutional and community performance as consequences.

A good deal of effort in this Project has gone into the perfection of instruments and procedures for the assessment of values. The search for meaningful values began a little over two years ago when local political leaders were interviewed in the United States and India with this purpose in view. These efforts were later suplemented by an examination of the relevant research literature on the subject and also by the intuitive and theoretical insights of the participant scholars.

Selection of significant value dimensions however, is only a step in the right direction, the major task being the development of sensitive scales suitable for application in the diverse cultures collaborating in the study. In the attempt to develop meaningful scales, it was found desirable to supplement a list of common international questions with national questions which would help make each value item more directly relevant to the culture in which it was used.[1]

In the final phase of the study the following nine values[2] were chosen for study on the basis of the success experienced in measuring them and their importance in the decisional process:

1. Economic Development
2. Conflict Resolution-Avoidance
3. Participation
4. Selflessness
5. Local-national Orientation
6. Action Propensity
7. Honesty (Truthfulness)
8. Change Orientation
9. Equality

---

[1] Content analysis of the speeches and utterances of leaders is another important approach to the assessment of values being pursued in this Project. This has not been discussed in this presentation.

[2] In three of the participant countries another value dimension called "political responsibility" was used.

Value scales have been developed on the principle of internal consistency (higher inter-item correlation) and have also been factor analyzed. Individuals and communities have been scored on individual values and also on the factor scales. Though the community means on individual values do not differ much, small but consistent differences are found between U.P., Maharasthra and Gujarat. For instance, communities in Gujarat seem to give more importance to the value of economic development and participation than those in Maharasthra and Uttar Pradesch, while those in Maharasthra appear to be more change oriented than the others. On the local-national scale, Maharasthra turns out to be relatively more locally identified than Uttar Pradesh and Gujarat.

Factor scales, which will be given more importance in this write-up, have cretain definite advantages over scales based on the principle of self-consistency and homogeneity. They cut across the rationale of fact validity and throw together items drawn from different values on the same factor dimension. In this way one can check how far a priori dimensions are really independent. A large number of values may be reduced to fewer and perhaps more basic dimensions. Factor scales also help in the discovery of new dimensions that may not have been apparent initially. However, factor analysis is no substitute for rationality or intuitive insights. Scales must be critically examined to see how far they make sense and also suitably pruned to yield meaningful dimensions. Factor analysis cannot go beyond the content of items that are factor analyzed. If the initial selection is too limited in scope, dimensions confused and useful content areas omitted, factor analysis cannot remedy these limitations. Even if the present attempts at delineating and describing value categories are adequate, the limitations of the factor analytic method should be kept in mind in interpreting the scales presented below.

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The value questions have to be analyzed in three different sets:

Set A	International items -- India
Set B	International + National item -- India
Set C	Set B with political responsibility items -- India

The necessity of analyzing items as Sets A, B and C emerges from the fact mentioned earlier, that additional questions specific to nations have been added to the common pool of international questions. Set A consists only of the international question while Set B adds the national items to them. Set C consists of all the national and international items and an additional 15 questions on political responsibility, the first ten of which are common to India/U.S.A. and Yugoslavia.

A factor analysis technique yielding Varimax rotated factors has been employed for identifying psychologically meaningful value dimensions. These have been named in a way that seems to best describe the total import of the item . In addition to the factor loadings of an item on a factor, the mean and the standard deviation are also given.

Factor Dimensions -- India

Interpretation of Rotated Factors

Set A. International items

1. Factor (18.14): Generalized value dimension with accent on selflessness and community change with community concensus and cohesion.

2. Factor (12.60): Leader role vis-a-vis community action: concern for development, selflessness in leaders and community cohesion.

3. Factor (11.56): National orientation in development

4. Factor (10.24) Principle of self-containment: personal and community.

5. Factor (10.20) Commitment to change

6. Factor (9.99) Preference for expert (well-informed) opinion in decision-making vis-a-vis general community participation.

7. Factor (9.97): Commitment to honesty in public conduct.

8. Factor (6.98) Puritan Conservatism.

9. Factor (6.14) Socialistic Equality.

Set B. India: National and International items

1. Factor (10.10) National Orientation in development.

2. Factor (9.41): Concern for community concensus (unity), solidarity and harmony.

3. Factor (9.04): Commitment to honesty and selflessness in public conduct.

4. Factor (8.08) Concern for the preservation of integrity and cohesion in community development.

5. Factor (7.94) Commitment to change

6. Factor (7.52) Leaders personal commitment to honesty and to selflessness.

7. Factor (7.22) Principle to inner-directness of satisfaction in the individual and gradual (not radical) environmental changes.

8. Factor (6.89): Principle of limited peoples' participation in community decision-making.

9. Factor (5.19) Concern for expertise (informed opinion) in decision-making.

Set C: International and national items with political responsibility

1. Factor (10.89) Commitment to honesty and selflessness in public conduct.

2. Factor (8.35): Commitment to national development

3. Factor (7.94): Leader Role Orientation: Commitment to people and principles vis-a-vis expediency in role performance.

4. Factor (7.92) Commitment to change

5. Factor (6.97) Inner-directedness of personal satisfaction and the principle of containment: individual and community.

6. Factor (6.23) Concern for the preservation of community unity and cohesion in community development.

7. Factor (5.59) Leaders personal commitment to honesty and selflessness.

8. Factor (5.17) Preservation of harmony and solidiarity in the community.

9. Factor (6.16): Limited peoples' participation in community decision-making.

It is obvious from an inspection of all the factors that there is much in common between the Sets and also some outstanding differences. The common elements in the three Sets or those broadly comparable are:

1. National Orientation in development: The leaders on the whole seem to feel that national goals and objectives should have priority over local and regional objectives and problems.

2. Commitment to change: Leaders are strongly change oriented. In Sets A & B item ECD 06+, which emphasizes the need for economic development as a means for providing for the peoples welfare, is grouped with the change items thus suggesting that change includes economic improvement. In set C this item is dropped, but another item, P. Res. 09+, which condones a leader using pressure on citizens for programme implementation, is included.

3. Limited peoples participation in decision-making with an emphasis on the desirability of consulting knowledgeable or informed people in the decisional process emerges as an another value dimension.

Peoples' participation in community decisions consists of two sets of questions, one relating to whether the entire population or community need to be involved and other on the propriety of consulting and depending upon trusted and knowledgeable persons or experts. These two sets of items are grouped together on Set A and Set C, but are found as two different factors on Set B (Factors 8 and 9). While there are greater difference in the opinion of leaders about how far the people in general should be involved, there is close consensus about the use of expert and informed opinion.

4. Commitment to selflessness and honesty in personal and public conduct is found to be another value dimension. Like participation, this value dimension is also split into two factors. For instance, in Sets B and C commitment to selflessness and honesty in personal conduct is differentiated from selflessness and honesty in public conduct, but appears as a single dimension on Set A. The reason for this split seems to be that the honesty in public conduct questions have greater variance, whereas those relating to the personal conduct of leaders have low variance. Presumably some leaders take a more permissive view about honesty and selflessness in public conduct, inasmuch as adequate role performance requires the use of "tact", but they do not make similar compromises at the personal level. In Set C, the political responsibility items contribute significantly to honesty in public life.

5. Concern for the preservation of community cohesion, unity and integrity in development on the one hand and maintaining community consenus on the other are inter-related facts of the same general value dimension. On set A, those do not clearly emerge as a factor, for the items are scattered on Factors 1 & 2 in a way as not to leave a discernible itentity. On Sets B and C, however, they do. On Set B Factors 2 and 4 correspond to Factors 8 and 6 respectively on Set C. These inter-related factors may be interterpreted in the following way: although there is a concern for development (Set B, F4; Set C F6) it is felt that these activities or decisions should not violate the harmony or cohesion of the community. The overall low variance of the items constituting this factor show that leaders are for development and for all those things that strengthen the community such as friendly relations between decision-makers, subordination of ones own interest to that of the collectivity, reduction in community conflicts and the like. Development of the community and its cohesion or solidiarity are not viewed as antagonistic to one another. The other (Set B, F2; Set C, F8) is concerned with community consensus in the decisional process, minimizing conflicts even to the point of giving up programmes and so forth. Here the leaders do not hold identical views. The means and variances of items show that although community consensus and harmony are viewed as desirable ends, they are not considered ends in themselves when opposed to developmental decisions that may presumably benefit the entire community.

6. A set of items labelled as the "principle of self containtment -- personal and community" and also as "inner -- directedness of satisfaction", emerge as a factor on all the three sets. This factor consists of items largely drawn from action propensity and change orientation items with a one conflict resolution item. The import of these items is 'preservation' of what is, to bring about changes but only gradually, and to look for things within rather than outside. These items cannot be treated as a pure measure of conservatism, but they are close to it. In the Indian context they reflect the internationalization of values taught to the Indian by the great sources of tradition: the Gita and the Mahabharat.

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There are some note-worthy differences in the factor structure of Sets A, B & C. Some of these have already been commented upon. Worthy of particular mention are:

Set A:

1. In set A, Factor 1 turns out to be a generalized value dimension, including items from different values, with an accent of selflessness and community change. Factor 2, is a combination of items discussed earlier as pertaining to community action and development without violating community solidiarity (consensus).

2. Factor 8 consists of a few items that seem to describe a value close to that of a conservative puritan -- self-corrective, high ethical expectations of self and others, and an inward orientation.

3. Equality items do not turn up as a factor on any set except here. The nature of the items describes a kind of equality which is somewhat socialistic in flavour.

Set C:

1. Honesty and selflessness in public conduct, which appears in Sets A & B as well, gets considerably strengthened by items from the political responsibility scale, and emerges as the most prominent factor.

2. Another notable factor is 8, which defines the role of the leader in terms of whether he will be guided by considerations of popular support or by what he feels needs to be done, even if it may happen to be against certain established principles and may antagonize people. This factor seems to be rather significant in describing leader role in developing countries, where resources are limited and demands numerous, so that the leadership is often required to "push" matters even at the cost of popularity and local resistance.

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With the exception of a few items that may have entered a factor or two, the values of economic development, action propensity and equality (with the exception of Set A) have not emerged as factors. Among the economic development items, only ECD 4, ED9 and ED10 have appeared on factors; of all the equality items, only EQU 7 has contributed to a factor in Set C and that too in a rather insignificant way. Action propensity however, has faired better. In particular, items 3 & 4, and 6 & 7 have appeared in the factor structures of all the three sets. It is interesting to note that this value, although assumed to be reasonably homogeneous, has not behaved in the expected way in India. While items 3 and 4, referring to the inward-directedness of personal satisfaction have low variance, items 6 and 7 regarding quick decision have been bracketted

with the action oriented items of the different values. They have higher variances ε answered in a direction favouring quick decisions. It seems that in India, at least, items 3 & 4 have been quite useful in contributing to the form of factors, the others, specially 6 & 7 have had their identities merged in a larger pool of items.

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It may be well to reflect at this point on the interpretation of the various factor structures. The consistency with which certain factors appear on all the three Sets shows that we are dealing with a fairly reliable set of value dimensions, as far as could be achieved on the basis of the values that were originally selected and the items chosen to describe them. It seems that commitment to national development as against local or regional development, commitment to change, limited peoples' participation in decision-making, dependence upon knowledgeable, competent and otherwise trustworthy persons to advise on important issues and decisions facing the community, commitment to selflessness and honesty in the personal and public life of the leader, concern for the preservation for community cohesion and integrity in the process of development while at the sametime safeguarding community consensus are among the major concerns of the local leadership in India. Another factor, namely the principle of the self-containment, i.e. looking inward for satisfaction at the personal level and preserving the integrity of community, also runs through the different Sets of value items examined. It would seem, therefore, that the local political leader, though he is change oriented and on the whole nationally identified, is committed to the preservation of the integrity of the community to the extent that it is possible without holding up development or interfering with decisions that are in the interest of the people. In other words, he is sympathetic to environmental stimulus for change but it cautious in so far as he will first be inclined to consider only those proposals which do not substantially alter the existing arrangements in the society. He does not, further, see any basic conflict between the requirements of change on the one hand and his commitment to the preservation of the integrity of the local community, on the other.

While the leaders seem to consider community consensus highly desirable and are definitely opposed to alienating any section of the population from the rest or in creating frictions, they do not, on the whole, feel it necessary to involve the entire community in the decision making process. Apparently they do not see any contradiction in preserving harmonious relations between people on the one hand, and not consulting them on major community issues on the other. In fact, in the mind of the local political leader no contradiction seems to exist on this point. When he places as much faith in knowledgeable and informed people to pilot the decisional process as he does, he assumes that by virtue of being knowledgeable, informed and competent, they will consult the people, try to know what they want and will do nothing to undermine their interests or to alienate them. Here one sees the leader cast in his traditionally idealized role of a trustee of the peoples legitimate aspirations and desires, a guide and a protector who will place the interests of those with him higher to those of his own.

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How far, it may be asked, are the factor value dimensions valid? This question cannot be answered at this stage. All that can be said is that they look reasonable and conform to expectations.

Another question regarding validity of the factor values concerns the extent to which they can help in the prediction of the behaviour of leaders both individually in terms of how a particular leader will act in a given situation and how a group of leaders will perform as a collectivity in an instutional setting or in a community. The latter is one of the major dependent variables of this Project and we shall have more to say about it at a later time. It should be admitted that we have studied professed values rather than operational values. It is well known that individual behaviour is modified by the pecularities or exigencies of the situation. Under special conditions numerous factors operate to make people do what they say they will not do or would probably be not fell inclined to do. The values we have studied are, therefore, valid to the extent what people say validly accounts for what they do.

Still nother aspect of validity relates to the importance of a particular factor value. Can it be argued that factor value dimensions that explain the largest percentage of the total variance are more important than those that accounts for a smaller percentage of the variance? The total variance accounted for by a factor basically depends upon the intercorrelations between items, which in turn depends on the original selection of items. Deleting a few items or adding a few may change the importance of the different factors. This is quite clear in the different Sets of value items discussed above and needs no elaboration.

In an attempt to purify the political responsibility items for India, five of the 16 items were deleted and the new matrix factors analyzed. The rotated factor loadings as well as the order of importance of factors has changed. Some factors which were not taken into account originally because they accounted for less than 5% of the total variance grew in importance. Obviously the factor structure has changed and probably also its interpretation.

In another part of the study instrument, leaders were asked to rank eight of the nine values. The following rank order was obtained:

Rank Order on Values

Rank	Values
1	Economic development
2	Honesty and truthfulness
3	Avoidance of conflict
4	Selflessness
5	National orientation
6	Equality
7	Change
8	Participation

Economic development is given foremost importance whereas change orientation and participation rank among the least important. While the factor values seem to reflect the low importance given to participation, the importance of economic development is not reflected at all. Similarly, while truthfulness, honesty and selflessness seem to have received comparable importance in both, the importance given to commitment to change and to national identification on the factor values is higher than that obtained by the ranking method.

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In our attempt to study the interrelation s between the different values and the factor value dimensions, we have correlated community means on both. These are presented below:

Table I *

Scale Values: inter correlation between Community means

	ECD	CON	PAR	SEL	LOC	ACT	HON	CHA	EQU	POLR
CON	-.22									
PAR	-.01	-.23								
SEL	.61	-.40	.11							
LOC	-.12	.24	-.19	-.38						
ACT	-.45	.40	.21	-.46	-.13					
HON	.25	-.50	.11	.62	-.39	-.39				
CHA	.25	-.29	-.27	.02	-.01	-.39	-.17			
EQU	.33	.07	.19	.37	-.40	.45	.05	.06		
POLR	.25	-.58	.16	.62	-.48	-.35	.88	.08	.04	
L. Ec. Dev.	-.29	.05	.08	-.09	-.59	.09	.16	-.10	.04	.18

Table 2

Factor Values: Intercorrelations between community means.
(Set B)

	FAC1	FAC 2	FAC 3	FAC 4	FAC 5	FAC 6	FAC7	FAC 8	FAC 9
FAC 2	.16								
FAC 3	-.24	.48							
FAC 4	.62	-.38	-.37						
FAC 5	-.13	-.58	-.27	.00					
FAC 6	.66	.56	.32	.30	-.57				
FAC 7	-.89	-.10	.23	-.76	.13	-.64			
FAC 8	.78	-.09	-.38	.87	-.23	.47	-.87		
FAC 9	.67	-.23	-.75	.72	-.02	.15	-.69	.78	
L. EC DEV	-.13	.53	.34	-.33	-.22	.22	.11	-.23	-.25

*Correlation of .35 & .45 are significant at the 5% and 1% levels respectively.

FAC 1	Community unity and selflessness
FAC 2	Local-National Orientation
FAC 3	Peoples participation
FAC 4	Inner/directedness of satisfaction, gradual Com. Change
FAC 5	Consensus, Unity and development in community
FAC 6	Honesty and selflessness in public conduct
FAC 7	Personal commitment to honesty and selflessness
FAC 8	Change Orientation
FAC 9	Expertise in decision making

The inter-relations are self-evident and need no comment. We have also correlated the scale values and the factor values with the level of the economic development of the community. The level of the economic development of a community was roughly estimated and, therefore, may not be accurate. The observations are, therefore, highly tentative. The data show that leaders in communities high on the level of the economic development tend to be more nationally oriented, give relatively more importance to participation while those belonging to economically less developed communities tend to have leaders who are high on self containment and who favour gradual as against radical changes in the community.

