

**COMMUNICATION OF MODERN IDEAS
AND KNOWLEDGE IN INDIAN VILLAGES**

**By
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COMMUNICATION OF MODERN IDEAS AND KNOWLEDGE
IN INDIAN VILLAGES

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PREFACE

In 1952 and 1953 Dr. Y.B. Damle of the Deccan College, Poona, studied the penetration of certain modern scientific ideas such as the germ theory of disease, vitamins, etc. into seven Indian villages. The seven villages were chosen so as to form a scale along the continuum of communication distance from an urban center. The study was an imaginative and interesting one which contributed much to our knowledge of communication in village India. So when Dr. Damle suggested that he would like to re-visit the same villages to observe what changes had taken place and also to explore the knowledge of national and international affairs in them, we were delighted with the proposal and invited Dr. Damle to proceed with it in association with the Research Program in International Communication. The following document represents the result of Dr. Damle's second excursion into the villages. It presents his findings concerning village knowledge of national and world affairs.

The problem of communication of modern ideas to the 500,000 villages of India is a central one for India's development program. Rural roads are being built to bring into contact with the outside world. The All-India Radio has taken as its major objective the placing of community radio sets in village centers, and it addresses its most important programs to them. Yet thousands of villages are still untouched, and most are only gradually coming into contact with the agencies of progress and development.

Dr. Damle's paper shows how profound the effect which being thrown into contact with the modern world can have. That has been noted in many studies of modernization. Whether in the village of Bopudi, India, or in the village of Balgat, Turkey, a peasant village can become almost overnight a part of a new urban civilization. Yet the impact of this modernization is uneven. Daniel Lerner's study of modernization in the Middle East (soon to be published by this research program) has stressed the profound psychological consequences of such a transformation. Dr. Damle has stressed rather the shallowness of the changes produced if the changes are not functional for the people who experience them. There is no contradiction between these points. They both express real aspects of the process.

In many respects Dr. Damle's paper is bound to be an eye opener for persons educated in an urban civilization who are not familiar with the kind of village society which he is describing. It is startling to learn of a village -- even the most remote one of the seven -- where only one informant and he the head man had ever heard of Jawaharlal Nehru. Yet it is not this extreme situation that is most significant, but rather the areas of knowledge

and ignorance in the more typical villages near the mid-point of the scale. As Dr. Damle points out, what the villagers know is what is functional to them. To an American the fact that the world is divided into two antagonistic camps, with the corresponding menace of atomic war seems of such overwhelming import that we may think it is a fact known at the most extreme limits of channels of communication. Yet, Dr. Damle found a village where occasional newspapers are read, but the facts learned from them did not include knowledge of the world balance of power. The reading was selective. Knowledge of modern attitudes towards caste and attempts at reform of such traditions and customs penetrated far further than did knowledge of world politics. So too did knowledge of India's Five Year Plan and attempts at agricultural improvement. Except for the very most remote village in the series of seven these ideas were frequently known. Within world politics events that touch India such as development in Goa and Pakistan were often more widely known than the struggles of world magnitude. The reverberations of the cold war seem to have been heard not much further than halfway through the scale of villages.

As Dr. Damle points out, this confirms a general social science insight. The perception of communications is not independent of their function for the audience. A study of communications must be a study of the entire social structure and of the values and aspirations of the people involved. Factual information carries little weight except where it has some personal meaning to the people who hear it.

Indeed, it is striking in Dr. Damle's report that certain of the basic attitudes expressed in Indian foreign policy are widely and strongly felt while the facts on which at first glance, they seem to be based are not known. Villagers who do not know the facts of the cold war even in such elementary respects as the name of Russia and the United States and the character of their relationship may believe strongly that great powers should settle their disputes by peaceful means. In a village where only one informant knew about U.S. Arms Aid to Pakistan or about the Korean War and the role played by India in that truce, there was a general feeling that India must maintain neutrality. The policy attitude is often anterior to the particular facts about which it is expressed. The facts may be learned if they correspond to those attitudes and feelings, e.g., villagers who knew nothing else about China knew of "the friendly ties between India and China."

It is a pleasure for the International Communication Program to publish a study as full of illumination and as conscientiously and imaginatively done as this one. It has profound implications not only for international relations but also for the implementation of India's development programs.

Thiel de Solá Pool

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1. PROBLEM AND SCOPE OF THE ENQUIRY

This paper embodies the findings of a field study of communication of modern ideas and knowledge into some Indian villages. The importance of the problem of communication both for theoretical and practical purposes hardly needs to be stressed. In an age which believes in mutual aid, both material and nonmaterial, the problem of communication assumes all the greater significance. The pattern of communication both intranational and international in no small way determines intranational and international relations.

The diffusion into seven villages of the following modern ideas and kinds of knowledge was studied.

1. Information about the national political scene: knowledge of leaders, how many national leaders are known and by how many persons.
2. Knowledge of national policies: who rules the nation; division of the country; social and economic policies of the state, e.g., Five Year Plan, extension Projects, community development projects, national bonds and loans; secularism; different ideologies, e.g., the capitalist, the socialist, and the communist; abolition of untouchability and doing away with arbitrary differences between the two sexes and between different groups of people.
3. Knowledge about world political structure: awareness of the fact of the division of the world into two main camps, the American and the Soviet; knowledge of world leaders and also of foreign policies; knowledge about the location, meaning, and significance of Britain, U.S.A., France, Russia, China, Africa, Ceylon, Pakistan, India-China, etc.; knowledge about the leaders of these countries.
4. Knowledge of international policies and events: happenings in Korea; Geneva, American technical and financial aid; U.S. Arms Aid to Pakistan; Russian and American tensions; who are our friends and enemies; can world problems be solved with the help of others; whom should we befriend; can India remain neutral; if not, whom should we join.
5. Awareness of modern ideas regarding caste and religion; extent of rationalism; awareness of the modern concept of essential equality of all human beings.