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INTERNATIONAL STUDIES OF VALUES IN POLITICS

A Brief Description of Local Self-Government System in Gujarat, Maharashtra and Uttar Pradesh

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INTRODUCTION

The present note* is only a brief description of the three tier Panchayat Raj Bodies as an aspect of local political system, in Gujarat, Maharashtra and Uttar Pradesh.[1] The note neither claims to have made a thorough probe into the powers, functions and the working of the Panchayat Raj Bodies in these States nor to have emphatically resolved the controversy of the status of Village Panchayat, Panchayat Samithi and the Zilla Parishad as decision-making bodies. The aim of the Project on Values in Politics is to observe the local self-government units which have powers to take crucial decisions and capabilities to mobilize the general masses toward community action to pave the way for socio-economic development.

The system of the three tier Panchayat Raj has been introduced in almost all the States in India.[2] But the powers, functions, responsibilities and capabilities of these Bodies greatly vary from one State to another. The Zilla Parishad, for example, is very powerful in Maharashtra, with wide powers, functions and responsibilities. It almost works like a State Government at the local level. Undoubtedly, it is a nice decision-making body at the local level. Zilla Parishads in Gujarat are also relatively highly empowered but they are not as powerful as the Zilla Parishads in Maharashtra are. In Uttar Pradesh the Zilla Parishads principally have administrative and advisory functions.

On the other hand, Panchayat Samithi in Maharashtra is merely an executive body with little or no scope for independent activity. Panchayat Samithis in Gujarat and Uttar Pradesh, however, are not that weak but they suffer due to poor financial resources and passivity in imposing independent taxes.[3]

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*The present note was prepared under the supervision and guidance of Mr. D. L. Sheth at the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies.

1 The final survey of the Project on Values in Politics on local leadership values and community activities is intended to be conducted in these three States of India.

2 Panchayat Raj, the new set-up of democratic institutions, was first introduced in Rajasthan and Andhra Pradesh in 1959, and is now under implementation in all the States except in Nagaland.

3 In all the other States except in Jammu and Kashmir and Kerala, Panchayat Samithis are principally equipped with the powers and functions of administration of the Block, execution of all programmes under Community Development, approving Panchayat budgets, considering their annual reports, management of elementary schools and promotion of agriculture and cottage industries, etc. In Kerala, however, no Panchayat Samithis have been organized on account of the peculiar ecological layout. In the case of Jammu and Kashmir, the powers of the Panchayat Samithis (named as Block Panchayat Board) are primarily to advise the Blocks on developmental activities.

Similarly, the names of the Panchayat Bodies at various levels and their units of formation also differ from State to State. The district level Panchayat Body (highest tier of the Panchayat Bodies) is called the District Panchayat in Gujarat and Zilla Parishad in Maharashtra and Uttar Pradesh. The intermediary level Panchayat Body is called Taluk Panchayat in Gujarat and taluka is its unit of formation. The intermediary level Panchayat Body is called Panchayat Samithi in Maharashtra and taluka (or Community Development Block) is its unit of formation. And in Uttar Pradesh the intermediary level Panchayat Body is called Kshetra Samithi and Community Development Block is its unit of formation. In all the three States, Village Panchayat is the lowest level of Panchayat Bodies. Generally, either a village or a few villages are constituted into a Village Panchayat. In this respect also, Gujarat has an unique feature. In Gujarat, Village Panchayats having 10,000 to 30,000 population are designated as Nagar Panchayats. The position can be clearly observed in the following table.

In all these three States, the Village Panchayats have the same freedom or lack of it for making decisions and to implement policies. A large number of Village Panchayats, however, are dormant and inactive in reality. Inspiration for community effort through Village Panchayat is not forthcoming yet due to various intervening factors. It is only in this light that the Zilla Parishad is thought to be more significant as decision-making body than that of the Village Panchayat and Panchayat Samithi. The note, however, is not a judgment but only intended to help the discussion on the selection of the units of observation.

Table I

Names of the Three-Tier Panchayat Bodies and their Respective Units of Formation in the States of Gujarat, Maharashtra and Uttar Pradesh

	GUJARAT		MAHARASHTRA		UTTAR PRADESH	
Level of Panchayat Body	Name of the Panchayat Body	Unit of Formation	Name of the Panchayat Body	Unit of Formation	Name of the Panchayat Body	Unit of Formation
Highest level	District Panchayat	District	Zilla Parishad	District	Zilla Parishad	District
Intermediary level	Taluka Panchayat	Taluka	Panchayat Samithi	Taluk (Community Development Block)	Kshetra Samithi	Community Development Block
Lowest level	Gram or Nagar Panchayat*	Village or a few Villages	Gram Panchayat	Village	Gaon Panchayat	Village or a few villages
Lowest level	Gram Sabha (Voters Body)	Village or a few Villages	Gram Sabha (Voters Body)	Village	Gram Sabha (Voters Body)	Village or a few villages

*Nagar Panchayats in Gujarat do not have all voters meetings (Gram Sabhas).

Table II

Structural Composition of Panchayat Raj Bodies in the State of Uttar Pradesh

ZILLA PARISHAD

This is the topmost tier of the Panchayat Raj Bodies in the State of Uttar Pradesh. The unit of formation is the district.

Official Members	Elected Body	Advisory Bodies
Mukhya Karya Adhikari as Chief Executive Officer can attend the meetings though he is not a member.	1) Pramukhs of Kshetra Samithis, (2) prescribed number of members to be elected from among the members of Kshetra Samithis (3) Presidents of Municipal Boards within the district, (4) 3 to 5 representatives of cooperative societies to be chosen in the prescribed manner, (5) 1 member to be chosen by the government from institutions of social work, (6) prescribed number of directly elected members from Khands, (7) all local M. Ps, M. L. As, and M. L. Cs, and (8) coopted or reserved members of women and Scheduled Castes.	Six Standing Committees comprising of the members of the Zilla Parishad. In all six committees are formed. The Adhyaksha (President) of the Zilla Parishad is ex-officio chairman of important committees.

KSHETRA SAMITHI

This is the intermediary tier of the Panchayat Raj Bodies in the State. The unit of formation is Community Development Block.

Official Members	Elected Body	Advisory Bodies
Khand Adhikari (Block Development Officer) as chief executive officer may attend meetings, thouth he is not a member.	1) Pradhans of Gaon Sabhas, (2) Chairmen of Town Areas and Notified areas which fall within the Kshetra Samithi area, (3) two to five representatives of cooperative societies (4) local members of Zilla Parishad, (5) local M. Ps, M. L. As, and M. L. Cs, and (6) coopted and reserved members of women and Scheduled Castes.	Standing Committees comprising of the members of Panchayat Samithi.

GAON PANCHAYAT

This is the lowest tier of the Panchayat Raj Bodies. The unit of formation is either a village or a few villages.

Official Members	Elected Body	Advisory Bodies
Nil	Sixteen to 31 elected members. Seats are reserved for Scheduled Castes.	Four committees formed from among the members of the village panchayat

GAON SABHA

This is the all voters body of the Gaon Panchayat.

Table III
Structural Composition of the Panchayat Raj Bodies in the State of Gujarat

DISTRICT PANCHAYAT

This is the topmost tier of the three tier Panchayat Raj Bodies. The unit of formation is District.

Official Members

District Collector; District Development Officer as Secretary, can attend the meetings

Elected Body

1) President of every Taluk Panchayat; (2) one member elected from amongst its members by each Taluk Panchayat, (3) directly elected members not exceeding the above two categories in strength (as fixed by the government), (4) local M. Ps., & M. L. As., Presidents of municipalities and the District Collector as associate members, and (5) coopted members such as of Scheduled Castes, Tribes, women and social workers.

Advisory Bodies

Standing committees set up to look after specified aspects such as education, planning industries, etc. In all seven committees are formed. President is the ex-officio Chairman of important committees.

TALUKA PANCHAYAT

This is the intermediary tier of the three-tier Panchayat Raj Bodies. The unit of formation is Taluka.

Official Members

Mamlatdar or Mahalkori (Taluk revenue officer). Taluka Development Officer can attend the meetings.

Elected Body

1) Sarpanch/Chairman of every Gram/Nagar Panchayat, (2) members elected by cooperative societies, (3) local M. L. As, Presidents of municipalities, local members of District Panchayat and the Malmatadar or Mahalkari as associate members, and (4) coopted members such as women, representatives of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and social workers.

Advisory Bodies

Standing Committees set up to look after specified aspects such as production programs and social welfare etc.

GRAM/NAGAR PANCHAYAT

This is the lowest tier of the Panchayat Raj Bodies. The unit of formation is either a village or a few villages. Gram Panchayats have below 10,000 population while Nagar Panchayats have 10,000 to 30,000 population. All voters meetings of Gram Panchayats are called Gram Sabhas.

Official Members

None

Elected Body

9 to 15 Panchayat Members from Gram Panchayat and 15 to 31 Panchayat Members from Nagar Panchayats. Seats are duly reserved for women and Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes according to their numerical strength.

Advisory Bodies

Three Committees relating to (1) production, (2) public health, and (3) education are obligatory. Up-Sarpanch or Sarpanch presides the committees of which he is the member.

Table IV
Structural Composition of the Panchayat Raj Bodies in the State of Maharashtra

ZILLA PARISHAD

This is the topmost tier of the three tier Panchayat Raj Bodies in the State of Maharashtra. The unit of formation is the district.

Official Members

Chief Executive Officer. (Secretary is entitled to attend the meetings.)

Elected Body

1) Forty to sixty directly elected Councillors from the electoral divisions of the district, (2) Chairman of every Panchayat Samithi, (3) One woman coopted if no woman is directly elected, (4) Chairmen of five federal cooperatives as associate members.

Advisory Bodies

In all seven Standing Committees are formed. President of the Zilla Parishad is the chairman of important Standing Committees.

PANCHAYAT SAMITHI

This is the intermediary tier of the Panchayat Raj Bodies. The unit of formation is the Community Development Block.

Official Members

Block Development officer as the secretary of the Panchayat Samithi is entitled to attend the meetings.

Elected Body

(1) Directory elected Councillors from Zilla Parishad from within the Block, (2) Chairmen of agricultural cooperative societies as specified by the State Government and as may be coopted by the Panchayat Samithis, and (3) representatives belonging to the reserved categories of women, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

Advisory Bodies

Standing Committees comprising of members of Panchayat Samithi.

GRAM PANCHAYAT

This is the lowest tier of the three tier Panchayat Raj Bodies in the State. The unit of formation is Village.

Official Members

Nil

Elected Body

Seven to fifteen elected and coopted members.

Advisory Bodies

Any number of Committees could be formed.

GRAM SABHA

This is the all voters body of the Gram Panchayat.

VILLAGE PANCHAYAT

Village Panchayat:

The unit at the bottom of the three-tier panchayat organization is a local government body for a village community consisting of one village or a group of small villages.[1] In order to understand the place of village panchayat in the local political system of India, some understanding about the nature of village community is inevitable.

Village Community:

Emergence of a central political authority has been a very recent phenomenon in India. Thanks to ageless existence of small village communities in the country, the political authority in India remained more or less alien to the people. Governed primarily by customary laws and social traditions of close stratificatory system of castes, village India kept political authority fragmentary and super-structural. Changes of regimes of the 'Centre' with a semblance of central political authority did not affect life in villages shielded by traditional economic and social structure. This shows how remote, uncommunicative and perhaps irrelevant, was the political authority for the village community.

Traditional leaders of these 'communities', including those who in some respects were appointed by higher political authority as its agents, did not play the role of bringing village communities into the fold of political authority's effective control. They visited, conceived their role as 'protectors' of village community, and discharged governmental duties in such a manner that the village was kept away from any interference and penetration of Central (outer) political authority. This was a kind of contractors' role which guaranteed law and order and collection of revenue for 'higher' authority in order that further interference and penetration on the part of higher government could be restricted.

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1 Percentage of villages as per size of population according to 1961 Census in India: Gujarat, Maharashtra and Uttar Pradesh.

STATE	Total No. of Villages	Pop. less than 500	500 to 999	1,000 to 1,999	2,000 to 4,999	5,000 to 9,999	10,000 +
Gujarat	18,584	45.76	28.51	17.76	7.17	0.76	0.04
Maharashtra	35,851	47.72	28.55	16.62	6.18	0.85	0.08
Uttar Pradesh	112,624	61.87	23.10	11.37	3.37	0.27	0.02
INDIA	567,338	62.05	21.00	11.53	4.68	0.60	0.14

In a society where such a wide gap existed between political authority and social structure, the lowest rungs in the hierarchy naturally enjoyed autonomy and exclusiveness from centres of secular power and also a kind of immunity from any penetration into their affairs by outer non-customary authority. This, for a long time, prevented growth of local political system which could link the levels of authority from lowest levels of local communities with the upper levels of central authority. What was the internal organization of these village communities which guaranteed their insulation from secular political authority?

Structure of Village Community:

When one thinks of internal organization of a village one finds it difficult to think of it as a 'community' in any psychological sense. Village used to be a socio-economic whole having several segments of kinship-groups and caste-groups with worlds of their own. These, however, were functionally interdependent through a close stratificatory system of caste. Thus, in a village there were several mutually exclusive communities existing side by side in a customary framework which facilitated some division of labor based on ascription and sustained by religious beliefs. Such a social structure of a village consisting of castes and extended families could do without any formal organization for collective action. Just as political authority was either subsumed in or undersigned by social structure of Indian village, economic activity was equally differentiated from socio-religious framework. Whereas the former prevented penetration of outer political authority, the latter guaranteed its protection from the threats within. Agriculture in Indian village, for example, is not primarily an economic activity. The economic gains were incidental to its pursuit as a way of life - which is a function of kinship subgroup in social hierarchy and rituals.

Village, however, did have some form of organization represented by one or two officials of the "outer" political authority. But these officials were never incorporated into any system of governmental authority in terms of delegation of powers and accountability. They were village head-man and his assistant for revenue collection, who belonged to a village concerned and completely embedded in its traditional system of kinship obligation and caste rituals. Their role was to mediate between the village to which they belonged and the outer authorities whom they had to obey. These leaders took upon themselves to maintain law and order as was possible in that framework and to collect revenues for the 'Government' leaving management of the internal affairs of the villages to the customary practices and institutions.

Against such a background, the impacts of modernization were felt by village India. Local administration systematized by British rule, and the establishment of new legal-judicial systems, and several other processes unleashed with enfranchisement of Indian masses after independence from British rule, threatened the age-old existence of traditional social structures of Indian villages and some kind of local political system was emerging. This is still in the process of being crystalized at the lower rungs of political authority. Programmes of Community Development and Panchayat Raj are formal

steps at systematization of this newly emerging political community at the local level. Wider political units above the village communities are being crystalized, bringing village organizations into the field of a modern polity. The processes of disintegration of traditional social structures of villages are at work through politicization, industrialization and urbanization.

A study of political integration in India, therefore, should have as its focus, the growth of local political system in terms of its role in bridging the gap between political authority and traditional social structure of rural communities.

History:

Though a village in ancient India was primarily a close-knit entity with age-old traditions and customs, a primitive form of self government through an informal or formal decision-making body was not altogether strange to it. Particularly in some of the ancient South Indian kingdoms such as that of Cholas and in some of the ancient Northern Indian cities such as Pataliputra, the system of Panchayat administration, elections by secret ballot, and resolution of common social problems through collective participation in the decision-making process were quite familiar. [1] Let us now review, very briefly, the impacts made on such a system through its exposure to outside world and the nature of responses generated in the system itself.

Impacts:

A series of foreign invasions culminating into two centuries of colonial rule have changed India beyond recognition. This has caused some strains on the rural traditional Indian economy and society. They have not, however, been able to completely crush or change the patterns of socio-economic life in the village. During the Mughal and British regimes, the village was controlled only from a distance and revenue was collected after carefully keeping intact the regional traditional hierarchy and socio-economic system. Gradually, however, the colonial British commercial policy enforced by a network of bureaucratic administration hit at the exclusiveness of the village, and the introduction of western education setting up of a new judiciary, and the rise of the new middle classes further weakened the traditional social structure. Village today, is slightly different from its ancient counterpart, with evident changes in many aspects of its life. A small portion of the villages now has access to the urban centres and communications with metropolitan areas have increased. With the advent of independence, the impact of the exposition of the villages to the induced modernization in political sphere is felt more and more. Many parts of the villages, however, continue to be backward, isolated and traditional. Acceptance of the new ideas, methods and institutions is not yet very noticeable and a major section of the rural community remains static in social and

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1 Municipal administration in ancient Pataliputra, the capital city of the Mauryan empire was carried on through Standing Committees which fairly correspond to the present day Standing Committees at the Village Panchayat, Panchayat Samithi and Zilla Parishad levels.

psychological sense. Illiteracy, ignorance, passivity on the one hand, and the consequent politicisation of traditional forces on the other, characterize village communities of today.

It is only to relieve the society from the traditional social structure and backward economy that new institutions such as Village Panchayat, Cooperative Society, Nyaya Panchayat and Community Development Block have been introduced. Emphasis is increasingly laid upon collective community effort for an all round development and enrichment of village communities and the new institutions become the axis of the local level planning and programming of socio-economic and political change.

The New Institutions:

New institutions are supposed to attract and activise the rural masses to make decisions on local affairs and implement them with people's assistance and participation. This is, in a sense, an effort towards legitimization of new political order through evolving institutional network at the local level of the polity.

The various phases of this process of modernization of the rural masses, through panchayat raj and the community development programmes observed in the declarations of community development personnel are:

(1) that with the introduction of the Village Panchayat with greater powers and functions, the Panchayat (Members of the Panchayat) due to its close association with and inspiration from the Community Development Block staff, begins to have and express hopes and expectations for better things and gives positive leadership to the people in bringing about change;

(2) that thereafter the villagers begin thinking about how they as individuals can work together with their leaders and through their panchayat, cooperative, etc., to achieve hoped-for improvements;

(3) that when people thus become development conscious, they chalk out organized village development plans and adopt new practices; and

(4) that then, the new practices become integrated into village culture and people will show increasing readiness to accept modern and scientific practices by discarding the traditional and customary methods.