6. Impact of new ideas of recreation: movies, radio, sports, etc.
7. How was this knowledge acquired: through contact with people, newspapers, lectures, political propaganda, etc.

This list of the items studied makes clear how the problem of communication has been tackled. Both intra-national and international items of communication were analyzed. Limited as the sample of each of these was, nevertheless, they brought out the relative predominance of knowledge of the former over the latter. To put it in another fashion, the perspective of the villages makes for greater communicability of certain items. An analysis of the functional relationships which affect the communicability of some ideas and the poor communicability of others would have implications for practical policy.

II. METHODS AND PROCEDURE

The seven villages selected for study have different degrees of relationship with the city. Their spatial distance from Poona (their nearest city) ranged from one to eighty miles so the functioning of external agencies in some of the villages affected their reception of communications. The same seven villages had been visited by the author a year earlier in a study which had been suggested by Professor Ralph Turner of Yale University. That study, which will be published shortly, explored the diffusion into these seven villages of certain modern ideas particularly drawn from the field of science. The present study was designed to explore a different range of modern ideas, particularly ones pertaining to national and international affairs and problems.

It was felt that the problem should be analysed from the structure-functional point of view in order to tackle adequately its different ramifications, particularly that of differential communication mentioned just above. The structure-functional point of view has been neatly elaborated by Merton in his book Social Theory and Social Structure. Its framework of analysis is utilized.¹ This does not, however, mean that there is a complete and unqualified acceptance of Merton's position.

Different tools were used to obtain the necessary information. Interviewing and observation were the main tools. The schedule containing the questions had sometimes to be kept in the background. Experience in the villages proves that greater information can be obtained by informal chats and discussions than by asking straight

questions. The questions had to be mixed with a good deal of other conversation.

The method of approach was more or less uniform for all the villages. The first thing was to approach the village Patil or the Headman. Through his good offices contact was established with other members of the community. The contacts that had been developed the year before proved extremely helpful, making it easier to draw people into discussions.

No singling out of any individual was necessary as far as the common persons were concerned. Detailed discussions were held with important persons from the villages primarily to check on the information available from the common people, to assess the differential character of the process of communication and also to pinpoint the local channels of the communication. Persons belonging to different age-grades were interviewed.

Choice of the Villages

Cities have always been properly regarded as disseminators of ideas and knowledge. So in the choice of the villages to be studied the distance from Poona City was one of the most important considerations. The distances of the different villages selected for study are as follows :-

1. Bopudi, on the outskirts of Poona City and now included within the City Corporation limits.
2. Subhashwadi(Manjri), 11 miles.
3. Muthe, 24 miles.
4. Andgaon, 26 miles.
5. Kondhur, 20 miles.
6. Ahupe, 80 miles.
7. Patan, 72 miles.

This lends itself to scale analysis, which is given later. The nearness or otherwise of a village to city would be of crucial importance in the process of communication. A scalogram is constructed to assess the same and is given in the Appendix.

These villages represent not merely difference of distance but also of relative amenability to communication contrasted with relative isolation. This point will be elaborated by giving relevant topographical descriptions of each village.

In addition to distance, technological development -- from highly developed technology to the most primitive -- figured prominently in the choice of the sample.

The relative simplicity or complexity of social structure was also an important factor which was given adequate consideration. This will be elaborated later.

Then again, the functioning of external agencies, such as the Sarvodaya Centre or a political party which established collectivist farming in a village, was considered in the selection of the sample. A detailed description of these external agencies becomes essential in order to appreciate effectively their role in the process of communication.

The Sarvodaya movement derives its inspiration chiefly from Mahatma Gandhi's teachings. The emphasis placed upon constructive work by Mahatma Gandhi can be said to have given rise to the movement, though Gandhi died before its formulation. After his demise persons subscribing to his philosophy of constructive work got together to discuss ways and means to further constructive activities. A conference of such workers was held at Sevagram Wardha in March 1948 under the presidency of Dr Rajendra Prasad. This conference decided to form a brother-hood of persons who have faith in Gandhian principles. This brother-hood is named "Sarvodaya Samaj". The aim of this fraternity is to strive toward the establishment of a social order based on truth and non-violence, wherein there would be no differences of caste or religion, wherein there would be no opportunity for one to exploit the other, and wherein there would be ample scope for the progressive development of both the individual and the corporate group. For the purpose of achieving these ends the following measures have to be taken : (1) communal harmony, (2) abolition of untouchability, (3) abolition of caste differences, (4) prohibition of spirituous drinks, (5) Khadi* and other village industries, (6) village sanitation, (7) equal rights and status for men and women, (8) health and sanitation, (9) development of regional languages (10) new instruction, (11) doing away with narrow provincialism, (12) campaign for making Hindi the national language, (13) economic equality, (14) agricultural improvement, (15) organizing workers (16) up-lift of the aborigines, (17) organizing students, (18) aid to destitutes and suffering, (19) cow-service, and (2) nature therapy for the treatment of disease.

Any person who has faith in these principles can join the movement. The aim is to bring about an all-sided improvement in the life of the people and to avoid lopsided development, which also creates serious problems. It is not a movement from without but from within. Therefore, cardinal importance is attached to the trinity of self-dependence, self-help, and cooperation.

The Government of India and state governments have given official recognition to the movement. Recently, the President of India, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, addressed the Sarvedaya Sammelan (Conference) at Puri in Orissa. State Sarvedaya committees have been formed and grants are given for Sarvedaya work through these committees. Added impetus is being sought for the movement.