So, the Gram Sabha and the Village Panchayat are the institutions which are supposed to bring social and political changes and the Cooperatives are the organs which will give economic confidence to the people in this process. Working through dynamics of party systems, these institutions are in process of evolving a local political system consistent with national policy.

As has been seen above, these are several aspects of the emerging local political system in India. In what follows, we shall confine ourselves only to a formal aspect of Panchayat (local self-government) organization.

Local Self-Government:
Village Level:

The powers and functions vested in the new institutions of Gram Sabha, Village Panchayat, Nayaya Panchayat and Cooperative society are significantly wide as compared to their earlier status.

FUNCTIONS AND POWERS OF THE PANCHAYAT BODIES

Gram Sabha:

In all the three States, with which we are concerned, the Gram Sabha (Village voters' body) is a statutory organization that must be convened at least twice, firstly in the beginning & secondly towards the end of the financial year of the Panchayat.[1] It is the general body of the village Panchayat and includes all the voters of a village or villages that constitute a Village Panchayat. However, in Gujarat, Panchayats with less than 10,000 population only have Gram Sabhas. The main powers and functions that the Gram Sabha has are "to discuss annual statement of accounts, annual administrative report, proposed programmes of work etc."[2] Ideally, the Gram Sabha should develop into the legislative body of the Panchayats. It is designed to give a sense of participation to the people in the Village Panchayat. But in none of these States, the Gram Sabha is given a real power to make decisions. Its primary responsibility in all the States is "to discuss the work programme and annual report". Further in all these states, the meetings of Gram Sabha are hardly held and, therefore, it can in no way be considered a formal decision-making body.

Village Panchayats:

In all the three States, the functions of the Village Panchayat include many items that come under the "heads" such as improvement of agriculture, animal husbandry, health, sanitation, water supply, communications, pre-primary education, Panchayat staff training, collection of land revenue, etc.[3]

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1. The States of Kerala, Madras and Mysore have not made any provision for the creation of the Gram Sabha.
2. Panchayat Raj at a Glance, (Revised), Ministry of Community Development and Cooperation, Government of India, New Delhi, 1964, Pp. 6 & 7.
3. Panchayati Raj, A Comparative Study on Legislations, Ministry of Community Development and Cooperation (Department of Community Development), Government of India, New Delhi, April 1962, Pp. 8, 9, 18, 19, 30, & 31.

In addition to these functions, Village Panchayats in Maharashtra take the responsibilities of village self-defence and village industries while in Uttar Pradesh in addition to these, they are expe cted to look after maternity and child-welfare. In actual practice, Village Panchayats in these states can discharge any or all of these functions and other works which they may consider relevant to social welfare, with the help of their independent financial resources or with the funds from the Panchayat Samithis, Zilla Parishads or State Government.

Financial Resources:

In all the three States, Panchayats are empowered to collect taxes, on lands, buildings, professions, vehicles, entertainments, markets etc., and are allowed a share from the community development budget and grants and loans either from the Zilla Parishad or from the State Government or from both. In addition to these, Panchayats in Maharashtra and Gujarat are entitled for 25 to 30 per cent and 30 per cent of land revenue respectively. Of all these three states, Gujarat has the longest list of items taxable by the Village Panchayat. Maharashtra comes next, while in Uttar Pradesh Village Panchayats can tax very few items. In none of these States, the Panchayats have been asked to levy any one of these taxes compulsorily. The picture can be clearly observed from the following table:

Main financial powers and resources of Village Panchayats in the States of Gujarat, Maharashtra and Uttar Pradesh

STATE	Main financial resources of Village Panchayats
GUJARAT	Taxes on buildings and lands not subject to payment of agricultural assessment, octroi, taxes on pilgrims, fairs, festivals, vehicles and professions, sanitary cess, water rate, fees on markets, cart stands, grazing lands etc., a cess on land revenue, contributions or loans from Government or Taluka or District Panchayats, income from Panchayat property etc.
MAHARASHTRA	25 to 30 per cent of land revenue collected in the village, local taxes on buildings, professions, vehicles, entertainments, etc., grants, loans,etc., from Government, share from Block budget.
UTTAR PRADESH	Local taxes and fees on professions, vehicles, sale of goods, etc., annual grants by Government.

Scope for Decisive Activity:

A quick glance at the Panchayat Acts that created the formal Panchayat Bodies at the village level reveals the numerous functions, powers and responsibilities that have been given to the Panchayats. They also show that there is genuine scope for new socio-economic change through these organizations at the village and that they have, theoretically at last, adequate powers and resources. There is also the wide-spread belief that the villages would know their needs if they are enlightened or helped by the Development Blocks. And further, as village is a compact, integrated and homogeneous socio-economic unit in India, if somehow the people are directly involved in the process of decision-making at that level, panchayats will ideally become formal decision-making bodies through which social and political changes can be ushered in. But a close scrutiny of the past and present socio-economic situation of the village and the recent performance of the Panchayats will not yield encouraging data on the functional efficacy of the latter. [1]

Panchayats are empowered and supposed to take innovative and integrative decisions, but then, they hardly make decision at the first place. This aspect of the problem has been investigated by Retzlaff in his case study of an Uttar Pradesh Village. He brings out a number of implications, which have their correlates in weak, ineffective and paralysed Panchayats.

Implications:

The short-comings of the Village Panchayat as a decision-making unit, according to Ralf H. Retzlaff,[2] are as follows. Firstly, the various panchayat acts have failed to make a realistic assessment of the existing situation in the villages. The legislations setting up the new Panchayats are complex, lengthy and detailed. They are certainly not drafted with that preciseness and simplicity which would render them to easy understanding by the illiterate and unsophisticated rural people. The acts equipped the villagers with innumerable duties, responsibilities and powers but the procedures and formalities through which these can be "operationalized" are so complex that the villagers have always got to look to the higher authorities for guidance. And often, advices tendered unsought are accepted more as instructions than as good advices. Consequently, at times, good decisions are made but not implimented and sometimes decisions are passed on subjects that are out of their perview just because the legislations are not properly understood. Retzlaff in his case study nicely illustrates this difficulty very

1. Ralf H. Retzlaff, Village Government in India, A Case Study, Asia Publishing House, 1962, Pp. 9.
2. Ibid., Pp. 9.

clearly.

Secondly, the prior existence of the informal but powerful decision-making bodies which have been functioning in a great number of villages, have gradually been assuming the powers of panchayats and are making them either ineffective or ornamental. The informal decision-making bodies have traditionally been based on local customs and usages and, over time, have established their utility and effectiveness, at least to the villagers. Their headships have been hereditary and their powers have been numercus and social and religious sanctions have been their weapons.

Further disparities in economic and social status traditionally concentrated political power in the hands of a relatively small group of landed families, or in hands of a dominant caste. The reservation and co-option of the scheduled, backward and special groups have done little to mitigate this situation. When such groups assume the leadership of the new institutions, they serve more as decision-blocking or decision-misusing bodies than as decision-making units. Consequently, these groups having a hold on the new Panchayats seek, by all means, not to upset the existing system.

A few studies made at the village panchayat level and the data that we have collected on the working of some village panchayats, published by the census of India, are consistent with these conclusions. The position can be clearly observed from the following table:

Performance of twenty Village Panchayats for which village survey monographs have been published.[1]

1.	Total Villages	.. 20
2.	Prior existence of Caste Panchayats	 14
3.	Villages in which Caste leaders dominate the Panchayats.	.. 6
4.	Panchayats active	.. 6
5.	Panchayats inactive	.. 12
6.	Panchayats with meagre financial sources	.. 19

1. The Census of India 1961 is publishing "Village Survey Monographs" at least on two villages in each district. The above table refers to 19 villages of Uttar Pradesh - Serial Nos. 1 to 11, 13, 15, 16, 19, 20, 22, 25, and 26, and one village of Gujarat, Serial No. 1. The above Village Survey Monographs relate to Jamnagar district in Gujarat and Aligarh, Azamgarh, Bareilly, Agra, Mathura, Allahabad, Saharanpur, Kheri, Pithoragarh, Sultanpur, Garhwal, Bijnor and Gonda districts of Uttar Pradesh.

Present Performance:

Out of one village in Gujarat and nineteen villages in Uttar Pradesh for which the village survey monographs have been out, in fourteen villages, Caste Panchayats had been very powerful prior to the introduction of panchayat bodies and they have been trying all social, moral and property disputes. The cases generally taken up by the Caste Panchayats "deal with family quarrels, disputes over land affairs, illegal intimacy and all the cases that would lower the reputation of the Caste". For the remaining six villages, information is not available. In terms of dominance of caste leaders, out of these twenty villages in six villages caste leaders have become the Panchayat leaders, and for the remaining fourteen villages Panchayats caste-wise data of leadership is not available. In terms of output, twelve village panchayats are completely inactive and only six of Village Panchayats are active in doing something for the people and for two Village Panchayats information is not available. All these villages have very meagre income sources and one village particularly depends wholly on government grants. The developmental programmes that are carried on by these Village Panchayats are, laying the roads, sinking wells or drinking water pipes and digging compost pits. Out of these twenty villages only two villages have constructed panchayat-ghars, only one village has established a small library and only one village has undertaken the development of agriculture under the guidance of the Community Development Block.

In all these Panchayats, the most important item of expenditure is the salary paid to the Panchayat Secretary and the stationery bought. The Panchayat evidently, apart from being an ornamental body, to be dominated either by a caste or by an economically or socially dominant group, has done nothing. Publication of all such village monographs may tell us more about the activities of the Panchayats in other districts. The Study Team of Santanan on Panchayat Raj Finances also has pointed out that the financial resources of the Panchayats in U. P. consist of sixty per cent of Government aids and grants.[1] All this goes to show that, though the village is a compact, integrated and homogeneous socio-economic unit with a good apparatus, resources and powers for decision-making, such decisions are not made because of a traditional and custom determined social structure. This point has been well made by Thorner. While reviewing findings of the village studies, he observes that "to approach the social or rural economic development through the agency of the Village Panchayats only would appear to be an exercise in frustration".[2] Hence Retzlaff in the introduction to his

1. Report of Study Team on Panchayati Raj Finances, Part II, Ministry of Community Development & Cooperation, Government of India, 1963, Pp. 129, 130.
2. "The Village Panchayat as a Vehicle of Change", The Indian Year-Book of International Affairs, 1953 (ed) Charles Henry Alexandrowicz (Madras: University of Madras Press, 1953) Pp. 75 -85.

book on "Village Government in India," emphatically says that "it became increasingly evident that few village panchayats were fulfilling the functions with which they were charged, and that many of them were either inoperative or functioning in a manner contrary to the basic democratic character of the legislation under which they had been created."[1] This has been sufficiently supported by several studies made by the Programme Evaluation Organization of the Planning Commission also. But, it would seem that the introduction of the new Panchayats even though not leading to greater mobilization of efforts has at least been causing a stir in the society, and a consciousness of developmental activity.

Institutions such as the caste panchayats and village elders' committees were traditional institutions with hereditary leaderships. Hence, there was little or no scope for social, political and institutional changes through them. But the introduction of the elected village panchayats within a legal set-up and constitutional and judicial supports and channels through which perceived injustices can be ventilated, has introduced a new political consciousness in the village. Either some or all aggrieved parties, and a number of vested interest groups whose privileges have suffered, are now actively reacting against the Panchayats and thereby against the informal social and caste organizations,[2] (because in majority cases the old social and caste leadership is assuming the leadership of the Panchayats also). And this is without any fear of social and religious sanctions. Bringing the Panchayats to the courts on one pretext or the other and paralysing these, or actively offering non-cooperation or stiff-opposition to the Panchayats and making them ineffective, are some of the present methods of grievance expression. So these cross pressures on the panchayat organisation, though renders the latter absolutely passive, nevertheless make the position of traditional and informal caste and religious decision-making bodies tenuous.

PANCHAYAT SAMITHI

Intermediary tier:

The existence of an intermediary level below the district and above the village is not altogether unknown in India. Taluk, for example, has over a period of time evolved as a revenue unit. The existence of a taluk revenue officer, magistrate court, taluk jail and other departmental offices have made

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1. Village Government in India, Ralph H. Retzlaff, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1962, P. 8.
2. Village Survey Monographs published by the Census of India have clearly indicated the breaking-up of the traditional and cast informal organizations due to the introduction of the Panchayat Raj Organs. Refer, Census of India, 1961, Vol. XV, Part IV, Village Survey Monograph No. 1 to 11, 13, 15, 16, 19, 20, 22, 25, and 26.

the taluk life functionally dependent upon the taluk headquarters. Later the introduction of Taluk Panchayat bodies during the British period, the setting up of the social organizations and political parties on taluk basis evolved the taluk into an administrative and political entity. Further, after independence the State Assembly constituencies also have been delimited largely on the basis of the territorial limits of the taluk.

The major change, however, took place in the organization of the intermediary tier in the context of the local self-government , only with the introduction of the Panchayat Samithi. Now, broadly, the taluk, the Panchayat Samithi and the State Assembly Constituency are intermediary between the village and the district. But all these intermediary tiers between the village and the district territorially overlap each other and functionally they are not one and the same. Taluk assumes more importance as an administrative and revenue unit. Panchayat Samithi on the other hand with its accompanying Community Development Block concentrates more upon community action and community development through Panchayat Raj.

Panchayat Samithi, however, is not a functionally integrated political and administrative unit like the district. It owes its birth and existence partly to the feeling of the present day Government that a viable intermediary self-governing panchayat body should be set up between the Village Panchayat and the Zilla Parishad and partly to the need that a sort of peoples' representative body should be attached to the Community Development Block which is constituted to "infuse, encourage and help developmental conscicusness among the people." So the establishment of the Community Development Blocks preceded the establishment of the Panchayat Samithis and the State Governments were specifically recommended to see that Panchayat Samithis are made conterminus with the Blocks. This process of reorganization of Panchayat Samithis as co-terminus with the Blocks and making both the Panchayat Samithis and the Blocks viable units is still going on. As the Development Blocks have been carved out primarily on the criterian of social and economic backwardness factors such as internal communications and economic resources have not been taken into consideration in the formation of the Panchayat Samithis. Consequently, even though the Samithis are socially and economically homogenous they need not, and often are not, integrated units.

Unit of Formation:

In all the three States, Panchayat Samithi is a statutory organization. The average number of village Panchayats covered by each Panchayat Samithi ranges from 60 to 85 (Gujarat 57.8, Maharashtra 67.4 and Utter Pradesh 84.7). Both in Maharastra and Gujarat, the unit of formation of Taluk Panchayat (Panchayat Samithi) generally is revenue taluk and 232 taluks in Maharashtra have been constituted into 293 Panchayat Samithis. In Utter Pradesh, it is called Kshetra Samithi and is co-terminus with the Community

Development Block. In Gujarat, the taluk level Panchayat Body is known as 'Taluk Panchayat' and 184 taluks or mahals have been constituted into 182 Taluk Panchayats. However, one point here is noteworthy. The Taluk level Panchayat Samithi of Maharashtra and the taluk level Taluk Panchayat of Gujarat are smaller than the Block level Kshetra Samithi of Uttar Pradesh, both in the number of villages and Village Panchayats they cover. In the coverage of population, however, Panchayat Samithis in Maharashtra cover more population (90,000) and Panchayat Samithis in Uttar Pradesh cover an average population of 72,500 while in Gujarat, Panchayat Samithis cover an average population of 66,000.

NUMBER AND TERRITORIAL
COVERAGE OF PANCHAYAT SAMITHIS IN EACH STATE

STATE	Name of intermediary tier	No. of Taluks Tehsils	No. of delimited Blocks	No. of Panchayat Samithis	Average No. of Village Panchayats per Panchayat Samithi	Average population per each Panchayat Samithi
Maharashtra	Panchayat Samithi	232	425	293	67.4	90,000
Gujarat	Taluk Panchayat	184	224	182	57,8	66,000
Uttar Pradesh	Kshetra Samithi	231	899	854	84.7	72,500

The above table clearly tells about the territorial, Village Panchayat coverage of the Panchayat Samithis slightly varies in the three States.

Methods of Formation:

However, the method of election and the nature of composition of Panchayat Samithi are not the same in all the three States. In the method of election of members and the composition of Panchayat Samithi, the States of

Gujarat and Uttar Pradesh follow the same pattern.[1] In both these states, the Sarpanches of the Village Panchayats, representatives of the cooperative societies chosen in prescribed manner, Chairmen or Presidents of the urban units within the Panchayat Samithi area, local M. L. A. s (in U. P., M. P. s and M. L. C. s both) etc. and the representatives of the reserved or coopted categories such as women, Scheduled Tribes, Schuduled Castes and social workers are represented on the Panchayat Samithi Council. In addition to the above-mentioned, in Gujarat the local members of the District Panchayat and the taluk revenue officers are also included in the Council of Panchayat Samithi.

The constitution in Maharashtra is somewhat different. Directly elected and coopted Zilla Parishad Councillors from within the Panchayat Samithi area, Sarpanches to be elected by the Panchayats to the Zilla Parishad, Chairman of one agricultural cooperative society specified by the State Government and one another to be coopted by the Panchayat Samithi and the representatives of the reserved and coopted categories such of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribus and women constitute the Council of Panchayat Samithi in Maharashtra.