The Subhash Collective Cooperative Farmers Society--village of Subhashwadi derives its name from the activities of this society--was started in early 1948. However, it took some time before it could start functioning effectively. There are two persons who chiefly sponsored the society. One of them is an agricultural graduate and works as manager of the collective farm. Both of them are socialists in ideology and practice. Initially, the whole idea was opposed by vested interests. Therefore, while enlisting members care was taken to enlist land-less laborers. The society secured a lease on 223 acres of government reclaimed land. The aim of creating a social order based on the abolition of unearned income has been the guiding impetus behind the Subhash Collective Cooperative Farmers Society, Ltd.,. Consequently, a new turn has been given to the life of the people in the village of Subhashwadi. The entire structure has been changed, with desirable consequences for efficient functioning of a social system.

The order in which the seven villages are discussed is that of their communications distance from Poona, i.e., their degree of isolation. Thus the villages from the Ambegaon Taluka (Ambegaon subdistrict) are discussed first. Among these the village of Patan is discussed first because of its isolation from the modern world, though it is only 72 miles away from Poona City while Ahupe is 80 miles away. Villages from the Mulshi Taluka are discussed next. Adhering to the principle mentioned above, Kondhur is discussed first because of the absence of an external agency, while Andgaon and Muthe, where the Sarvedaya Centre has been functioning, are discussed later. Next comes the Haveli Taluka. Subhashwadi is discussed. Then Bopudi from the Poona City Taluka is discussed.

All the seven villages studied are from the Poona District.

III. FINDINGS

Ambegaon Taluka : 1. PATAN

Patan is 72 miles northwest of Poona City. To reach Patan one has to travel by a public bus up to Ambegaon (60 miles) and then trek the remaining 12 miles. Not even bullock carts can reach Patan since the path is through hills and jungles.

In fact, the whole tract is formed by the ranges of the Sahyadri Mountain. Patan is about 4,000 feet above sea level. The tract gets plenty of rain, ranging from 130 inches to 175 inches per year. It is primarily a rice growing area and is famous for rice of good quality. Other cereals like Nachani (ragree--a grain cynodorus coccineus or clusine coccinea) and vari (the grain coix barbata) are also grown to supplement the diet of the people. In spite of this the people suffer from starvation for a couple of months a year. The village is surrounded on all four sides by hills and thus is isolated from the rest of the world. It is a tiny village with an area of 1.9 sq. miles and a total population of 51 persons.

Except for one household, that of the local Mahar who performed all sorts of functions from carrying message to scavenging, all other inhabitants are Mahadeo Koli. Mahadeo Koli is a Hindu tribe. Actually, the epithet Mahadeo is derived from worship of the God Shankara, the Mahadeo (thē big God). It is primarily an agricultural tribe. "It is probable that they (Kolis) are a mongrel race, and have sprung from alliances formed between Hindus and aboriginal tribes."² The Mahar is fed by every house in return for certain services he renders to the community.

Only one of the villagers is literate, and he left the village more than a year ago and went to a suburb of Bombay to work as a laborer in a factory. Only four persons have seen a train. Only these four persons have had a ride in a motor bus, though the rest of the villagers have seen one as they have to go to Ambegaon every Wednesday to the weekly bazaar to buy everything from salt and oil to clothes. None of them have seen Poona.

The Patil (Headman), four other persons, and the Mahar were interviewed. It must be said that there was no difficulty whatsoever in interviewing.

1. These people know about independence though not about the partition of the country. Only the Patil had seen Mahatma Gandhi when he went to Bombay in his young days. None, except for him, knows about Jawaharlal Nehru. His knowledge may be due to the functional relationship which such knowledge bears to the post of a Patil. He is paid Rs 40 per month by the government for discharging functions like collecting revenue, maintaining law and order in the village, and reporting to the Taluka authorities if anything serious happens in the village.
2. Only the Patil knew that Jawaharlal Nehru ruled India. He did not know anything more about national policies.

3. Knowledge of world political structure: Nil.
4. Knowledge of international policies and events: Nil.
5. Awareness of modern ideas on caste and religion: Nil.
6. Only the Patil has seen a mythological movie in Bombay. He has also heard a loudspeaker in a meeting. No impact whatsoever of any new idea.
7. Some of them have attended election propaganda meetings. However, they have no faith in pre-election promises. Only during epidemics do they get medical aid from Government. No agency of communication has reached the village.

Patan thus presents the spectacle of a relatively simple structure, untouched by any innovation. The tribal social structure is devoid of any effective contact with the outside world. The structure is static. No new item has become either functional or dysfunctional.

2. AHUPE

Ahupe is 80 miles northwest of Poona City. From Ambegaon one has to walk 20 miles through hills and jungles to reach Ahupe. It is about 5,000 feet above sea level and has an area of 10.4 sq. miles with a population of 350 persons. Ahupe is situated on one of the peaks of the Sahyadri. Down below it, there are some places with which contact is sought. For instance, contact has been established with Kalyan, an important railway junction, and, through Kalyan, with Bombay. The contact is no doubt one-sided owing to the difficult road. Residents of Ahupe go to Kalyan to sell their ghee. Rice is the main crop, though it is supplemented by cereals like michani and vari. There are plenty of milch cattle and so there arises the question of selling milk products, which develops contact between the people and the outside world.

Out of the total population of 350, there are 323 Mahadeo Kelis and the rest are Mahars. On interviewing it was found that the Mahars were much better informed than the rest of the people owing to their contact with cities. Mahars migrated to Bombay for employment and were able to improve their lot. Actually, there are a good many complaints made by the Mahadeo Kelis about the local Mahars neglecting their traditional duty. The increased knowledge on the part of the Mahars had thus proved dysfunctional to the local structure.