Comparative Position:

It can be noticed that in all the three States, the Council of the Panchayat Samithi have been intended to be as widely representative as possible. But the Council of the Panchayat Samithi in Maharashtra seems to be narrower and restricted than in the other two States. In the State of Maharashtra while the Chairmen of important agricultural cooperative societies have been brought into the Samithi Council, legislators such as MPs, MLAs and MLCs have been kept completely out of it. In Gujarat, only local M. L. A. s have been associated with the Samithi Council while in Uttar Pradesh all the local MPs, MLAs and MLCs have been associated with the Panchayat Samithi Council. Regarding the term of the Panchayat Samithi Council, in Gujarat it is only four years while in the other two States it is five years. However, it is not the time of establishment, unit of formation and the method of formation that are important for our consideration. But it is the powers they exercise, the functions they discharge and their scope for innovative and integrative decisions that would let us know the status of Panchayat Samithis as a decisional unit.

Functions and Powers:

Nevertheless Panchayat Samithis are equipped with many functions, powers

1. Panchayati Raj, A Comparative Study on Legislations, Ministry of Community Development and Cooperation (Department of Community Development), New Delhi, April 1962, Pp. 10, 11, 18 to 20, 30-32.

and responsibilities. And they are not drawn on the same pattern in all the three States. In the assignment of functions and powers to Panchayat Samithis, Gujarat and Uttar Pradesh are almost identical. In Gujarat, Panchayat Samithis have very many functions under the headings of health, education, communications, information diffusion, Panchayat staff training, flood and epidemic relief activities and coordination and collection of statistics. In Uttar Pradesh, Panchayat Samithis do not have activities such as, information diffusion, relief activities and collection of statistics. But they have other rural biased functions such as animal husbandry, cottage industries, veterinary and child-welfare clinics etc. They also have general supervisory powers over Village Panchayats.

The functions and powers that are assigned to Panchayat Samithis in Maharashtra[1] are very few and they can be grouped mainly under two heads, i.e. (1) preparation and administration of the plans of works to be undertaken with block development funds and (2) execute, administer and supervise the works that are delegated to them by the Zilla Parishad. Hence in Maharashtra, Panchayat Samithis have no plans of their own worth observing. But within the scope allowed to them, the Panchayat Samithis can greatly organise themselves as decision-making units but for the facts that their finances are too much tied to specific projects and that their scope for independent taxation is very narrow.

Financial Resources:

Panchayat Samithis in Maharashtra purely depend upon grants from the state Government through the Zilla Parishad. "This grant is tied to the Community Development Schematic budget and Samithi has only a very limited scope for readjustment within the structure of the schematic pattern of expenditure."[2] Panchayat Samithis in Uttar Pradesh, in addition to government loans and grants are entitled for certain fees and tolls etc. Panchayat Samithis in Gujarat, in addition to all the above mentioned sources are entitled for certain percentage of stamp duty and also for the income from its own properties.[3] But presently, in none of these three States, Panchayat Samithis are raising any taxes which have been charted out to them and in all the three States Panchayat Samithis are yet completely depending either upon the grants they are getting from the State Governments or upon the funds they are drawing for specific projects from the Community Development Blocks.

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1. Ibid. P. 19.
2. Report of the Study Team on Panchayat Raj Finances, Part II, Ministry of Community Development and Cooperation, Government of India, 1963, P. 75.
3. Ibid. P. 39.

Hence there is no scope for independent financial allocations. It is only in this context that Panchayat Samithis can only be, plan executing agencies. This is particularly so in the case of Maharashtra. Commenting on the financial powers of Panchayat Samithis in Maharashtra, the Santanam Study Team on Panchayat Raj Finances says "In other words, Samithi does not have any funds of its own or any general purpose grant which it can use as it likes for its own schemes. However, ... it has power to recommend an increase in the rate of cess on land revenue.... Any such increase where levied by Government has to be utilized in the Block."

INTER INTSITUTIONAL RELATIONS
PANCHAYAT SAMITHI

Village Panchayat:

It has already been noted that Panchayat Samithi is the intermediary body of the three tier Panchayat Raj. It covers roughly seventy to ninety thousand population of 90 to 120 nucleus villages constituted into sixty to eighty Village Panchayats. But the Samithi, however, is not intended to be an all powerful overhead organization above the Village Panchayats with powers to direct and supervise the affairs of the Panchayats. In all these three States, the Panchayat Samithi exercises supervisory and coordinating functions over the Panchayats. In addition to these functions Panchayat Samithis in Uttar Pradesh approve the budgets of the village Panchayats. But all these general powers and functions are more or less formalities with little or no discretionary powers left for the Panchayat Samithis. The fact that the Chairman[1] of the Panchayat Samithi, to a greater part, owes his position to the support he derives from the Sarpanches of the Village Panchayats, requires him to be more liberal with the Village Panchayats. Regarding the allocation of the block development funds to the village Panchayats also, Panchayat Samithi has very narrow discretionary powers because the Block funds are generally tied down to specific developmental projects. When the Village Panchayats fulfill the conditions that are attached to those specific projects, the Samithi has got to sanction the money to Village Panchayats unless the funds are limited and the applications are more. Further, as the "Study Team on Panchayat Raj Finance" points out "Samithis are generally obliged to execute their development schemes through village panchayats. This is not only desirable, but also often necessary as Panchayats are called upon to make contribution towards the cost of schemes such as schools

1/In Gujarat, the elected head of the Taluk Panchayat is called President, and in Uttar Pradesh the elected head of the Kshetra Samithi is called Pramukh.

buildings, hospitals, etc." Consequently, the good or bad performance of a Panchayat Samithi would depend upon the dooperation it receives from village panchayats. Regarding taxes and fees leviable, only in Gujarat the Panchayat Samithis are empowered to levy them from Village Panchayats. In Maharashtra and Uttar Pradesh, Panchayat Samithis are not entitled for any share from the revenues of the Village Panchayats. In essence, Panchayat Samithi in all these three States can at best only be an inspiring and encouraging body behind Village Panchayats but not a controlling authority with decision-making powers on behalf of the Village Panchayats. In fact, both in powers, functions, and independence for raising funds through their own resources, Village Panchayats are more effective and autonomous than the Panchayat Samithis.

Panchayat Samithi Vs. Zilla Parishad:

While Panchayat Samithi has little or no control over village panchayats, it is on the other hand greatly controlled by its higher tier organization, i.e. the Zilla Parishad. Zilla Parishad as an institution in all these three states has been left with a good deal of directing and supervising powers over the Panchayat Samithis. Its functions and responsibilities are far more, and in fact in all these three States, it has been entrusted with the obligation of coordinating and integrating the developmental activities of the district. It is also empowered to distribute the funds it receives from the State Government to the Panchayat Samithis. In many spheres such as education and health, Zilla Parishad may ask the Panchayat Samithis to supervise the institutions or activities that are entrusted to it. In the State of Maharashtra, the Panchayat Samithi is an ineffective organization and while working with the Zilla Parishad it is almost an executive agency. This is particularly so in the State of Maharashtra. In Gujarat and Uttar Pradesh, however, Panchayat Samithis have more liberty for action.

Status as a Decisional Unit:

Even though the functions and powers that have been charted out to the Panchayat Samithis give them some scope to develop themselves as decision-making bodies, they are financially crippled down in Maharashtra, and in the States of Gujarat and Uttar Pradesh, Samithis have not yet shown eagerness to impose their own taxes, raise funds from their own sources and conceive their own social and economic developmental projects. Panchayat Samithis as they stand today can at best be merely decision-ciphering or decision executing bodies but not likely to be decisiom-making bodies. The present ineffectivity of Panchayat Samithis as independent and decision-making bodies has been clearly pointed out by 'The Study Team on Panchayat Raj Finances' also. "During the remaining period of the Third Plan, Samithis

will continue to implement the schematic budget as it exists today... They cannot expect to have much scope for initiative..." While recommending more liberty for Panchayat Samithis, the Team says, "...even within the schematic budget, it is desirable to give them the maximum latitude in the choice of items or in fixing priorities of schemes within the broad categories of development expenditure." While recommending more freedom for Panchayat Samithis during the Fourth Plan, the Team says, "...in the implementation of the plan also the limitations imposed on Samithis should be in terms of broad categories like education, health, roads, tetc., and so long as they conform to the national pattern and do not transcend these limitations, they should be given utmost freedom to readjust the Plan in the light of actual experience and the changing needs of the people." These comments are enough to consider that Panchayat Samithis have to attain much more personality and freedom before they can be regarded as real decisional units.

ZILLA PARISHAD

District

The district as andadministrative and political unit, however, stands on a different footing. In socio-economic matters, the interests and forces it represents are not as homogeneous and integrated as that in the village panchayat and it does not represent territorially as compact and small a unit as the Panchayat Samithi does. Its functions and powers also are wider and its economic resources enable it to undertake socio-economic developmental plans on a larger scale. Its historical development as an administrative entity and the evolution of the district headquarters as a clearing house of the district's socio-economic and political life, give it a higher status than that of the village and Panchayat Samithi. So, as a basic political, administrative and revenue unit, the district occupies a significant position in the present-day Indian political set-up.

History:

The district, however, did not have a natural and spontaneous growth. While the territorial devisions and sub-divisions of the pre-British Indian kingdoms were called by various names, peculiar to those political organizations, district as a revenue unit clearly owes its origin to the British revenue policy inaugurated by the first British Governor-General, Warren Hastings. This policy was later zealously consolidated by Cornwallis. The district, thus conceived and brought into being, was primarily a revenue unit and that too for the administrative convenience of the British colonial government.

The highest official appointed in the district for collecting revenues was called Collector. Apart from collecting the revenue, the powers he

wielded under the British Government went on increasing and, by the time Cornwallis became the Governor General, Collector of the district was the mos powerful official in the district. He was in charge of general administration, law and order, treasury, land revenue and civil supplies. He was the directing, supervising, controlling and coordinating officer over other district departmental heads.

On the part of the people, there was little or no participation in the affairs of the district. The participation of people in the local administrative councils of districts, which were established in some of the British Indian Provinces during the vice-regalship of Lord Rippon, were also negligible, and in most of the native Indian Princely States, there was no local self-government body worth mentioning. However, institutions such as Village Panchayat, Taluk Panchayat and District Board with some elected elements on their Councils, and few powers were known to some of the British Indian Provinces like Madras (undivided).

Further, while drawing the territorial boundaries, economic viability of the unit was the prime consideration and no attention was paid to such factors as social, cultural and linguistic homogenity. Condequently, the people in a district in British days were socially, economically and, at times, linquistically as diverse as the people in entire British Indian Provinces were. It was not, for example, uncommon to find in those days Gujarati, Marathi, and Hindi speaking people in one and the same district. Consequently, it was not possible to conceive the district as socially, culturally and economically a cohesive or functional unit. Nonetheless, over a period of two hundred years British rule, the district assumed some importance and stature as an integrated unit and, particularly, the headquarters of the district evolved as symbol of the district's social, cultural and political life. Generally, the district headquarters is an urban centre which accounts for a major portion of the districts urban population. It was here that the rural population of the district first came into contact with the modern urban life and, for the people of the district, the collectorate and the associated paraphernalia of district administration were more concrete aspects of government than the distant State and Central Governments. This naturally and gradually developed a feeling of oneness among the people of the samd district. The organization of political parties, taking the district as a very important local unit and the distribution of political goods at the state level on the basis of district, have further given a distinct status to the district in the local political system.

Reorganization of the District:

The situation has changed considerably after independence. With the adoption of the concept of welfare state, reorganization of Indian States on linguistic basis, and with the introduction of Panchayat Raj institutions,' the social, political and economic complexions of a district have basically changed.

After the formation of linguistic states several States have redrawn the boundaries of the districts or have created new ones keeping in view not only administrative but also socio-economic factors.

The directory and supervisory powers of the collector have been severely pruned and many of the district departmental heads now draw their line of authority straight from the state head -quarters. The executive and judiciary functions which were exercised by the Collector himself in British days have now been entirely separated. Even though the Collector continues to be in some states the district magistrate, his powers are limited to the trial of cases of violation of law and order. He, however, retains powers relating to general administration, treasury, land revenue and civil supplies.

In the field of administration of civil affairs, the district now has undergone a basic change because of the establishment of Panchayat Bodies. As district is the lowest unit of the State and Central government administrations and also because it represents the highest tier of the Panchayat organs, it is here that a need for the smooth welding of the State authority and local self-governing bodies, for the successful implementation of the developmental plans, has been felt. For the administration of the local affairs, a Zilla Panchayat body known as "Zilla Parishad" has been established so as to cover all the non-urban people of the district. The unit of formation of Zilla Parishad in all the States id district. The average number of Panchayat Samithis and Village Panchayats, area in square kilometres and total population covered by Zilla Parishad in each State are as follows:

NUMBER AND COVERAGE OF ZILLA PARISHADS

STATE	No. of Districts	No. of Zilla Parishads	Average No. of Panchayat Samithis per Zilla Parishad	Average No. of Village Panchayats per Panchayat Samithi	District area in square kilometres ranges	Total Population of a district ranges
Gujarat	17	16	16.4	57.8	689 Sq. Kms. to 44,185 Sq. Kms.	71,567 to 2,451,624
Maharashtra	26	25	11.7	67.04	48[illegible] Sq. Kms. to 25,838 Sq. Kms.	634,277 to 4,152,056

Uttar Pradesh	54	51	16.17	84.07	2530 Sq. Kms. to 11,316 Sq. Kms.	122,836 to 2,712, 0
INDIA	321	230	13.17	52.5	482 Sq. Kms. to 39,171 Sq. Kms.	20,453 to 6,280,915

Composition:

In their composition and functions, the Zilla Parishads of Maharashtra are distinctive and look almost like popularly elected government operating at the district level.[1] Their functions and powers are numberous. Further, such legislators as M. L. A. s, M. P. s and M. L. C. s have been altogether excluded from the councils of the Zilla Parishad and it is almost an autonomous self-governing body. Forty to Sixty directly elected councillors (at least one for about 35,000 citizens), chairmen of all Panchayat Samithis and other reserved and coopted representatives of Women, Federal Cooperative Societies, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes comprise the Council of Zilla Parishad in Maharashtra.

On the other hand, Uttar Pradesh and Gujarat stand on equal footing in the composition of their Zilla Parishads. Their Zilla Parishad Councils are closely knit with diverse elected, coopted and reserved elements. In Gujarat, Presidents of all Taluk Panchayats, one member elected by each Taluk Panchayat from among its own members, some directly elected members, local M. L. A. s, M. P. s, Presidents of all municipalities and choopted members of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, etc., form the Zilla Parishad Council. In addition to these categories of councillors, representatives of Cooperative Societies, institutions of Social work and M. L. C. s also are included in the Zilla Parishad Councils of Uttar Pradesh.

So it can be clearly seen that, while the Zilla Parishad Councils of Gujarat and U. P. maintain organic links with both the State and the Central Governments, and the lower tier Panchayat Raj Organs through the M. P. s, M. L. A. s, and M. L. C. s from the Zilla Parishad Councils. Hence, Zilla Parishad in Maharashtra is more immune to the State and Central politics and is related more intimately with the lower-tier Panchayat Organs. But on the whole Zilla Parishad Councils in all the States are intended to be widely representative. On the official side, Collector of the district in Gujarat and

1. Organization of Government in Maharashtra, Indian Institute of Public Administration, Maharashtra Regional Branch, Popular Parkashan, Bombay, 1965, P. 424.

Chief Executive Officer in Maharashtra and Uttar Pradesh may attend the meetings of the Zilla Parishad Council. And compositions of Zilla Parishads in all the States have been patterned on the basis of the functions and powers that have been assigned to them.

Functions and Powers:

The functions and powers that have been assigned to Zilla Parishads are not uniform in all the three States. Zilla Parishads in Maharashtra, as already noted, are very powerful. They have been given many executive functions and scope for independent action. Zilla Parishads in Uttar Pradesh perform mainly advisory functions, but they also exercise supervisory and coordinatory functions over their Panchayat Samithis and Village Panchayats. In Gujarat, Zilla Parishads exercise both advisory and executive functions.

The all powerful Zilla Parishads in Maharashtra have been assigned powers and functions under broad categories of the establishment and management of agricultural schools, distribution of fertilizers, improvement of livestock and veterinary aid, educational development of backward classes, establishment, maintenance and inspection of primary and secondary schools and health institutions, transport, communications and minor irrigation works etc. Particularly, functions assigned to Zilla Parishads in Maharashtra such as Construction and maintenance of light railways, tramways, and telephone lines, promotion of local industries, rural broadcasting, rural housing and maintenance of poor houses etc., show the freedom of action that has been assigned to the Zilla Parishad. In short, the Zilla Parishad in Maharashtra is a miniature state government at the district level and the Community Development Blocks are its executive agencies.[1]

In Uttar Pradesh, however, Zilla Parishad's functions and powers are mainly advisory, such as classification of fairs, festivals, roads and general review, supervision and coordination of the work of Kshetra Samithis and Gaon Panchayats. But Zilla Parishads are also empowered to establish and maintain communications and health and educational institutions. They are also empowered with the distribution of ad hoc grants allotted by government or other bodies.

Zilla Parishads in Gujarat,[2] however, have both executive and advisory functions and, in addition to the advisory and executive functions that the U. P. Zilla Parishads have, they can look after family planning, collection and publication of statistics, management of primary and secondary education, recommending courses of study, selection of text books, etc., also.

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1. Ibid. Op. Cit. P. 424.
2. Government of Gujarat, Legal Department, Gujarat Act. No. VI of 1962, The Gujarat Panchayats Act, 1961, P. 137, 138.

Financial Resources:

The allotment of financial resources to Zilla Parishads in different States is roughly proportionate to the functions and powers assigned to them. Zilla Parishads in Uttar Pradesh have very limited financial resources. Zilla Parishads may be authorized to collect fees, tolls, taxes on circumstances and property and such other taxes authorized by State Government. Loans and grants from the Government are the sources of income of Zilla Parishads in Uttar Pradesh. In addition to these, District Panchayats in Gujarat are also entitled to proceeds from enhancing the rate of stamp duty by 10%, a cess of 20 paise from every rupee of land revenue and also for income from any property vesting in the District Panchayat. Zilla Parishads in Maharashtra have big financial resources. In addition to all the above-mentioned financial resources, they are entitled for a cess on land revenue and on water rate, entertainment tax, pilgrims tax, a special tax on lands or buildings, 50 per cent of the stamp duty, etc.

But in spite of the fact that Zilla Parishads in various States have been assigned varying functions and powers, in all the States they have been given the responsibility of supervising and coordinating the developmental works of the Panchayat Samithis and Village Panchayats and hence they are intended to be the real guiding spirits behind the other Panchayat Organs.

At Zilla Parishad level also, no comprehensive studies have yet been done. But from the data provided by the report of the Study Team on Panchayat Raj Finances for selective Zilla Parishads in Maharashtra, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh, it can be clearly seen that in all these states major portion of the Zilla Parishad's funds are raised through Government grants and loans and the Parishads have not yet shown and inclination toward developing independent resources. But on the expenditure side, almost all the Zilla Parishads have more scope for making independent allocations under various heads than that of the Panchayat Samithis. In fact, this is what primarily makes the Zilla Parishads effective decisional units.

Village, it is true, is homogeneous and integrated and can be an effective decisional unit but as it has already been made clear, Village Panchayats presently are more or less dormant as decision making units. Further, villages may not often, for socio-economic reasons be considered units. For these basic reasons, the selection of a twenty or twenty-five Village Panchayats may at best produce only a set of uncomparable data, due to the diversified socio-economic and religious stresses and strains under which the Panchayats are working.

Panchayat Samithis on the other hand are dependent and they have little scope for independent financial allocations and crucial decison-making. They are subjected for close scrutiny, supervision, coordination and inspection by the Zilla Parishad, whereas in the matter of execution of developmental programmes, they have to depend solely upon the Village Panchayats.

The Zilla Parishad on the other hand stands on a different footing.

Through history, it has been an administrative entity and its capital town stands as a symbol of district's socio-economic and political life.[1] Its political leadership generally comes from a cross-section of district population. Presently, under the new set up, Zilla Parishads not only have a scope for decision-making but also the ability and powers to raise their own funds. Lastly, districts as units are comparable in spite of all their diversities because village level socio-economic and religious diversities are greatly smoothened at the district level and, even if the traditional and religious group pressures continue to operate at the district level, they can be divided into some broad political categories which would be comparable with the situations in other districts.

1. District Administration in India, S.S. Khera, Asia Publishing House, New York, 1964, Pp. 247 to 250.

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A NOTE ON THE INDICATORS IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF BLOCKS IN INDIA

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An attempt is made in this note to suggest criteria for demarcating indicators of economic development from either types of indicators and to make on that basis a list of plausible indicators for Indian blocks in the light of an analysis of data availability. It is true that the specific indicators suggested for India may turn out to be different from those used for other countries. This should not pose difficulties for inter-country comparisons so long as common criteria are employed to finalize the list of indicators for the local communities studied in the different countries.

It seems clear to me that criteria for determining the indicators of economic development have to be arrived at by considering the changes that typically occur in a developing economy at two different time-points, or--what is analytically the same thing -- by analysing the characteristic differences between a developed and an underdeveloped economy at a given point of time. It seems reasonable to believe that economic development involves certain basic changes the core of which would broadly be the same in economies at a comparable level of development. In addition there are resultant changes in respect of which there is not likely to be a one-to-one relationship even in a rough sense between the rate of economic growth and the rate at which these changes occur. I feel that it would be appropriate to select indicators of economic development on the basis of criteria related to the basic changes.

It is customary among economists to use net national income (at factor cost) as a single composite indicator of economic development. If we abstract away from an economy's exchange relations with the rest of the world' national income can be construed both as a productivity and a welfare criterion. On the one hand, it gives us the composite productivity of the resources taken as a whole; on the other, it is a composite indicator of the stream of goods and services available in the community by way of income. The income measure is thus intended to summarise roughly, the productivity of resources in the individual sectors of an economy as also the availability during the same period of the different goods or services, consumable or otherwise. On the basis of this productivity-cum-welfare criterion one could conceive of a number of indicators with different degrees of 'compositeness' culminating in the income per capita and product per unit of resources.

One more point may be made in the current context. It would be generally agreed that the ultimate objective of economic development is to make available an increasingly larger supply of consumable goods and services. It may then be felt that per capita consumption is a more useful index than productivity per unit of resources. However per capita consumption may unduly underestimate the economic performance at a time-point of an economy which is investing a relatively larger proportion of its product in order to build up its productive capacity. There is the additional difficulty of obtaining fairly reliable data on per capita consumption at the block level in India. It is thus more desirable to select indicators on the basis of what has been described earlier as a productivity-cum-welfare criterion. It will however be argued later that per capita availability of certain classes of consumable services may be of significance particularly in a country like India.

Additionally a developing economy is typically one in which techniques of production are changing. It is true that the optimal change in techniques incidental to economic development need not be the same for all countries. The initial factor proportions may be different in the different countries necessitating diverse 'paths' to technical change. All the same there would presumably not be marked differences in the optimal technical improvements for the different parts of a country particularly in the agricultural sector which is vital when we are considering the local communities in India. A host of indicators could be selected on the basis of the criterion of technical change.

Furthermore economic development would ordinarily involve a change in the occupation-distribution of population. It is even argued that there are stages in the economic development of a country in this respect. As a rule an underdeveloped country has a large proportion of its working population in the primary sector. In the next stage the occupational distribution shifts in favour of the secondary sector consisting of manufacturing industry. In the final stage it is the tertiary sector that comes to employ a substantial proportion of the working population. One may not agree that economic development universally entails a relative shift of the working population, from one sector to the other in stages. It is possible that even in the underdeveloped stage a country may have a significantly large tertiary sector consisting mostly of inferior type of services and distributive trades. All the same by and large it seems reasonable to say that the process of economic development should effect a relative shift of the working population from the primary to the non-primary sectors. This should in any case be true of India as that is the most important way of raising the composite productivity of resources.

Finally one may search for workably suitable indicators by using the criterion of demographic differences. Several facts of a demographic nature are likely to differ in the two sets of countries, the developed and the underdeveloped. To mention only a few these would relate to the spatial distribution of population or the level of birth and death rates and so on. I feel however that most of the demographic changes are better described as 'resultant changes' than 'basic changes'.

It would be useful to select suitable indicators on the basis of the criteria outlined above. The most composite measure on the basis of the first criterion is evidently net income per capita. In the case of the blocks in India however this would present both computational and conceptual difficulties. One has to be content with an inferior measure, viz. income from agriculture, but one may be consoled by the fact that the income from agriculture would form an extremely large proportion of income of a block except where a block includes a large urban centre. As data on outturn and prices of the more important crops are likely to be available at the block level, the computation should not present major problems. It would be useful to estimate agricultural income per capita as well as per acre. Probably estimation of income per capita may present some problem as income from all crops and by-products will have to be estimated before it is divided by the block population. In the case of income per acre, however, it should serve our purpose of income from the more important crops accounting for, say, 85 to 90 per cent of the area is estimated and then divided by area under these crops. If computational difficulties are judged to be considerable only the latter indicator may be used. It will be noted that what is being referred to here is not the net, but the gross, income from agriculture. Estimation of net agricultural income is quite difficult even at the level of a State as the data on many types of deductible costs are extremely inadequate. The estimation for a block would be all the more difficult. However, it seems reasonable to expect that even the 'gross' measure should reveal meaningful differences in economic levels.

Since a relatively inferior measure has to be accepted at the level of maximum compositeness it seems advisable to use some indicators of "individual", productivities. Thus we may collect data on the yield per acre of the most important crops of the respective blocks. Then again as the value of average yield of cash crops (such as sugarcane, cotton, fruits and vegetables) has been considerably higher than that of foodgrains at least in India it could be useful to obtain value-productivity per acre of foodgrains and cash-crops. But probably, it would be very difficult to estimate this for the blocks. Under the circumstances, we may make do with an inferior indicator, viz. the ratio between the area under cashcrops and that under foodgrains.

It was argued earlier that per capita consumption may not be a satisfactory index as it would underestimate the achievements of an economy which is building up its productive capacity. In the case of a country like India, however, it would be useful to collect data on a few items of consumption which are customarily included in the category of 'social overheads'. These are housing facilities and medical assistance. Ample data on these for the taluks are obtainable in the Census of India, 1961. As for education, there seems to be no point in including indicators such as 'proportion of literates to total population' or 'students per 1000 population' and so on. These are indicators more of 'resultant changes' than 'basic changes'. However indicators which relate the number of schools or expenditure on education to the size of population or the number of villages could be used as indicators of economic development.

Since the indicators based upon the productivity criterion are mainly limited to economic activities in the agricultural sector it seems logically proper to consider changes in technique in this sector only. That will also be meaningful in a study of local communities in India. A number of indicators could be selected on this basis, such as (i) proportion of irrigated area to total area (b) the extent of double cropping (c) the ratio of iron ploughs to wooden ploughs and so on. Ample data on these are available for the blocks.

The data on occupational distribution of population are obtainable in the Census. In the case of demographic characteristics one possible indicator is the density of population per sq. mile. Prima facie, it seems realistic to say that the more developed a region is the greater is the density of population. However, there is probably no uniform relation between population density and the economic level of a country, which can be used for inter-country comparisons. But considering that mobility is far greater within a country than between countries it is probably true that economic level and population density are correlated for regions within a country.

Another plausible indicator of a demographic character is the degree of urbanization evidenced in the ratio of urban population to total population. In one sense the degree of urbanization should fall under 'resultant changes'. However urbanization is also likely to be a reflection of the relative shift of working population from the primary to the non-primary sectors. In that case this indicator would be worth using.

A tentative list of indicators of economic development of the blocks in India is given in the appendix. It will be noted that data on most of these indicators relating to blocks in Gujarat and Mabarashtra -- and probably U.P. -- have already been collected.

A P P E N D I X

A List of Indicators of Economic Development of the Blocks in India

1. Income from agriculture per capita
2. Income from agriculture per acre
3. Area under cashcrops/Area under foodgrains
4. Yield per acre of the most important (say, two or three) crops in the block.
5. Percentage of households living in pucca houses to total number of households
6. Households with three or more rooms as per cent of total.
7. Households with no regular rooms as per cent of total
8. No. of persons per room
9. Hospital beds per lakh of population
10. Villages with schools as per cent of total number of villages
11. Irrigated area/unirrigated area
12. Net area sown/(Total area -- Net area sown)
13. Iron ploughs/wooden ploughs
14. Number of tractors/Gross cropped are (per 1000 acres)
15. Per cent of workers in the primary sector to total working population
16. Per cent of workers in the industrial sector to total working population.
17. Density of population per sq. mile
18. Per cent of urban population to total population.

PLANS OF ANALYSIS

for the

International Studies of Values in Politics

Technical Memoranda prepared by Allen H. Barton,
Director, Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University

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These plans cover "Phase I" of the analysis, the minimum set of operations which must be carried out on the data of each of the countries. It consists entirely of the analysis of the determinants of community integration (community activeness, integration of the community with nation, and shared values of local leaders). It does not involve analysis on the level of individual respondents; at this stage individual responses are used only in the form of community means and standard deviations.

There are two steps in the analysis:

(1) internal analysis of the variables, and development of purified scales characterizing the 30 communities in each country on both dependent and explanatory variables;

(2) correlation of the explanatory variables with the dependent variables, using appropriate controls.

I. Internal Analysis and Construction of Community Measures

A. Values and personality traits

(1) As soon as the value scale questions are coded and punched for each country, we shall repeat the inter-item analysis as done in the pretest. This will provide the basis for the final set of value scales to be used in the analysis.

(2) Individual data will then be aggregated for each community to provide the following value measures (assuming that the item analysis supports their use):

- Community mean on each value using final national set
- Standard deviation within each community for each value

Conflict resolution value:	mean score	V_1	S.D. V_8
Participation value:	" "	V_2	S.D. V_9
Selflessness value:	" "	V_3	S.D. V_{10}
Local-national value:	" "	V_4	S.D. V_{11}
Economic development value:	" "	V_5	S.D. V_{12}
Equality value:	" "	V_6	S.D. V_{13}
Honesty value:	" "	V_7	S.D. V_{14}

These measures based on national sets will be used in the analysis. For descriptive international comparisons, we will also compute the same measures using only the international sets of items.

To explore the interrelation of values and the possibility of constructing "value types" by combining a few basic value-factors, the following operations should be carried out:

(3) Factor analyze individual responses to all items from the seven value scales plus "change orientation." This also should be done separately for each nation using their national sets, and also for all respondents together using the international sets.

Score individuals on the resulting value-factors.

Compute mean value-factor scores for each community using the national items. Assuming four usable factors, this will give us four more community value scores: V_{15} V_{16} V_{17} V_{18}

(4) Dichotomizing each value-factor score for each individual at the national median will provide us with a "value-typology" of individuals with 16 categories. The distribution of each community's leaders over these categories can then be examined and related to the dependent variables.

Other means of combining particular values into composite indices may be experimented with. All the factor analysis work discussed here will be carried out either at the third or fourth roundtables and results reported back to the national groups.

(5) The same item analysis procedure as used on the value scales will be performed on the two "personality" scales to get purified scales. Individual scores will be assigned, and community means and standard deviations computed uring the national sets of items:

Change orientation:	mean score	V_{19}	S.D. V_{21}
Action propensity:	" "	V_{20}	S.D. V_{22}

B. Community activeness

The indicators of community activeness collected from the 30 sample communities in each country, and preferably from an additional 20 to 70 communities sampled from the same universe, will be subjected to factor analysis. Factor analysis will be done separately for each country. This will produce one or more scales of community activeness for each country, with item weights derived from the factor loadings.

The alternative procedure of inter-item analysis of the four proposed subscales, political participation, individual response to programs, functional activity of the citizens and local government outputs, should also be carried out since it uses the same intercorrelation matrix as the factor analysis. Purified scales can be created with equal weighting of items.

The results of both procedures can be examined and a decision made on the procedure which gives the most appropriate measures for the analysis in relation to explanatory variables.

Assuming that four factors or subscales result, this will give us community variables V_{23} V_{24} V_{25} and V_{26}.

There is no one statistically or theoretically best way to combine several activeness scales if several emerge from this analysis to obtain one overall measure of activeness. The analysis workshop can experiment with alternative procedures. In any case, the analysis of determinants of activeness should be done for each empirically derived scale of activeness.

C. National integration of the local community

This dependent variable will be based on a combination of the following indicators:

(1) Community mean score on local-national value V_4

(2) Leader responses to questions 5a, 6, and 4a in Part IV of the questionnaire:

Q. 5a: Responses to the question on where the leader turns for support which refer to either clearly local or clearly national referents will be added for each respondent and an individual score computed.

$$\text{Score} = \frac{\text{Total national referents}}{\text{Total local + total national}}$$

This gives scores ranging from 0 to 1. The mean score for each community will be computed V_{27}.

Q. 6: The checklist of activities appropriate to national vs. local authorities will be scored in a similar way:

$$\text{Score} = \frac{\text{National responses}}{\text{Total local + national}}$$

This gives scores ranging from 0 to 1; a respondent who checks both local and national automatically gets a score of .5. The mean score for each community will be computed V_{28}.

Q. 4a: This question can be scored directly with a weighted combination of the first and second rank answers:

Score 2 for ranking "nation as whole" first
Score 1 for ranking it second
Score 0 for not ranking either first or second.

The mean community score will be computed. V_{29}

Scores on these three questions will be intercorrelated within each country for the 900 respondents and if there relationships are all

significantly positive, a combined unweighted total score will be computed for each respondent, and the mean taken for each community. V_{30}

If they do not form one combined variable by this test, we can still analyze using each separately.

(3) A subset of community activeness indicators relating to community response to national initiatives or contributions made to the larger society outside the local community.

Each national group, when sending their items on activeness for the factor analysis, should designate such a subset. This subset for each country will be tested for homogeneity using the inter-item analysis procedure, using the inter-correlations which are produced for the factor analysis. The items which pass this item screening will be converted to standard scores and the unweighted mean score computed for each community. V_{31}

(4) Value congruence between local leaders and the expressed values of national leaders based on the content analysis will not be available in time for this preliminary analysis, and will have to be added later. If quantitative measures of value discrepancy become available for each community, they can be quickly added to the analysis.

Community scores on these available measures V_4, V_{30} and V_{31} of local-national integration will be intercorrelated for each country. If they show a significant positive correlation one with another, a summary score of local-national integration of the community will be made by adding standard scores of the three. V_{32}

If any is not significantly related to the others, it can be run as a separate variable against the explanatory variables.

D. Value congruence

The basic measure of value congruence among the local community leaders will be the standard deviation of each value score within each community, Variables V_8 through V_{14}.

An overall unweighted mean of standard deviations on the seven value scales will also be computed for each community as a summary measure. V_{33}

Development of scores for communities based on differences between types of leaders (e. g., elected vs. appointed) must await a later stage when analysis of individual leader values reveals which types are significantly different in the nation as a whole.

/Note on interrelation of the three forms of integration:
The interrelation of the three main dependent variables and their subscales will be run as part of the main bivariate correlation matrix./

E. Economic level

Each national group is stratifying their populations of eligible communities by economic measures appropriate to the country, for purposes of sampling.

For purposes of analysis, it may be desirable to have a wider and more systematically based index of economic level. Therefore, it is recommended that the economic indicators on the sample communities (and preferably an additional 20 to 70) be sent along with the community activeness data, to be factor analyzed for each country. Results of this factor analysis will be sent back to each national group.