Likewise, contact with the outside world and the consequent dis-semination of knowledge has given rise to a feeling of discontent and unhappiness amongst the people owing to their lack of resources--both material and nonmaterial. This brings out the importance of making a clear distinction between subjective motivations and objective consequences.

Structural constraints also militate against the fulfillment of the peoples' wish for education. The isolation of the place during the rainy season hinders the continuance of any outside teacher. Some of the local youths are adequately educated to work as teachers, but they are unwilling to live in the village for want of amenities. Thus their education becomes positively dysfunctional. The latent functions of cities, viz., freedom from manual labor, cheap types of recreation, freedom from responsibility, etc., seem to have been transformed into manifest functions for a stratum of the community. And that explains the urge on the part of some to leave the village in favor of a city. Naturally enough cities are looked upon with a good deal of suspicion by the local people. The manifest function of cities, viz., to disseminate new ideas, seems to have been attained. Mere dissemination of ideas ceases to have the desired consequence owing to the inadequacy of the social structure, a case of discrepancy between subjective motivation and objective consequences. This in turn adversely affects the utility of communication.

Nine persons were interviewed out of which two were Mahars. One of the persons interviewed had his training up to the matriculation stage (graduation in the American meaning of the term) in Kalyan. Interviews were quite frank and cooperative.

1. The people know about the following leaders : Nehru Gandhi, Morarji Desai. The Mahars know Dr. Ambedkar, the famous champion of their cause. The youth mentioned above knew some state ministers, eg., Tapase and Nimalkar.
2. There was awareness on the part of the people of the attainment of political independence by India, division of the country, and Congress rule. A Youth knew vaguely about the Five Year Plan, though not about the extension projects or the community development projects. He also knew about the measures taken by the state to reduce economic inequalities, e.g., the tenancy legislation. People in general knew about the abolition of untouchability by law. Excepting the Mahars, none approved of this measure. It was clearly dysfunctional for them. It has been mentioned earlier that the refusal on the part of the Mahars to perform their traditional

functions has been the cause of a feeling of animosity toward them on the part of the local community.

3. Knowledge of world political structure: Nil
4. Knowledge of international policies and events: Nil.
5. Only two persons knew about the modern notions regarding caste. They know that the modern ideology was to abolish distinctions of caste. This was dysfunctional for them and they expressed their objection to the same.
6. Only two persons have seen a movie in Bombay or Poona.
7. The knowledge of new ideas and developments is gained through contact with cities like Poona and Bombay. Kinship plays an important role in the dissemination of modern knowledge and ideas.

Ahupe thus presents the picture of a tribal social structure exposed to external influence. Such an exposure causes stresses and strains to the social structure. The primitive structure is peculiarly vulnerable to influence from within and without. Structural constraints and inadequacy of social structure prevent modern ideas and knowledge from bearing a functional relationship to the system. This raises the problem of control of communication, the alternative to the same being strengthening of the social structure so as to enable it to absorb new ideas and knowledge gainfully.

Mulshi Taluka: 3. KONDHUR

Kondhur is 20 miles southwest of Poona City. To reach Kondhur one has to travel by a motor bus upto Urwade -- 20 miles -- and then walk 10 miles. Kondhur is separated from Muthe by the river Muthā. The distance is just 4 miles. Yet the village is turned into an island during the monsoon. The average rainfall is 130 inches per year. In addition to the natural isolation, cultural isolation impinges on the local inhabitants as the Sarvodaya Centre has not extended its field of activities to Kondhur.

The total population of Kondhur is 841. A primary school is functioning there. However, the total number of literates is only 25. Kondhur is a primitive and a traditional village. Only four persons have been educated in Poona. No innovation has reached Kondhur. Despite the wishes of the people, whatever changes have been

introduced in Mysore have not been introduced in Kondhur. The discrepancy between subjective dispositions and objective consequences is heightened by the inadequacy of the social structure. The inhabitants of Kondhur had the requisite motivation to incorporate new items but lacked the means to put it into effect.

Six persons were interviewed. One of them was an influential land-owner, another was the Pātil (Headman), and the rest were cultivators.

1. People have heard about Morarji Desai, the Chief Minister of Bombay; Nehru and Gandhi.
2. Only two persons have heard about the Five Year Plan. People in general vaguely knew that the Indian Republic had declared itself to be a secular state. However, they did not at all approve. Secularism, they felt, is dysfunctional to the Indian social system. People also knew that untouchability has been abolished by law but did not like it. This measure is dysfunctional to their social structure, which accords a lowly position to the Mahar (the untouchable). They knew about the partition of the country and the creation of Pakistan. Probably their knowledge of the happenings prior to the division of India makes them regard secularism as thoroughly dysfunctional.
3. Knowledge of world political structure: Nil.
4. Knowledge of international policies and events: Nil.
5. The people are aware of modern ideas about caste but strongly object to the same. A social structure which is based on a particular system of relationship between different castes would naturally regard any attempt to change that system of relationship as a serious threat to its existence. Abolition of differences based on caste is thus very dysfunctional to their prevailing social structure.
6. Impact of new ideas of recreation: Nil.
7. New ideas and knowledge reached them through kinship and newspapers. Obviously, their reading of newspapers is not only very slight but also highly selective for world news was not noted or retained.

4. ANDGAON

Andgaon is 26 miles to the southwest of Poona City. To reach Andgaon one has to walk 6 miles from Urwade, where the bus stops. Rice is the major crop. The area of Andgaon is 3 sq. miles. Its total population is 950. Agriculture is the main occupation. A subcentre of the Sarvodaya Samaj was started here three years ago. It has been active in various directions: sanitation and health, introduction of better type of spinning wheel, enabling contact with governmental agencies so as to ensure better yield from the land, etc. Cleanliness, which was a latent function of the centre, has been transformed into its manifest function. Certain items of its activities have become functional for a subgroup only. Its like the charkha (spinning wheel) and knitting techniques soon lend themselves to becoming functional for all the people owing to their immediate utility.

Ten persons were interviewed, three of whom were Sarvodaya workers.

1. Respondents knew about Morarji Desai, Nehru, Mr. Dashpande (Sarvodaya organizer), Mr. Namdeo Mohool (Congress leader from Mutha and a member of the Legislative Assembly, Bombay State).
2. They know about the Congress rule in the country. There was awareness amongst them of the legal ban on untouchability. Seeing for themselves construction works undertaken by the government in that area like bunding, building dams, etc., people were aware of the Five Year Plan, extension Projects, etc. Two persons knew about Pakistan.
3. Knowledge of world political structure: Nil.
4. Only two persons seemed aware of the friendship of India with some foreign countries, e.g., China, America. They knew about the trouble in Goa and also about the U.S. Arms Aid to Pakistan. These very persons also said that the Soviet Union had a totalitarian regime as opposed to the democratic regime in India.
5. Modern ideas on caste, etc.: Nil.
6. Many people have seen a movie. There has been no impact of any sort though on their day-to-day existence. Seeing a movie can be said to be non-functional for them.
7. People acquired new ideas and knowledge through the Sarvodaya Centre.

5. MUTHE

Muthe is 24 miles to the southwest of Poona City. A distance of 4 miles has to be covered on foot from Urwade to reach Muthe. Muthe is situated in the basin of the river Muthā. Its area is 4 sq. miles. The total population of Muthe is 1,490. The main occupation of the people is agriculture. Rice is the main crop. Pulses like beans are grown to a small extent. Trading in milch cattle is a subsidiary occupation of the people.

The Sarvodaya Centre was started three years ago. Since its inception medical care has been made available to the people of Muthe and neighbouring villages. The local medical officer in charge of the Sarvodaya dispensary, however, said that as many as 80 per cent of the people do not avail themselves of the medical facilities. In this context he made a very pertinent observation.

A mere provision of medical facilities is not adequate to solve the problem of villages (chronic poverty) as it reduces the natural immunity of the people to diseases. Besides, modern medicines and treatment are so costly that the villages can ill afford them. Economic improvement, improved sanitation, etc. would be more useful under the circumstances.

In short, medical care rendered in isolation becomes dysfunctional for the majority of the people. The centre helps in putting people in touch with the authorities relevant to improvement in cultivation. However, this is functional only for the upper stratum since it controls capital expenditure. It is dysfunctional for the majority of the people and thereby strains the social structure. This may bring about change in the desired direction, viz. an agitation to make such items functional for all.

The Sarvodaya Centre has undertaken some activities which are functional for all the people, e.g., building of pucca wells, inoculation of people against cholera and plague, etc. The pit latrines and khaddar are, however, functional for a small group.

Interviews were held with four sets of people: (1) Mr. D-- the local landlord and a popular person because of his helpfulness, (2) merchants and farmers, (3) the local priest, and (4) the medical officer in charge of the Sarvodaya dispensary, whose observations have already been recorded. Information, not to say a forthright analysis, came out not only on the problem on hand, but also on the weakness of the social structure. It is recorded here since it throws a floodlight on the feelings of the people.

Mr. D discussed the interrelationships among the different segments of the community and remarked that the Bara Balute System -- a system which ensures occupational division of labour and interdependence -- is on the point of breaking down. He said, "the Mahars no longer perform their traditional functions" and thus the first blow has been dealt to the system. Various factors -- economic, political, legal -- are responsible for this state of affairs. In short, the effort to register piecemeal improvement, e.g., abolition of untouchability, becomes positively dysfunctional for the entire system. It was further asserted by him that "people are craving for a change in their circumstances but they want such a change to be effected by some external agency. The springs of local leadership have almost dried out." Inadequate social structure, structural constraints, and the impact of external influence on the marginal areas of the social structure are hindering any change for the better.

The most pertinent point made by the farmers and merchants concerned

the draining of Mutha of its youth and the consequent dissipation of the springs of enthusiasm and activity. Besides, the youths who go out to work come back alienated from the village folks. They are only worried about their own pleasure pursuits, develop a condescending attitude toward the people and do not mix with them. If anything, they have an adverse impact on the people. Being dissipated physically, mentally and morally they cannot in any way become useful to the community.

The pull of the cities thus proves tremendously dysfunctional to the entire system.

The local priest, who is well versed in the scriptures and is accorded respect by the people, pointed out that about four hundred persons have migrated to cities for employment. He further said: "these people cannot wield any influence on the village folk owing to their lowly occupational position." They convey a good deal of information, but for that reason it does not bring about any change. To bring about change the persons who desire it must enjoy social esteem. Communication is also conditioned by status.

1. Most of the people know about ministers of Bombay State, Nehru, Gandhi, Mamdeorao Mohol (the local Congress member of the Bombay Legislative Assembly).