The result might be three factor scores of different economic characteristics: V_{34} V_{35} V_{36}

These could be used separately in the analysis. A summary indicator could be developed within each country combining the factor scores, if desired. V_{37}

F. Economic growth

Economic growth data starts with the indicators used for economic level, and uses measures of the increment between the last two censuses (or some equivalent interval), for those on which this data is available. In cases where trend data is not available on the local political unit, that for the next higher level unit can be used. Thus economic level data may be based on the 1960 census, while growth data is the increment from 1950 to 1960.

Economic growth data for the sample communities or a larger number if available will be factor analyzed for each country separately. From this analysis one or more scales of economic growth would be derived for each community. V_{38} V_{39} V_{40}

Results of the factor analysis will be sent back to each country. A summary growth measure could be developed within each community combining the factor scores if desired. V_{41}

G. Political structure

(1) Perceived autonomy V_{42}

Respondents will be scored on the number of areas in which they perceive the local government as lacking authority to act effectively (Part IV, Q. 7). The community mean on this score will be used to characterize the whole community.

(2) Total perceived influence V_{43}

Respondents will be scored as to how much influence they perceive themselves as having in how many areas (Part I, Q. 3) using the weights:

Great influence	2
Some influence	1
No influence	0

Resulting individual influence scores will vary from 0 to 20 since the question asks about 10 areas.

The community mean score will indicate whether the formal leadership group as a whole feels influential. It is related to Tannenbaum's notion of "total power" of a group as distinct from its distribution and may be closely related to perceived autonomy.

(3) Concentration of perceived influence V_{44}

Index: the standard deviation of the individual influences scores within the community

(4) Perceived conflict within community V_{45}

Individuals will be scored on Part II, Q. 2 (how much local conflicts interfere with development of your community) using the scores:

very much	4
much	3
some	2
very little	1

Individual scores will be averaged for the community.

(5) Perceived cleavage within community V_{46}

Individuals will be scored on Part IV, Q. 3 by adding up the eight possible cleavages using the weights:

very much	2
somewhat	1
not at all	0

Individual cleavage scores will range from 0 to 16.

The community score will be the mean individual score.

/Note: If perceived conflict and perceived cleavage are highly correlated, they might form a combined index./

(6) Bases of support of leadership group

Using Part IV, Q. 5a, to whom the leader turns to for support, one can compute for each leader the proportion of all responses which refer to party, to government, to special groups within the community, to the local public generally.

These individual support scores can then be averaged for the community as a whole to characterize the basis of support for the leadership group. Absolute scores for one type of support

compared with another may not be meaningful, but communities can be ranked within the country with respect to each.

V_{47}	party
V_{48}	government
V_{49}	special groups
V_{50}	local public

(7) Turnover of leaders V_{55}

Index: Proportion of present leadership group who occupied their present or any other leadership position in the last four years previously (fall, 1962).

There are two alternative ways of getting the information necessary to compute the turnover index:

(a) Ask an informant, or consult easily available documents, for the names of people occupying the designated set of formal leadership positions as of 4 years before the time of field work.

(b) Use Part V, Q. 12a and 12b in the demographic section of the questionnaire (marked as optional) preferably with the list of designated leadership positions as a reminder, to find out whether each respondent held any of these positions 4 years ago.

(8) Total self-reported activeness of leaders V_{65}

Each leader will be scored on Part I, Q. 2, according to how many of the ten areas listed he is active in.

Individual scores will range from 0 to 10.

The community mean score indicates the overall activity range of its leaders. If all leaders are specialized in a single area, the score will be low; if many of them have a wide range, the score will be high.

H. Leader background characteristics in community

(1) Mean age of leaders V_{52}

(Background Q. 9)

(2) Mean education of leaders V_{53}

(Background Q. 10)

This is easily scored when years of education are obtained (with appropriate conventions as to how many years primary, secondary and higher education normally involve on a full-time basis. For example, in the U. S. secondary education is four years, a bachelor's degree is four years more, a Master's degree one more year and a Ph. D. is officially a three year course of study.)

National equivalents will be worked out depending on the question wording used: the effort should be made to maintain international comparability of the scoring of individuals. This should be worked out by a technical group.

(3) Mean years of residence in community V_{54}

(Background A. 7)

(4) Homogeneity of age of leaders V_{55}

Index: Standard deviation of leader age within community.

(5) Homogeneity of education of leaders V_{56}

Index: Standard deviation of leader education in community.

(6) Intergenerational mobility of leaders V_{57}

Index: Proportion of leaders upward mobile relative to father (compare Background Q. 5 and 6)

Each national group will work out its own measures.

I. <u>Social or demographic characteristics of community</u>

(1) Size of community (total population) V_{58}

(2) Density to population $\frac{\text{population}}{\text{area}}$ V_{59}

Convert to metric units for international comparability.

(3) Population growth (increase between last two censuses) V_{60}

(4) Median age of population V_{61}

(5) Ecological concentration (where applicable) V_{62}

(Proportion of total population living in urban center of local unit)

(6) Percent non-agricultural (except U. S.) V_{63}

(7) Percent urban population (except U. S.) V_{64}

Proportion living in places 2500 and over

II. Explanatory Analysis

A. Two-variable relationships

All the explanatory variables specified above should be correlated with the dependent variables for each country separately. The recommended statistic is the Pearson (product-moment) correlation coefficient. All the community variables listed here are "continuous" rather than dichotomies or ranked categories, even though they are not all ratio scales and distributions may not be normal. Transformations of highly skewed variables can be considered when the distributions are available.

A full correlation matrix of the approximately 70 variables listed above, both dependent and explanatory, can be run for each country if the full set of questionnaire data required is sent from each country. This will permit a first-level analysis not only of the relations between all explanatory variables and all dependent variables including their subscales, but also "intra-set" analyses of the interrelations among all the dependent variables, and the interrelations among all the independent variables. This matrix will provide 2415 correlations, which form a useful "correlation bank" which can be returned to each of the countries and used by them in their analysis work.

B. Multivariate analysis

(1) For each country, the relations between each of the value measures for communities and each of the dependent variables should be run, controlling in turn for a number of explanatory variables. The explanatory variables to be controlled should be those which correlate with both the dependent variables and the value measures significantly. (Since we would be running a set of value measures against a set of dependent variables, we should control any other explanatory variable which correlates with at least one member of both sets. The result will be a lot of "irrelevant" controls for most relationships but it is easier to run the whole set at once.)

The recommended statistic is partial correlation which tells to what extent the relationship between two variables remains when the influence of a third variable on each is controlled.

Important control variables which should be tested include:

economic level
economic growth
perceived local autonomy
size
population growth

It is difficult to specify precise three-variable tabulations in advance since the ones required depend on the bivariate relationships found. If we literally ran everything against everything, controlling for everything in turn, we would have approximately 2415 times 69 partial correlations to examine, an uneconomical procedure.

(2) We should also run other major explanatory variables which correlate with dependent variables on bivariate analyses, holding constant relevant controls.

C. Multiple regression analysis

A procedure for quickly examining the relationships of a large number of possible explanatory variables to a dependent variable is multiple regression analysis. We propose the following multiple regressions be calculated;

(1) Community means on all values as related to each of the activeness measures.

(2) Non-value community indices as related to each of the activeness measures.

(3) All variables related to a given activeness measure in the three-variable tables (partial correlations) as related to that activeness measure.

The multiple regression procedure assigns each item a coefficient (beta weight) which results in the best prediction of the dependent variable by the set of explanatory variables.

III. Some General Problems of Multivariate Analysis

A. Internal analysis

To gain a better idea of the problems which the results of a survey present to the researcher, let us consider that during the inquiry, some 200 different indicators from a total of 30 communities will be gathered. How should one go about comparing such a large number of indicators in order to draw conclusions about the laws governing their relations? This number of variables is much too large to permit a simultaneous analysis. The first step that can be taken is to group similar indicators into a smaller number of more general categories (e.g., common values, personal values, community activities, economic standard, origin and type of leadership, demographic characteristics, etc.).

Now it becomes much easier to work out the various possible connections among these variables. We can now analyze the interdependence of these variables which are of great interest in our study and which we want to explain. They are called "dependent variables" (e.g., community activities, common values and the integration of the community into the larger society). Are they determined by values set by the leaders or by the economic level of the community, by the proportional distribution of sexes in the population or other demographic characteristics? Since each of these variables actually represents a whole group of individual variables (indicators) the question arises which of these individual indicators should be linked together.

The technical possibilities of modern computers are such that a 200 x 200 correlative matrix can easily be produced. But from the viewpoint of scientific analysis which concerns us here this would not be very helpful because there is no point in obtaining 20,000 correlations within a short time as long as we do not know what to do with them.

The reduction of a large number of indicators to a manageable amount (putting various indicators into groups), and the reduction of several indicators within one group to a common one, has to satisfy two conditions:

(a) Before embarking on the survey itself, it is necessary to define the theoretical framework of the project;

(b) After receiving the questionnaires a statistical testing of the indicators is necessary (so-called "internal analysis").

If the internal statistical analysis coincides with the theoretical concept with which we began, we can consider the reduction justified and work with scales of values, personalities, etc., instead of individual indicators. (These scales contain a larger number of individual indicators which are transformed into a common one through a special procedure.) If the internal analysis requires revision of our concepts, the whole theoretical structures should be reexamined.

The internal statistical analysis can be conducted in various ways, each of which is based on certain mathematical assumptions. The assumptions underlying the more complex methods of internal analysis (cluster analysis, factor analysis) often are not met by survey data. The application of the factor analysis to the results of a typical survey, which usually does not meet the requirmenets of metric scales with a normal distribution - since they are in general of a qualitative nature - often simply dichotomies (e.g., blue and white collar workers, democrats and republicans) tend to be somewhat arbitrary and thus must not be regarded as scientifically accurate, but merely indicative of a possible trend (the so-called "heuristic" usage of factor analysis).

A procedure based on correlation of ordinal variables (which classify people into several rank-ordered groups) is more advantageous for survey statistics. Even formally unordered (nominal) classifications can often be turned into ranked classes (e.g., religious groups can be ranked according to the social prestige which they command in their country). In this case the correlation expresses the degree of agreement between the ranking of each case on two different questions.

/R.H. Somers explains this new technique, which is better than "Chi-square" in the American Sociological Review, Vol. 27 (December, 1962), p. 799. We should experiment with ways of doing "cluster analysis" based on these non-parameter measures of association./

B. Explanatory analysis

Once the "internal" analysis has been completed which reduced the indicators in each group, then the time has come for the analysis of the relationships among the main variables under investigation.

On this level of statistical analysis the method of factor analysis is unsuitable. The factor analysis, for instance, is unable to take into account the time sequence of phenomena. Also, this method of analysis does not permit to go beyond establishing the connections of pairs of variables, whereas it is known that causal connections are more complex; they are often valid under certain conditions and not valid under others. Consequently, even if the statistical preconditions of factor analysis could be met, it would be inadequate as an empirical basis for causal analysis.

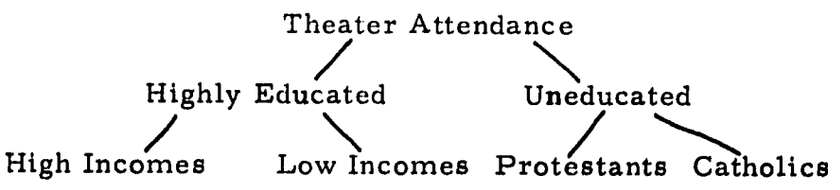
There is another statistical method, more adequate for this purpose than factor analysis, although it has certain limitations as well. It is the so-called "multiple regression" which allows to observe the simultaneous effect of several independent variables, starting with the most dominant. If "D" denotes the dependent variable and X_1, X_2, $X_3 \ldots X_y$ the independent variables, then the equation of multiple regression would read as follows:

$$D = \text{beta}_1 X_1 + \text{beta}_2 X_2 + \text{beta}_3 X_3 \ldots$$

This analysis does not require much time if one uses statistical machines, but it also has its limitations. Its basic theoretical limitation is that it assumes simple additive linear relations of independent variables, and does not also say anything about their possible interactions. If we examine, for instance, the influence of education and income on theater attendance, then multiple regression will tell us which of the two factors is more important (e.g., education), but we will not know how the less important factor affects the relation between the dominant factor and the dependent variable (e.g., how the level of income influences the relation of education and theater attendance).

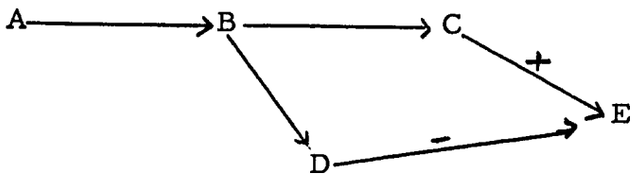
/Morgan applied multiple regression to the results of a survey in his book Income and Welfare in the USA, published by the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor./

The three analyses (named after the logical tree which establishes a hierarchy according to the degree of universality) represents a step forward. It was developed at the Institute for Social Research in Ann Arbor, Michigan, and is also called "automatic interaction detector." It consists of a great number of successive differentiations. Let us use a hypothetical example of factors influencing theater attendance. This is how the "tree" could look:



This shows, first of all, that highly educated people go to the theater more frequently than less educated ones. Furthermore, that among the highly educated those with high incomes go to the theater more frequently than those with lower incomes; among the less educated the most important difference is along religious lines: Protestants tend to go to the theater more often than Catholics. This analytical method is still new and there are some difficult technical problems.

Another shortcoming is that the interaction "detector" does not consider time-orders which produce chains and networks of causal relations, e.g., the following one:



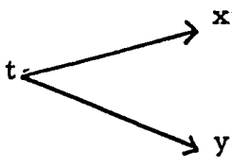
For analysis of chains of relationships the technique of "path analysis" is most relevant; with certain simplifying assumptions it permits an assessment of the strength of various causal links in a chain. (See Otis Dudley Duncan, "Path Analysis: Sociological Examples," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 72, July, 1966, pp. 1-16.) Another approach to analysis of networks of causal relationships requires data from a panel of cases on which measurements are taken at two or more points in time; this is the method of "cross-lagged correlations." (See D. C. Pelz and F. M. Andrews, "Detecting Causal Priorities in Panel Study Data," American Sociological Review, Vol. 29, December, 1965, pp. 836-848.)

As can be seen, it is difficult to find a procedure which would give to causal analysis precision and empirical basis in every one of its many aspects.

The older literature on survey analysis deals with only three variables at a time. The reasoning on which the three-variable analysis is based can be summarized as follows: If we determine that there is a correlation between a certain independent variable "x" and the dependent variable "y" (the so-called "initial correlation") then we can introduce a third factor "t" (from "test") into the analysis in order to test the initial correlation, i.e., to clearly define its meaning. Thus we obtain "partial" correlations which may differ widely from the primary one. Sometimes the original relationship may disappear in the partials when the test factor is controlled.

$$xy\,(t^{+}) = 0 \qquad\qquad xy\,(t^{-}) = 0$$

In this case we have to examine the sequence of time and if "t" precedes "x" and "y", we may conclude that the initial correlation between "x" and "y" was spurious since it was based on the fact that "t" caused forth both "x" and "y".



However, if "x" precedes "t" and "t", "y", then we can talk of a "chain" in which "t" is the middle link. Hence "x" does not influence "y" directly, but through the intermediary "t".

$$x \text{ ———— } (t) \text{ ———— } y$$

Apart from the possibility that the initial correlation disappears in partial ones, it can also be high in one and low in the other, or even of opposite sign.

$$xy \ (t^+) \qquad\qquad xy \ (t^-)$$

This can happen for two reasons: either the initial combination is <u>conditioned</u>, and then the correlation is valid under one condition and not valid under another:

$$(t^+) \quad x \text{ ———— } y \qquad\qquad (t^-) \quad x \text{ does not lead to } y$$

or there exists a "contingency" such that x leads to y only if "t" occurs in between.

$$\overset{\text{if } t^+}{x \text{ ———— } y} \qquad\qquad \overset{\text{if } t^-}{x \text{ does not lead to } y}$$

The major strategic problem of multivariate analysis is the choice of how to locate relevant test variables. Obviously, the "spurious" and the "intervening" test variables must be correlated with both our independent variable "x" and our dependent variable "y". This means that if we examine the correlative matrix of variable pairs, before we start with the multivariate analysis, and we need consider only those test variables which show strong positive correlations with both x and y. However, this criterion may be insufficient, will not locate all the <u>conditional</u> or <u>contingency</u> test variables, which need not be correlated with the x and y variable. For instance, a variable might not be independently correlated with "x" and "y", but still might condition their correlation. This occurs, but not frequently enough to make worthwhile the introduction of all possible third variables into the multivariate analysis when we have no theoretical basis for expecting such an effect.

An equation expressing the basic scheme of multivariant analysis looks like this:

$$r_{xy} = r_{xt} \cdot r_{ty} + r_{xy}(t^+) + r_{xy}(t^-)$$

More details about the procedure of multivariate analysis are contained in Lazarsfeld and Rosenberg's <u>The Language of Social Research</u>, and in Blalock's <u>Causal Inferences in Nonexperimental Research</u>.