2. People know about the Congress rule. It is through the work of construction undertaken by Government that they have an awareness of the Five Year Plan, extension projects, community development projects. Whatever is visible impresses them. The people, however, feel that most of the improvements can be availed of only by the higher stratum. Thus improved methods of cultivation, medical facilities, communication, and transport can be used only by the richer section. These items are functional for a particular stratum and are dysfunctional for the system as a whole. People know about the abolition of untouchability but do not approve of it. This item is dysfunctional for them.
3. People in general know nothing about world political structure, not even about Pakistan. Except for the medical officer everyone else was in the dark about it.
4. The same holds good in respect of recent international events.
5. There is awareness of the new ideas relating to caste, religion, and rationalism, but there is no acceptance of these ideas. People feel that these ideas are not at all suitable for adoption by them under their present circumstances. Structural constraints and inadequacy of social structure prevent these ideas from being functional.
6. Traditional methods of recreation are in operation. The yearly fair held in honour of the local deity continues to be the clearinghouse for ideas and objects. The fair is largely attended by people from the neighbouring villages. The old forms of recreation such as folk dances, wrestling matches, tamasha (a form of folk dramatics) persist even now. The Sarvodaya Centre made many efforts to replace tamasha, which sometimes verges on obscenity and indulges in rousing the sex impulses of the people, by plays which convey some moral, but such attempts have met with signal failure. The reason for this seems to be the insistence on the part of the people on allowing themselves indulgence in such revelries once in a while to remove the monotony of drab existence. This is perfectly understandable in a situation in which sex is the main recreation, owing to the drab existence enforced on the majority of the people by force of circumstances. Moral preaching which is devoid of any consideration for the material aspects of well-being is dysfunctional to the system.

7. New ideas and knowledge reached the people through the Sarvodaya Centre, the local M.L.A., contact with Poona and Bombay through relatives and friends.

Muthe furnishes a classical example of the inability of an external agency to register any improvement in the life of a people by tinkering with the problem at a surface level. Neglect of structure is bound to lead such effort to failure. Neither the structural nor the functional aspect can be neglected. Structure also needs to be changed so as to be compatible with an adequate functioning of items of improvement. Equally important is the moral that structure needs to be strengthened from within and not from without. Communication of ideas and knowledge has constant impact on the social structure. To be able to withstand this impact successfully and to render it functional, the system of interrelations between different components of a structure needs readjustment. In short, the dynamic aspect cannot be neglected.

Haveli Taluka: 6. SUBHĀSHWĀDI (MĀNJRI)

Subhāshwādi is 11 miles to the east of Poona. It forms a part of the village Mānjri. Subhāshwādi can be reached by a car. That speaks of its easy access. Public motor transport is readily available at a distance of a mile and a half. Recently, the Subhāsh Sāmudāyik Sahakāri Shotki Sangh (Collective Cooperative Farmers Society) installed a telephone in its office. This provides an easy link with Poona City. The society has a total membership of 68 persons, of whom 21 are executive members while the rest are well-wishers. Subhāshwādi is a tiny colony of 134 persons. It is the outcome of cooperative efforts. Though sponsored by outsiders, it could not have been what it is but for the wholehearted support given by local people who were mainly landless laborers. These people have colonized a new piece of land and have forged a new spirit in doing so. The new spirit is percolating to the neighboring villages.

The main occupation is that of farming. Recently, however, production of jagary (unrefined sugar) has been started. Farming is done collectively. Guidance in regard to crops and the timing of them is obtained from the manager and the managing committee. Yet all important decisions are arrived at in consultation with the working members. Democracy means both rights and duties. Every member works for eight to ten hours a day. Members get Rs 1-8-0 as a daily wage when they work. Nonmembers are paid Rs 1 to Rs 1.4.0. "Apart from wages, the members get bonus on the work-days put in, in addition to the dividend on their share capital which is 3%." The amount of bonus has been increasing, being Rs 2-12-0 per working day in 1953-1954 as compared to Rs 1-2-6 in 1952-1953.

A member is allowed to take vegetables from the farm free of cost for his home consumption. He is provided free with a one-room tenement. A dispensary is run by the society for the benefit of the members as well as of the adjoining villages. It is calculated that "the total income of members during the year 1953-54 from all the above sources was Rs 1,560 -- i.e., about \$323 per year." It must be said that this compares very favourably with the national per capita income of India which is Rs 255 -- i.e., about \$54.00 per year.

The society gets help and cooperation from the State Government. It also receives help from its friends in the form of cash deposits, for some of which no interest has to be paid while for others a low rate of interest is charged. The members plow back a part of their income ensure improved yields and increased production. The society is a living example of the fruits of a collective enterprise, and the new values created by the society are gaining increasing approval from the public as well as the Government.

Discussions were held with the manager and with the office assistants. The manager emphasized how the members were being encouraged to take responsibility in reaching decisions. He said that "it is no longer necessary for him to worry about the day-to-day conduct of work. People have learnt to take initiative." Suitability of structure must be said to have contributed effectively to this decision. An all-round change in the life of the people props them up for reaching greater heights. It becomes a cumulative process.

Seven members were interviewed.

1. Members know of Mr. Jai Prakash Narain, a Socialist leader; Mr. P.S. Deshmukh, Union Minister for Food and Agriculture; Mr. Kher, formerly Chief Minister of Bombay State; Mr. Ashok Mehta, a Socialist leader; Mr. Morarji Desai, Chief Minister of Bombay State; Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the President of the Indian Republic; Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister of India.
2. They know about national development policies, e.g., the Five Year Plan, community development projects, extension projects, and construction activities, undertaken by Government with the active cooperation of the people. There is awareness of the secular nature of the present state and people approve of it. The abolition of untouchability is also hailed by them as a step in the right direction. There is a feeling amongst the members that the capitalist domination

of the country should be done away with.

The effort made by the state to reduce economic inequalities is welcomed, but they would like the process quickened. Division of the country is known.

3. The struggle in Goa has become a familiar topic with the people. Three informants knew that the world was divided into two camps. Some of them know about the friendly ties between India and China. Only one person knew about Churchill and Mohammed Ali as being the leaders of the U.K. and Pakistan, respectively. The same persons also knew about "Isenhover".
4. One person knew about the U.S. Arms Aid to Pakistan and suggested that it was given by the U.S.A. in order to enlist Pakistan's support in her fight against Russia. One person knew about the Korean War and the admirable role played by India in the truce. There is a general feeling that India must maintain neutrality. World problems the people hope, can be solved by peaceful methods.
5. People know modern ideas regarding caste and religion. They fully agree with the view that religion must not be allowed to interfere with the governing of the people. Rationalism is accepted as a value owing to its beneficial effects, e.g., scientific methods for improving living conditions. Rationalism is thus functional for the system.
7. These ideas and knowledge were acquired through newspapers and personal contacts. There is no gainsaying the fact that socialist ideology provides them with a perspective in which to view happenings, though no political party is actively working there. Equalization of gain has become the working principle of life for them.

Subhāshwādi furnished thus a classical example of structure-functional change. Certain items which could never have become functional had the structure remained the same have become so because of the necessary change effected in structure. Not only has the manifest function of material enhancement of the people been attained, but the latent function of creation of new values has been transformed into a manifest function to such an extent that the neighbouring villages and even the state look upon the whole experiment as a model to be emulated for the development of a socialistic pattern of life. Items such as improved standards of living have become functional

to almost all the people and that is an important factor which lends strength to the structure. The mutuality of structure and function is thus very concretely demonstrated.

Poona City Taluka: 7. BOPUDI

Bopudi is situated on the northern border of Poona City. Its population is in the neighbourhood of 5,000. Since 1951, Bopudi has been included in the Poona City Municipal Corporation area. In fact, the village is next to Kirkee which has an ammunition factory and an ordnance depot. Naturally, the workers try to stay in the vicinity of the factory. During the last six years four other industrial works factories have been installed near Bopudi. Bopudi thus has become a factory workers' nest. Hardly 3 per cent of its inhabitants can be classed as cultivators. The original inhabitants, who were mainly agriculturists, have been swamped by the surging tide of factory laborers. The local Patil (the Headman) very much regretted the change and remarked that "it is very difficult for me to know who is who in the village." The nature of the work and the hours of work in the factories militate against any composite life. There is a conglomeration of people, whose structural unity has been left undeveloped. The shifting nature of the population only heightens the process. The old structure has been submerged and a new one adequate to cope with the changing needs of the people has not been created. One illustration will suffice. The place still has the same sanitary facilities which it had eighteen years ago. The increase in the population has reduced these to a mockery. Structural development has not taken place at all. The sheer nearness of Poona City also accentuates this process. The city has become the centre of attraction in everything from education and entertainment to politics. Items like the school, market, cinema houses have ceased to be functional for a big subgroup. The impact of the neighboring structure is simply overwhelming. So the already inadequate structure almost vanishes into thin air. There is no local leadership of any sort. People look toward the city for lands in every walk of life. The spirit of self-dependence has almost dried up. Naturally, the people made insistent demands on the municipal corporation for working out the necessary changes. A mobile dispensary has been started by the corporation and many people avail themselves of the medical facilities provided by the same. Recently, roads have been lighted by electricity. But many important needs such as good and adequate water supply, sanitary facilities, etc., remain unattended to. Recently, a new school building was constructed by the corporation and a public library was also started. However, the response has not been encouraging as everyone depends on the same body to persuade and cajole them to make use of the same. Local action is conspicuous by its absence. And thus such items become non-functional, i.e., irrelevant to the people.

Interviews were held with eight factory workers. Many others were also present at the time of discussion. Many people have been educated upto vernacular second to fourth standards. Some of them read newspapers daily and as such were conversant with recent events and happenings. The growing unemployment has been worrying people considerably. Pessimism and indifference on the part of the people toward events and happenings is the outcome.

1. There is awareness of the different political parties in India, e.g., the Congress, the Communist party, the Socialist party, the Hindu Mahasabha, etc. People know of Nehru, Azad, Morarji Desai, and some of the ministers of the Bombay state, Jayaprakash Narayan and Ashok Mehta -- both of them are Socialist leaders.
2. There is awareness of national policies on the part of those who read newspapers, i.e., about 20 per cent of the people. People knew about secularism and abolition of untouchability, etc. They felt, however, that "differences could not be obliterated unless groups like the untouchables became powerful -- economically, educationally and politically." Piecemeal improvement would not be of much use according to them. There was awareness of the different prevailing ideologies -- the capitalist, the socialist and the communist. No definite preference was expressed for any particular ideology. All that they desired was employment for all and better amenities of life.
3. Those who read newspapers and some others, too, know that India is friendly with China and the U.S.A. in spite of the arms aid to Pakistan. People know about England, though not about her leaders. Division of the country is known to them as the same became dysfunctional for them owing to the influx of Hindu refugees. The refugees competed with them for jobs, housing, etc.
4. India's efforts for the establishment of peace are known by the people. There is a general feeling that India must avoid conflict.
5. People know about modern ideas relating to caste, religion, etc., but do not completely approve of them. They want to emphasize the importance of religious worship. They have a temple, which has become the meeting ground for people. The latent function of the temple as a meeting place has been transformed into a manifest function.

Rationalism is accepted by the people for its utility and not as a value. There is a superficial acceptance of rationalism, but it is not ingrained in the people.

6. There are a couple of radio sets in the village. Most of the people have seen movies. There is almost no change in their methods of recreation.
7. Modern ideas and knowledge have reached them through newspapers and contact with Poona City. No political party works amongst them.

The stunted development of social structure in Bopudi constitutes the major drawback of the system. Modern ideas and knowledge cannot become functional in such a system. The impact of a power neighboring structure perpetuates structural weaknesses of a system. Sometimes there is a possibility of an outward show of strength. Thus if Bopudi were studied superficially, the student might be impressed with the changes that have taken place. Analyzing the situation from the structure-functional point of view, one learns the essential structural weaknesses and the consequent inefficient function of even dysfunctioning of a system. Mere influx of ideas and knowledge fails to attain the desired consequences. The gap or discrepancy between subjective motivations and objective consequences arises out of the nature of a structure as is evidenced in the case of Bopudi.