Appendix D

SELECTED INVENTORY OF DOCUMENTS AND DATA*

A. Documents Prepared by the Cooperating Centers

INDIA

IND /1 Minutes of the first organization meeting and planning conference: Indian and U.S. staff and consultants (Poona, January 1965)

IND /2 Analysis of response to pilot questionnaire (Singh, Kanpur; April 1965)

IND /3 "Social Change, Political Integration and the Value Process" : draft working paper on research design (New Delhi; June 1965)

IND /4 Preliminary Report on Case Histories of Leadership Decision (Sheth, New Delhi; June 1965)

IND /5 Note on the Workability of Questions (Sheth, New Delhi; June 1965)

IND /6 Tables on Indian Pilot Questionniaire (New Delhi; June 1965)

IND /7 Preliminary Inventory of Literature and Data on Values in Politics in India (Nandy; New Delhi; June 1965)

IND /8 Observations on the project on Social Values and Political Responsibility (Singh; Kanpur; April 1965)

IND /8a Pretest Results of the Value and Ideal Place Schedules. (Singh;Kanpur; June 1965)

IND /9 Notes on Methodological Problems of the Research Scheme (Sirsikar; Poona; June 1965)

IND /10 Tabulated Results of Preliminary Interviews of Twenty-five Leaders (Sirsikar; Poona; June 1965)

IND /11 Sources of Data for the 'Value Project,' a preliminary inventory (Chandhoke; New Delhi; June 1965)

IND /12 Progress Report from Cooperating Centers on Social Values and Political Behavior (February 1, 1965 to June 15, 1965)

IND /13 Report of Indian Project Directors and Consultants (August 12, 1965)

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* The documents listed here are also available by topical classification.

IND /14 The Soci o-Economic Characteristics of the Different Districts of Maharashtra State (Chitnis; Poona; November 1965)

IND /15 Retranslated English Version of the Marathi Questionnaire (Sirsikar;Poona; September 1965)

IND /16 Report of Indian Project Directors and Consultants (New Delhi;April 23-24, 1965)

IND /17 Data on Indicators of Socio-Economic Development of 97 Districts in India (Sheth and Lakshman; New Delhi; December 1965)

IND /18 Report of Indian Project Directors and Consultants.(Kanpur, October 13-15, 1965)

IND /19 Socio-psychological Dimensions of Political Responsibility (Kanpur; November 1965)

IND /20 Districts of Maharashtra: Patterns of Development (Sirsikar, Chitnis, Teune; Poona; November 1965)

IND /21 Report of Indian Project Directors and Consultants (New Delhi, November 22-24, 1965)

IND /22 A Note on the Workability of Card-Sorting Method (Vajpeyi; New Delhi; 1965)

IND /23 A Note on the Workability of the Questionnaire (Vajpeyi; New Delhi; November 1965)

IND /24 Comments on Coding of Value Questionnaire (Chandidas; New Delhi; November 1965)

IND /25 Proposed Amendment to the Research Design: Units of Observation (Sheth, Teune; New Delhi, November 1965)

IND /26 Proposed Program of Work on Content Analysis in India (Nandy, Sheth, Teune; New Delhi, November 1965)

IND /27 Political Development and Democratic Decentralization (Sirsikar; Poona; December 1965)

IND /28 Politics in Maharasthra: Problems and Prospects (Sirsikar)

IND /29 Values and Indian Political Parties (Sirsikar)

IND /30 Some Problems for the Second International Roundtable (Singh; Kanpur; January 1966)

IND /31 Some Socio-Psychological Dimensions of Political Responsibility (Singh, Ashraf, Teune; Kanpur; December 1965)

IND/32 Political Responsibility and Integration (Ashraf; Kanpur)

IND/33 A Note on Problems in Collecting Aggregative Data (Singh and Tripathi; Kanpur)

IND/34 Problems of Interviewing in Rural Communities (Singh; Kanpur)

IND/35 Selection of Units and Leaders for Study (Tripathi; Kanpur)

IND/36 Completed Tasks; Choice of Communities; General Suggestions (Poona)

IND/37 A Plan for Intensive Study of Village Community (Poona)

IND/38 Comments on the Questionnaire and Interview Experience (Poona)

IND/39 Community Decisions (Poona)

IND/39a Decision Census on Panchayat Raj in two communities (Bikaner and Nazaur) of Rajasthan (Sharma, New Delhi; January 1966)

IND/40 Analysis of the Problems and Decisions Questionnaire (Poona)

IND/41 Note on Inventory of Literature and Data on Values in Politics in India (Nandy; New Delhi)

IND/42 Tables on Leadership Survey Pretest Questionnaire (Vajpeyi and Chandidas, New Delhi; January 1966)

IND/43 Census Information Available at the Taluk Level (New Delhi; January 1966)

IND/44 Information Available at the District Level (New Delhi; January 1966)

IND/45 Report of the Indian Project Directors and Consultants (New Delhi; February 25-27, 1966)

IND/46 Report of the First Session of the Indian Advisory Committee (March 26, 1966)

IND/47 Report of the Indian Project Directors and Consultants (New Delhi; March 26-27, 1966)

IND/48 Code Sheets and Coding Notes on Pretest III, Part I (Chandidas; New Delhi)

IND/49 Pretest III Interview Experience (Poona)

IND/50 Code Sheets and Coding Notes on Pretest III, Part I (Chandidas; New Delhi)

IND/51 Pretest III Interview Experience (Vajpeyi and Sharma; New Delhi; March 23, 1966)

IND/52 Code Sheets and Coding Notes on Pretest III, Part I (Kanpur)

IND /53 Pretest III Interview Experience (Singh and Ashraf; Kanpur)

IND /54 Regional Disparities in the Level of Development in India: Methodological Paper prepared by the Indian Statistical Institute (Pal and Subramaniam; New Delhi)

IND /55 Indicators of Socio-Economic Development at Bloc Level for Three Districts of Gujarat

IND /56 Indicators of Community Activeness (Poona)

IND /57 A Note on Indicators of Activeness/Output (Kanpur

IND /58 Political Responsibility: an approach for its measurement (Singh;Kanpur)

IND /59 Decision-making in a Panchayat Samati (Poona)

IND /60 Some Problems of Rural Maharashtra (Poona)

IND /61 Reconsideration of Selection of Units in India (Sheth;New Delhi;April 1966)

IND /62 Description of Local Self-Government System in Gujarat, Maharashtra and Uttar Pradesh (Lakshman)

IND /63 Implementation of Selection of Units in Gujarat (preliminary draft; Sheth; New Delhi)

IND /64 Pretest III Non-value and Open-end Value Questionnaire (Spring, 1966)

IND /65 Indicators of Community Activeness: Some Findings (Kanpur; May 1966)

IND /66 Pretest III non-value Questionnaire, Interview Experience (Attarde; Poona; June 1966)

IND /67 Selection of Districts in Maharashtra (Nadkarni; Poona; June 1966)

IND /68 Ranking of Districts by Indicators--Economic and Non-Economic

IND /69 The Value Questionnaire: Some Comments (Nadkarni; Poona)

IND /70 Some Comments on the Conceptual Design (Sirsikar; Poona)

IND /71 Case Study of Decisions in an Active Community (Poona; May 1966)

IND /72 On Values to be Tested (Chitnis; Poona; May 1966)

IND /73 Cultural and Personal Values in Indian Politics: A Review (Nandy; New Delhi; May 1966)

IND /74 Selection of Districts in Gujarat (Lakshman; New Delhi; May 1966)

IND /75 Ranking of Taluks in Selected Districts of Gujarat: Baroda, Junagarth and Banaskantha (Lakshman; New Delhi; May 1966)

IND /76 Coding of Pretest III Questionnaire, Part II (Chandidas; New Delhi; June 1966)

IND /77 Suggestions for the Selection of Units in India (Wiatr; New Delhi; February 1966)

IND /78 Case Study of Decisions in an Inactive Community (Attarde; Poona; July 1966)

IND /79 Report of Indian Project Directors and Consultants (Poona; August 26-28, 1966)

IND /80 Tabulation of the Non-Value Questionnaire, Pretest III, Part II (Poona; May 1966)

IND /81 Gujarati Translation of the Survey Questionnaire (for officials) (New Delhi; September 1966)

IND /82 Gujarati Translation of the Survey Questionnaire (for leaders) (New Delhi; September 1966)

IND /83 Marathi Translation of the Survey Questionnaire (for officials) (Poona; September 1966)

IND /84 Marathi Translation of the Survey Questionnaire (for leaders) (Poona; September 1966)

IND /85 Hindi Translation of the Survey Questionnaire (for officials) (Kanpur; September 1966)

IND /86 Hindi Translation of the Survey Questionnaire (for leaders) (Kanpur; September 1966)

IND /87 A Pilot Scheme for the Study of Social Values, Political Responsibility and Community Activeness: Proposal to the Research Programmes Committee (Singh; Kanpur; November 1966)

IND /88 Field Experience (Poona; October 1966)

IND /89 Unit Data for Activism: Schedule (New Delhi; November 1966)

IND /90 A Note on the Indicators of Economic Development of Blocks in India (Nadkarni)

IND /91 Report on Case Studies in Gujarat (Chaturvedi; New Delhi)

IND /92 Code: Gujarat Economic Data

IND /93 Notes for Interviewer Instructions and Translators (Poona; September 1966)

IND /94 Indicators of Economic Development for Maharashtra (23 variables, Census of India, 1961)

IND /95 Indicators of Economic Development for Gujarat and Maharashtra (10 variables plus 3 for Gujarat only)

IND /96 Economic Development Data for U. P. (20 variables for 10 blocks) (Kanpur; May 1967)

IND /97 Factor Scores and Pattern of Values in Indian Communities (Ashraf; May 1967)

IND /98 Value Code--India

IND /99 Closed Ended Questions: Code and Notes

IND /100 A Study of Leadership in Panchayati Raj--a Case St udy in Maharashtra (Sirsikar; March 1967)

IND /101 Indicators of Activeness: 36 variable correlation matrix based on 30 communities (Singh, 10 November '1966)

IND /102 Coded responses of 20 individuals to the non-value open-ended questions (Poona; 14 February 1967)

IND/103 Political Responsibility Questions for India: final draft

IND /104 Values of Local Political Leaders in Indian Communities (Singh)

IND /105 Responses of Respondents to Open-Ended Questions: English translations of 20 schedules (Poona; May 1967)

IND /106 Cards 3 and 4: Some Preliminary Observations on Computer Results (Nadkarni)

IND /107 A Study of the Decisional Case in the Karveer Panchayat Samiti, Kolhapur District (Attarde)

IND /108 Decisional Case Studies in Gujarat (Chaturvedi, May 1967)

IND /109 Report on the Data Unit at the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (Ramashray Roy; New Delhi, May 1967)

IND /110 Code: Indian Activeness Data (26 variables)

IND /111 Correlation and Factor Analysis of Activeness Data: 19 variables for 30 communities, missing data inserted (July 1967)

IND /112 Activeness Factor Scores, 4 per 3e communities (July 1967)

IND /113 Correlation and Factor Analysis of Economic Data: 15 variables for 30 communities with missing data (29 June 1967)

IND /114 Code: Indian Economic Data, 15 variables (29 June 1967)

IND /115 Correlation and Factor Analysis of Economic Data: 13 variables for 30 communities (5 July 1967)

IND /116 Three Economic Level Scores for each of 30 communities (19 July 1967)

IND /116a Code of Variables used in 3 economic level scores

IND /117 Correlation and Factor Analysis of final 10 economic variables plus 3 composites (20 July 1967)

IND /118 Computations and Code for background variables to be included in community file, card 17 (20 July 1967)

IND /119 Indian Community File: printout (21 July 1967)

IND/119a Indian Community File: printout (26 Sept 1967)

IND/120 Bivariate Analysis of Indian Community File (24 July 1967)

IND/120a Bivariate Analysis of Indian Community File:scale score and open-end revisions (12 Sept 1967)

IND/120b Bivariate Analysis of Indian Community File: factor score revisions (28 Sept 1967)

IND/121 Index: Indian Bivariate Analyses

IND/122 Regression Analysis of Indian Community File; Activeness I dependent 39 variables (5 Aug 1967)

IND/122a Regression Analysis of Indian Community File: Activeness III dependent, 39 variables (11 Aug 1967)

IND/122b Regression Analysis of Indian Community File: Activeness III dependent, 39 variables (5 Aug 1967)

IND/122c Regression Analysis of Indian Community File: Activeness IV dependent, 39 variables (5 Aug 1967)

IND/122d Regression Analysis of Indian Community File: Activeness I dependent, 40 variables (7 Aug 1967)

IND/122e Regression Analysis of Indian Community File; Activeness II dependent, 40 variables (11 Aug 1967)

IND/122f Regression Analysis of Indian Community File: Activeness III dependent, 24 variables (8 Aug 1967)

IND/122g Regression Analysis of Indian Community File: Activeness IV dependent, 35 variables (7 Aug 1967)

IND/122h Regression Analysis of Indian Community File: Activeness I dependent, 36 variables (11 Aug 1967)

IND/122i Regression Analysis of Indian Community File: Activeness II dependent, 39 variables (Aug 1967)

IND/122j Regression Analysis of Indian Community File: Activeness III dependent, 19 variables (11 Aug 1967)

IND/122k Regression Analysis of Indian Community File: Activeness IV dependent, 31 variables (11 Aug 1967)

IND/122l Regression Analysis of Indian Community File: Activeness I dependent, 30 variables (Aug 1967)

IND/123 Index to 13 Indian Regression Analyses

IND/124 First Order Partial Correlations: 80 variables (31 Aug 1967)

IND/125 Second Order Partial Correlations: 80 variables (11 Sept 1967)

IND/126 Index for variables included in Partial Correlation matrices

IND/127a Regression Analysis of Indian Community File: Activeness I dependent, 39 variables (27 Sept 1967)

IND/127b Regression Analysis of Indian Community File: Activeness II dependent, 39 variables (27 Sept 1967)

IND/127c Regression Analysis of Indian Community File: Activeness III dependent, 39 variables (27 Sept 1967)

IND/127d Regression Analysis of Indian Community File: Activeness IV dependent, 39 variables (27 Sept 1967)

IND/127e Regression Analysis of Indian Community File: Activeness I dependent, 40 variables (28 Sept 1967)

IND/127f Regression Analysis of Indian Community File: Activeness II dependent, 40 variables (28 Aug 1967)

IND/127g Regression Analysis of Indian Community File: Activeness III dependent, 23 variables (28 Aug 1967)

IND/127 h Regression Analysis of Indian Community File: Activeness IV dependent, 35 variables (28 Aug 1967)

IND/127i Regression Analysis of Indian Community File: Activeness I dependent, 36 variables (28 Aug 1967)

IND/127j Regression Analysis of Indian Community File: Activeness II dependent, 39 variables (28 Aug 1967)

IND/127k Regression Analysis of Indian Community File: Activeness III dependent, 18 variables (28 Aug 1967)

IND/127l Regression Analysis of Indian Community File: Activeness IV dependent, 31 (28 Aug 19 67)

IND/127m Regression Analysis of Indian Community File: Activeness I dependent, 22 variables (27 Aug 1967)

IND/127n Regression Analysis of Indian Community File: Activeness I dependent, 26 variables (27 Aug 1967)

IND/ 127o Regression Analysis of Indian Community File: Activeness II dependent, 31 variables (27 Aug 1967)

IND/127p Regression=Analysis of Indian Community File: Activeness II dependent, 36 variables (27 Aug 1967)

IND/128 Final Survey: value scale cards 1 & 2, printout, 954 respondents

IND/128b Final Survey: background data cards 5 & 6, printout, 946 respondents

IND/128c Final Survey: open-end responses, cards 71-76, printout, 950 respondents

IND/129 Tabulation final survey open-end responses: national frequency count, all original categories, cards 71-76 (17 July 1967)

IND/129a Taublation of final survey open-end responses: national frequency count, all original categories, cards 71-76 -- corrected deck (10 October 1967)

IND/130 Tabulation of final survey open-end responses: frequency count by block for all original categories (original / uncorrected deck), cards 71, 73, 74, 76 (20 July 1967)

IND/130a Tabulation of final survey open-end reaponses: frequency count by block for all original categories, cards 71-76 -- corrected deck (10 October 1967)

IND/131 Tabulation of final survey open-end responses: national frequency count and percent response, collapsed categories, cards 71, 73, 74, 76 -- corrected deck (10 October 1967)

IND/132 Tabulation of final survey open-end responses: frequency counts and percent responses by block collapsed categories, cards 71, 73, 74, 76 -- corrected deck (11 September 1967)

UNITED STATES

USA /1 Values and their Function in Decision Making, American Behavioral Scientist Supplement,(Jacob and Flink, May 1962)

USA /2 The Interaction of Social Values and Local Political Responsibility, (Proposal to the International Social Science Council, April 1963; Revised April 1964)

USA /3 Social Values Relevant to Public Policy: Proposal to the Department of State, Division of Cultural Affairs for a Pilot Interdisciplinary Study in India (April 1963).

USA /4 The Interaction of Social Values and Political Responsibility. Proposal to U.S. AID, May 1964.