IV. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Certain broad conclusions emerge from this study. These pertain to methodological, theoretical, and practical fields. As to methodology, it has been proved that the problem of communication can be adequately tackled from the structure-functional point of view. As is revealed by the scalogram, it is not merely the distance from or nearness to the city which facilitates communication of ideas and knowledge. Rather it is the nature of structure which also determines the qualitative and quantitative content of communication. This aspect needs further empirical study. Merton's paradigm is validated. As for the theory of communication of modern ideas and knowledge, the study reveals the necessity of analyzing the dependent, interdependent, and independent variables. So many problems are posed. Is communication a one-way process? Is it two-way? If so, what are the factors which make it so? Is there anything inherent in the socio-economic-political structure of a country which determine the content of communication of ideas and knowledge? Thus, for example, is it the realization of the structural weakness

which makes for a wide dissemination of ideas relating to untouchability, caste, religion, etc.? At the level of reception of ideas it has been found that whatever is visible appears to the people, e.g., the Five Year Plan, community development projects, etc. Then again, it has been found that the structural constraints and inadequacies, whether natural or imposed by circumstances, e.g., by the impact of powerful neighbouring structure, render certain ideas and knowledge dysfunctional. This naturally leads to a process of change. There are two possibilities in this connection: one is that the recipient structure may be modified or strengthened to render functional such items; the other is that the realization of the dysfunctional nature of such items may lead to their being discarded by the original disseminating agency and thus the reestablishment of a position of equilibrium may be facilitated even at the cost of a loss of face, e.g., what the medical officer in Muthe suggested in respect to the use of medicine and drugs amounts to this. Does communication follow the lines of stratification? This aspect also needs empirical investigation. As for the practical aspect, the study offers some suggestions. First of all, creating motivation without corresponding effort to create the necessary conditions for the fulfilment of the same leads to frustration. Otherwise, the usual spectacle of discrepancy between subjective motivation and objective consequences will persist. The needs and aspirations of the people ought to be considered before launching new ideas and knowledge. Actually, the necessary atmosphere can be created for the absorption of new ideas and knowledge -- even some bitter pills like the new ideas relating to caste, religion, untouchability, etc., can be swallowed by first attending to the felt needs of the people. External agencies have very many limitations and these limitations cannot be gotten rid of except by fulfilling certain fundamental needs of the people, e.g., by ensuring a higher standard of living to all the people. This would also presuppose an absence of any strings to any aid from such external agencies.

NOTES

1. Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, pp. 49-54. The paradigm presented by Merton is paraphrased below. As Merton himself has admitted, he has codified the different concepts relating to functional analysis in sociology. He gives a neat and well-integrated picture of the different concepts embodied in functional analysis and works out a scheme of total analysis by schematic presentation of the interrelated concepts. In short, Merton has provided us with a framework for analysis.

1. The items to which functions are imputed: Any standardized item like cultural process, role, social norms, etc. can be subjected to functional analysis.
2. Concepts of subjective dispositions (motives, purposes). A sociologist has to reckon with motivation in order to study effectively social action. However, care should be taken not to mix up motivation and consequences.
3. Concepts of objective consequences (function, dysfunctions).

Effort should be made to do away with 'the tendency to confine sociological observations to the positive contributions of a sociological item to the social, or cultural systems in which it is implicated' and to remove 'the tendency to confuse the subjective category of motive with the objective category of function.' This raises the problem of 'multiple consequences' and a total consequence. 'Functions are those observed consequences which make for the adaptation or adjustment of a given system; and dysfunctions, those observed consequences which lessens the adaptation or adjustment of the system. There is also the empirical possibility of nonfunctional consequences, which are simply irrelevant to the system under consideration.'

In any particular case 'an item may have both functional and dysfunctional consequences.' And this raises the problem of the net balance of such consequences.

Then again, conceptual distinction should be made 'between the cases in which the subjective aim in view coincides with the objective consequences, and the cases in which they diverge.'

Manifest functions -- 'which are intended and recognized by participants in the system;

Latent functions, correlatively, being those which are neither intended nor desired.'

The unanticipated consequences can be either functional or dysfunctional or even nonfunctional.

What happens when latent functions are transformed into manifest functions?

4. Concept of unit subserved by the function:

Items may be functional or some groups rather than for others or for some individuals. Actually, some items may be dysfunctional to some human beings and groups. Therefore, the diversity of consequences must be taken proper note of in functional analysis.

5. Concepts of functional requirements (needs, prerequisites):

Procedure has to be evolved to validate 'the assumption of these requirements.'

6. Concepts of the mechanism through which functions are fulfilled:

What is the social mechanism through which items function?

7. Concepts of functional alternatives (functional equivalents or substitutes):

What is 'the range of possible variation in the items which can, in the given instance, subserve a functional requirement'?

8. Concepts of structural context (or structural constraint):

'The range of variation in the items which can fulfil designated functions within a given instance is not unlimited.' Interdependence of different elements of a system limits the permutations and combinations. Structure limits these.

9. Concepts of dynamics and change:

Functional analysis has tended to be static since analysis was made at a point. The introduction of the concept of dysfunction, however, renders dynamic analysis possible since the study of strain and stress implicit in that opens the avenue for a study of the process of rectifying stress and strain. In short, the concept of change is introduced.

2. Rev. M.A. Sherring, Hindu Tribes and Castes, Vol II, p. 308 (Published in 1879).

3. "A note on the working of Subhash Samudayik Sahakari Shetki Sangh Ltd." 1954, p. 2.