USA /5 Report of U.S. Advisory Committee, Philadelphia. (November 1964)

USA /6 Assessment of Values (Scott; Janyary 1965)

USA /7 Values, Decisions and Community Integration (Scott; January 1965)

USA /8 Selection of Units for Study (Teune; January 1965)

USA /9 U.S. - India Pilot Questionnaire on Values (revised by American collaborators; January 1965; April 1965)

USA /10 Interim Report on the Program in India to U.S. AID and the Department of State, Division of Cultural Affairs, Jacob. (January 1965)

USA /11 Analysis of Pilot Questionnaire (Teune; April 1965)

USA /12 Objects of Analysis (May 1965)

USA /13 Correlational Analysis of Responses to Pilot Questionnaire (Scott; May 1965)

USA /14 Inventory of American materials on local decision-making (Watts; May 1965)

USA /15 Criteria and Problems in Selecting Items (Teune; May 1965)

USA /16 Work Schedule for First Period (May 1965)

USA /17 TRIAL: A Computer Retrieval Program (Janda; May 1965)

USA/18 Measuring the Values of Individuals (Barton; 1961 Reprint)

USA/19 Value Measurement and the Analysis of Behavior (Barton; May 1965)

USA/20 Selection and Sampling of Decisional Units and Respondents (Teune; May 1965)

USA/21 Identification of Motives in Political Behavior (Winter; May 1965)

USA/22 The Assessment of Integration (Teune; May 1965)

USA/23 Identification of Decision (Milbrath; May 1965)

USA/24 Role of Values in the Interview Schedule (Milbrath; May 1965)

USA/25 Documentary Analysis (Jacob; May 1965)

USA/26 Scope of the Studies (Jacob; May 1965)

USA/27 Analysis of Pilot Questionnaire from U.S. (Scott and Teune; June 1965)

USA/28 Appendix to Pilot Questionnaire (Scott and Teune; June 1965)

USA/29 Preliminary Analysis of Open-Ended Questions (Teune; June 1965)

USA/29a Analysis of Responses (Scott and Teune, June 1965)

USA/30 The Inference of Psychological States from Content Analysis (Feldman and Teune; September 1965)

USA/31 Prolegomena to the Study of Values in Political Communities (Feldman, Flink and Jacob; September 1965)

USA/32 Relevance of Content Analysis to the International Studies of Values in Politics (Flink; October 1965)

USA/33 A Cross-Cultural Research Project to Test Communications Content Analysis as a Method to Identify and Measure the Influence of Values in Decision Making: A Proposal to the National Science Foundation (October 1965)

USA/34 Problem, Approach, Anticipated Results: Summary Statement of Project. (Teune; October 1965)

USA/35 Leadership Survey Pre-Test Schedule (including Appendis A; An Imagination Exercise, adaptation of the McClelland Achievement Test; Revised November 1965)

USA/36 Organization of the Content Analysis Phase of the Project (Jacob; September 1965)

USA/37 Field Memo on Roundtable Schedule and Exchange of Scholars Program (B.M. Jacob; September 1965)

USA/38 A. Organization of Administrative Procedures
B. Distribution of Materials to ISSC
C. Prolegomena to the Study of Values in Political Communities
D. Revised Schedulesfor Content Analysis Study
(B.M. Jacob; September 1965)

USA/39 Remarks by Mr. Deva Raj of the Ministry of Health of the Government of India on the First International Roundtable Report (October 1965)

USA/40 Work Report on the Selection of the U.S. Community Sample and of Socio-Economic Development Indicators: Aggregative Data Approach (Liechty; October 1965)

USA/41 Suggestions for Roundtable Agenda (Jacob; December 1965)

USA/42 Critical Evaluation of Hypotheses and Definitions of Variables (Flink; December 1965)

USA/43 Research Problem on the Assessment of Political Integration (Liechty; June 1965)

USA/44 Content Analysis, Political Research and Psycholinguistics: A Survey (Part I - Steven Hoffman; January 1966)

USA/45 Content Analysis, Political Research and Psycholinguistics: A Survey (Part II - Shel Feldman; January 1966)

USA/46 Notes on U.S. Experiences with the Values Questionnaire (Hunt; January 1966)

USA/47 American Experiences with the Pre-test of the Problems and Decisions Section of the Questionnaire (Wehr and Hunt; December 1965)

USA/48 Development of an Integration Index Measuring Community Response to National Goals (Liechty; December 1965)

USA/50 The Structure of an Algorithm for Identifying Values expressed in Written Text (Krippendorff)

USA/51 Results of Analysis of 13 Economic Indicators on American Municipalities.

USA /52 Memo on Pre-Test Questionnaire; American additions to the value questionnaire (Teune; March 1966)

USA /53 Memo on the Selection of Units in India (Teune; March 1966)

USA /54 Value and Environmental Influences on Local Community Activity: Proposal for the Study of American Municipalities to the National Science Foundation (April 1966)

USA /55 Interim Report to U.S. AID Science Director (Jacob; April 1966; Revised June 1966)

USA /56 Advantages and Problems of International Collaboration in Social Science Research (Teune; May 1966)

USA /57 Inventory and Abstracts of Value Questionnaires (Nye; May 1966)

USA /58 Pretest III Questionnaire (Part I, closed-ended value questions)

USA /59 Pretest III Questionnaire (Part II, non-value and value open-ended questions)

USA /60 Explaining Municipal Activeness (Teune; May 1966)

USA /61 A Factor Analysis of Characteristics of American Cities: An Examination of Hadden and Borgatta, American Cities (Teune; June 1966)

USA /62 Information Retrieval: A Proposal (Janda; June 1966)

USA /63 Sense of Obligation - Trust Scale: Scalability of a Dimension of Political Responsibility (Teune and Watts; June 1966)

USA /64 Code; Pretest III Questionnaire, Part II

USA /65 Interview Experience: Pretest III Questionnaire, Part II (Hunt; May 1966)

USA /66 Case Study: Greater Chester Movement (Hunt; May 1966)

USA /67 Instructions for Recording Text with Value Implications (Krippendorff; June 1966)

USA /68 A Preliminary Inquiry into the Expression of Values in Political Documents. (Krippendorff; September 1966)

USA /69 Progress Report to AID Science Director (Jacob; September 15, 1966)

USA/69A Progress Report to AID Science Director (Jacob, Revised; 7 November 1966)

USA/70 A Preliminary Analysis of Political Responsibility in the U.S. (Teune and Watts; December 1966).

USA/71 Progress Report on Value Content Analysis of National Leadership: U.S. and India (Jacob, 15 December 1966)

USA/71A Identification and Classification of Value references in selected statements by Indian and U.S. national leaders: code sheets and tabluations (December 1966)

USA/72 Instructions for Recording Value-Laden Statements.

USA/73 Specifications for U.S. Leadership Survey.

USA/74 U.S. Field Version of the Final Questionnaire.

USA/75 Guide for Collecting U.S. Aggregative Data.

USA/76 Specification for Community Study (National Opinion Research Center, University of Chicago, Survey 505).

USA/77a Interview Schedule for Panel of Community Leaders (NORC 505).

USA/77b Interview Schedule for Mayor (NORC 505).

USA/77c Interview Schedule for Urban Renewal Director (NORC 505).

USA/77d Interview Schedule for Health Commissioner (NORC 505).

USA/77e Interview Sehedule for Party Chairman (NORC 505).

USA/77f Interview Schedule for Banker (NORC 505).

USA/77g Interview Schedule for Hospital Facilities (NORC 505).

USA/78 A Computer Program for Assessing Agreements among many Judges when data are nominal-scale-recorded (Krippendorff, February 1967).

USA/79 Indicators of Economic Level (76 variables for 681 cities).

USA/80 Correlation matrix (76 variables); and Matrix reduction (to 17 variables).

USA/81 Economic level scores (for 281 cities stratified by size and economic level scores).

USA /81a Economic level scores for 30 community random sample.

USA /82 Measuring Characteristics fo Complex Social Aggregates. (Teune'

USA /83 Community Values, Decision-Making, and Outputs: Configurations of Inactiveness (Clark and Wagner; April 1967)

USA /84 Community Values, Decision-Making, and Outputs Configurations of Activeness, 9two articles by D'Antonia and Lengermann appended) (Clark and Wagner; April 1967)

USA /85 U.S. Activeness Data: index for original variables and transgenerations

USA /85a U.S. Activeness Date: index for final set of 26 variables

USA /86 Supplemenatry Instructions and Definitions for Open-Ended Coding (8 March 1967)

USA /87 Interpretation of Rotated Factors (Teune; 6 April 1967)

USA /88 Additional Supplementary Instructions for Open-Ended Coding (19 April 1967)

USA /89 Coder Reliability for Open-Ended Questions (Teune and Brandon; 10 May 1967)

USA /90 Progress Report to U.S. AID Science Director (Jacob; 15 April 1967)

USA /91 Technical Memoranda (Barton; May 1967)
- Outline of central questions of the study
- Concepts and indicators or dependent variables
- Concepts and indicators of independent variables
- Analysis plans
- Some general problems of multivariate analysis

USA /92 Comparative Study of Community Decision-Making in American Cities (prospectus submitted to the McNeil Foundation, 2 November 1966)

USA /93 Memo on Case Studies; Abstracts of Seven Selected Cases Representing Different Functional Areas in American Cities; and Coded Frequencies of Categories Mentioned in Twenty-nine Selected American Case Studies (Watts and Caporoso, 15 May 1967)

USA /94 Analysis of Values in Political Communications: (Krippendorff and Tanaka, 9 May 1967)

USA/95 Leadership Values: Patterns and Determinants, Proposal to the National Science Foundation for A Four-Country Comparitive Analysis of Local Political Leaders (September 1967)

USA/96 Values, Leadership and Development: paper delivered at the annual meeting of the APSA (Jacob, Teune, Watts; 1 September 1967)

USA/97 Codebook: Source Data for decisional case studies of 51 cities (Clark and Wagner; September 1967)

USA/98 Tabulation of final survey open-end responses:national frequencies, all original categories, cards 71, 73, 74, 76 -- recoded deck (30 August 1967)

USA/99 Tabulation of final survey openend responses: national frequencies and percent responses, collapsed categories, cards 71, 73, 74, 76 -- recoded deck (24 July 1967)

USA/100 Tabulation of final survey open end responses: frequency count and percent response by city, collapsed categories, cards 71, 73, 74, 76 -- recoded deck (24 July 1967)

USA/101 The Interaction of Social Values and Political Responsibility in Developing Countries: Final Report to AID Science Director= (Jacob; 20 October 1967)

Note: Analysis documents comparable to those noted for India have not as yet been integrated into the US listing.

B. Reports and Related Documents Prepared at the Working Conferences

First International Roundtable (June 23-July 2, 1965)

RT/I /1 Proposed Value Questions

/2 Statement of Hypotheses

/3 Selection of Units and Leaders

/4 Questionnaire - Opening Section of the Interview

/5 Demographic Data

/6 Committee Report on Community Decisions

/7 Memorandum - Comments and suggestions concerning the report and recommendations of the Roundtable

/8 General Report

/9 Work Program - Between First and Second Roundtable

/10 Hypotheses and Definitions of Variables
Section A — Hypotheses
Section B — Definitions of Variables

/11 Procedures for Selecting Communities and Respondents

/12 Procedures for Selecting and Assessing Local Community Decisions

/13 Leadership Survey Pretest Questionnaire

/14 Proceedings of the First International Roundtable

/15 Pretest Interview Field Schedule

/16 Revised Documentation Numbering System

/17 Report of the First International Roundtable

Second International Roundtable (January 3-22, 1966)

RT/II /1 Report on Analysis of Pretest Value Scales (December 1965)

/2 Summary Notes on Meetings of Conceptual Committee as of Tuesday, January 11, 1966

/3 Report from the Conceptual Committee, January 6-7, 1966

/4 Experience with the Analysis of Answers to Open-Ended Questions Concerning Materials on Good and Bad Leaders and Good and Bad Actions

/5 Report on the Value Scales

/6 Analysis of Responses to Open-Ended Value Questions: A, B, C, D; Part V

/7 Summary of Proceedings of the Content Analysis Committee

/8 Report on Content Analysis

/9 Report of Committee to Evaluate Parts I-IV of Questionnaire, January 16, 1966

/10 Indicators of Socio-Economic Development

/11 Community Participation (Activeness)

/12 Proposed Plan for Case Study of Decisions

/13 Notes of the Second International Roundtable

/14 Re-Conceptualization of Research Design

/15 A Note on Political Responsibility

/16 Work Schedule: February 1- July 1, 1966

/17 Motivational Patterns and Political Leadership

/18a Definitions of the Scales in the Value Questionnaire

/18b Value Pre-Test Questionnaire (Closed-ended questions)

/18c Non-Value and Value Open-End Pre-Test Questionnaire

/18d Pre-Test Instructions for Part II
Rationale for Each Question in Part II
Interview Instructions for Each Question in Part II
Notes on Coding Part II of Questionnaire

/19 Summary of the Proceedings of the Content Analysis Committee from January 24-28, 1966

/20 Suggestions for Reconstructing the Value Categories based on Pre-Test Experience

/21 REPORT OF THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL ROUNDTABLE

Third International Roundtable (July 16-26, 1966)

RT/III	/1	Tasks for Meeting of Questionnaire Group prior to Roundtable III
	/2	Bled Report: Proposed Program for Analysis
	/3	Programme and Procedures for Case Studies: Recommendations of Case Studies Group
	/3A	Clarifications and Amendments on the Case Studies Report
	/4	Leadership Survey Questionnaire: final draft (July 22, 1966)
	/4A	Leadership Survey Questionnaire: Standard English Version (Topical with source notations)
	/5	Notes on Interviewing Instructions and Translation (July 16, 1966)
	/6	Report of Committee on Objectives of Analysis: Part I, Central Questions and Part II, Analysis Plans
	/6A	Handbook for Analysis
	/7	Report of the Committee on Selection of Units and Leaders
	/8	Report of the Committee on Aggregative Data
	/9	Revised Document List (July 21, 1966)
	/10	Report of Content Analysis Committee
	/11	Minutes of Agreement re. Work Program and Schedule 1966-67 (Coordinating Committee; July 24, 1966)
	/12	Report of Committee on Tasks and Schedule for Field Work
	/13	REPORT OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL ROUNDTABLE

Fourth International Roundtable (December 26, 1966-January 22, 1967)

Leadership Survey

(1) Value Scale Items (Part II of survey)

RT/IV /1	Correlation matrix of all responses on all scale items for each country. Photocopies of printout, 48 p.
/2	Correlation matrix of responses on proposed purified scales for each country--consisting of an international set of identical questions for all countries, and a best-correlated set of nation-specific questions. Mimeo, 16 p.
/3	Inventory of Items finally selected for 9 purified value scales: Scores on the 9 purified value scales for individual leaders; mean scores and variance for communities and countries. Separate scores calculated for the international set of questions and the best national set.
/3a-3c	Printout. National section for India (3a), U.S. (3c)
/3e-3h	Photocopies of table of community scores for each country
/4 INTL	Factor analysis of responses to international set of questions from all leaders
/4a-4d	Printout of factor analyses, country-by-country, of (i) responses to all questions, including political responsibility (ii) responses to questions, not including political responsibility (iii) responses to international set of questions.
/4e-4h	Photocopies of rotated factor loadings, 12 p/
/4i-4l	National Profiles from the Factor Analysis of Values without political responsibility
/5	Factor scores (not including political responsibility items) for individuals, communities and countries. (Analyses RT/IV/4a-4d (ii))
/5a-5d	Printout
/5e-5h	Photocopies of tabulation of factor scores for all communities.

(2) Influence, Conflict, Value Priorities, Government Responsibility, Autonomy and other closed-ended questions (Parts I, III, IV of survey)

/6 Tabulation of responses from all respondents--distribution by community (means and variance)--distribution by country (means).

/6a-6d Printout

/6e-6h Copies of community and national tabulations.

(3) Open-Ended Questions (perception of community problems, obstacles to effectiveness of leader, conflicts hindering community development, areas of leadership activity, qualities of good leadership and aspirations for country). (Parts I, III, IV of survey)

/7 Standard international code for classification of responses to open-ended questions (including instructions for punching).

/7a Supplementary instructions and definitions (U.S.)

(4) Background Data (Part V of survey)

/8 Standard international code for classification of responses (including instructions for punching). Mimeo.

Community Activeness Data

/9a, 9c Inventory of original data collected for analysis (9a India) (9c U.S.)

/9e-9g Codes for Community Activeness Data (9e India) (9g U.S.)

/10 Correlation analysis (including transgeneration). (10c) U.S. -partial. Printout at Philadelphia.

/11 Factor analyses of activeness data (including transgeneration and correlation;
(11a) India - original analysis--discarded after examination.
(11a rev) India - reanalysis. Printout at Kanpur.
(11c) U.S. - analysis. Printout at Philadelphia.

/12 Interim report of the work group on aggregative indicators of community activeness, January 10, 1967.

Community Economic Development Data (Correlation and factor analyses of economic development data):

/13a India - Gujarat (17 variables)

/13b India - Gujarat and Maharashtra combined (10 variables). Correlation analysis only.

/13d 15 economic indicators for 30 blocks.

/13e Correlation and factor analysis of Gujarat economic data: 88 variables (printout); transgenerations from 88 to 97

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/15 Report of the work group on case studies.

/16 Review of decisional case studies pretest material (Revised 16A, May 67)

/17 Notes on Some Programs Available to Social Scientists at Indian Institute of Technology, Kanpur.

/18 Workshop data and related documents of the Fourth International Roundtable.

/19 REPORT OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL ROUNDTABLE

/20 Community Variable File

/20A Appendix to Community Variable File: Index to Questions Included in the Purified Value Scales

Fifth International Roundtable (May 27 - June 16, 1967)

RT/ V /1 Organization of the General Report

/2 Interim Report of the Committee on Aggregative Indicators of Community Activeness

/2 a Appendix: Summary Chart

/3 Value Scales and Activeness Data

/4 Report of the Case Studies' Group

/5 Report of the Committee on Local Political Systems

/6 Revised International Code for Leadership Survey Questionnaire Open-ended Questions

/6(rev 1) International Code for Collapsed Categories for Leadership Survey Questionnaire Open-ended Questions

/7 Report of the Committee on Activeness

/8 Report of the Committee on Congruence of Values

/9 Report of Case Study Committee

/10 Code for Systematic Critical Reading of Case Studies for Value-Laden Material

/11 Draft Outline for National Reports on Case Studies; Draft Outline for International Chapter on Dynamics of Decision-Making

/12 Draft Outline for Chapter One: Design and Organization of ISVIP

/13 Memorandum of Agreement Concerning Use and Distribution of Data (10 June 1967)

/14 Revised Outline: International Report

/15 Special Report on the Use of Open-ended Questions in the Analysis

/16 Draft Outline for Chapter on Methodology in the International Report

/17 Documents: A Topical Classification (1 July 1967)