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To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Ramaswamy Dwarakinath entitled "Rural Community Development: A Study of the Relevant Sociological Theories." I recommend that it be accepted for nine quarter hours of credit in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science, with a major in Agricultural Extension.

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RURAL COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT:
A STUDY OF THE RELEVANT SOCIOLOGICAL THEORIES

A THESIS

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Community development is considered to be a social invention of great practical significance.¹ While it is a familiar term in many countries of the world today, its concept is regarded as new in origin.² Hence, a great deal about it still remains to be learned.

Community development designates a set of programs designed to achieve rapid improvements in the life of the "retarded" groups of people, primarily on the basis of self-help and cooperation. As a method it is being operated in many of the under-developed areas of the world to alleviate the unsatisfactory living conditions of rural people. The agencies that initiate and promote community development hope and believe, that, through the implementation of these programs, it is possible to bring about large scale improvements in the several spheres of community life of vast masses of people, in relatively short time. These national programs seek, along with the removal of blocks to more satisfactory living, to provide better facilities of life in terms of ample food, clothing, shelter, and social amenities. Over and above this, it is anticipated, that, in the process, the people themselves, as individuals and groups, will become better and more capable citizens.

¹Louis M. Miniclier, "Community Development Defined," Community Development Review, 3:1, December 1956.

²Irwin T. Sanders, "Frontiers of Community Development," Frontiers of Community Research and Action, (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1958), p. 32.

There are certain areas in the world which are usually referred to as "under-developed." In these parts of Asia, Africa, and elsewhere beyond the industrialized regions, live nearly sixty per cent of the global population.³ Poverty, ignorance, and disease, in varying degrees, characterize their life. Through the application of the principles and methods of community development, it is attempted to bring about speedy and marked improvements in the life of millions of these small, local groups of people, by harnessing their own physical, social, and economic resources. These programs, which are in operation in different parts of the under-privileged areas since World War II, and perhaps a little earlier in some colonial areas of Britain, are claimed to have already yielded impressive results. The Rural Social Centers of Egypt, the Village Aid Program of Pakistan, the Community Development Programme of India, and the Mag-Say-Say Community Development Program of Philippines are a few instances at hand. Further, great significance and expectation are also attached to community development and its performance in the few years that lie ahead.

Community development is important not only to the isolated communities, or groups of them, but also to many national governments. A number of nations, particularly in the under-developed areas, are highly interested in this process as a promising means of eliminating the handicaps in the way of better life. They are making use of this ideology with increasing confidence to build up better levels of living. Interest

³"Introduction," Under-developed Areas, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957), p. 10.

in community development is also to be found beyond the limits of national boundaries. In the international circles considerable attention and thought is devoted to the study and promotion of this process. Prominent centers in this respect are the London School of Education, and the International Cooperation Administration of Washington. The United Nations Organization, too, through its several agencies, is extending ideological, technical, and financial assistance to the projects of community development as a means of combating want with regard to the basic needs of mankind.⁴

Purpose of the Study

On the theoretical plane, however, the concept of community development is still considered to be in the process of maturation. From the viewpoint of the sociologists it has not yet passed the formative stages. The hypotheses as related to it are yet to be developed and tested. In the recent book, The Growth of a Science, Edmund deS Brunner refers to the criticism about the dearth of theoretical formulations in rural sociology.⁵ Community development is only a branch of this young science. Devoting a complete issue of Community Development Review, to the conceptual considerations of community development, Louis M. Miniclier invites the academicians "to help broaden the philosophical and theoretic-

⁴"Community Development and Related Services," Community Development Review, 3:7-29, December 1956.

⁵Edmund deS Brunner, The Growth of a Science, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957), pp. 149-153.

cal base of community development."⁶ In an article published in the same issue, on "Theories of Community Development," Irwin T. Sanders indicates the need and possibilities of construction of a foundation of sociological theories to community development.⁷ Suggestions have also been made about the importance of cross-disciplinary contacts among the several related social sciences so as to contribute to the development of this concept.⁸ These are some of the evidences that thinking on community development is yet in the process of crystallization.

In the meanwhile, the field functionaries, in different countries, are earnestly busy in implementing several types of programs in the name of community development under varying local conditions. While doing so they have, through the accumulation of experience and literature, tended to develop what is called a body of "administrative theory."⁹ The reports of the study conference in London in 1957, and another conference in Africa in 1958 are two such examples.¹⁰ All the same, there appears to be definite and considerable diversity in the understanding of the

⁶Louis M. Miniclier, Community Development Review, 9:1, June 1958.

⁷Irwin T. Sanders, "Theories of Community Development," Community Development Review, 9:27-39, June 1958.

⁸Louis M. Miniclier, "Introduction," Community Development Review, 4:1-3, March 1957.

"Social Welfare - The Contribution of the Specialist to Community Development," Community Development Review, 4:50, June 1957.

Ernest F. Witte, "Community Development in Selected Countries," Community Development Review, 4:38, March 1957.

⁹Sanders, op. cit., p. 29.

¹⁰Community Development - A Handbook, (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1958).

Conference Summary - Community Development - Africa; (Washington: International Cooperation Administration).

concept of community development by its practitioners, as is implied by Irwin T. Sanders.¹¹ This is also pointed out by Ernest F. Witte.¹² In fact such a situation of unclear understanding of this concept is not a feature to be observed only between nations, but even within the same country and the same organization. Speaking of the staff of the Indian Community Development Programme, for instance, Carl C. Taylor says that he was "not too sanguine about their understanding of the whole programme that was just getting underway."¹³ Then, at another point, he feels that unless the personnel concerned, from top to bottom, learn more about the nature of community development, the objectives sought for are not likely to be attained with either certainty or rapidity.¹⁴

The gap between the theory and practice has also been observed and considered. Murray G. Ross, while discussing community organization, states that, "this tendency is not only confusing, but it may actually go so far as to prevent development of a consistent and meaningful theory."¹⁵ This state of affairs is not conducive either to theory or to practice as "neither can long progress without the other."¹⁶ Thus, a situation

¹¹Irwin T. Sanders, "Frontiers of Community Development," Frontiers of Community Research and Action, (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1955), p. 23.

¹²Witte, op. cit., pp. 43-44.

¹³Carl C. Taylor, A Critical Analysis of India's Community Development Programme, (New Delhi: Community Projects Administration 1956), p. 22.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 55.

¹⁵Murray G. Ross, Community Organization: Theory and Principles, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1955), p. xiii.

¹⁶Brunner, op. cit., p. 154.

unmistakably exists wherein the community development concept is found to be not fully developed in its theoretical aspects; different countries have tended to develop several administrative philosophies in operating it; and, the field functionaries, who are associated with the actual implementation of these programs, often lack a clear understanding of its nature, methods, and limitations.

On account of this incomplete grasp of the concept in different regions and at different levels, and also on account of the lack of its systematic treatment in the theoretical spheres, there is an ever-growing need for examining the contemporary thought and experience and for gaining an integrated understanding of the subject, from time to time.

The focus of the present study is on one aspect of this situation, namely, the apparent paucity of a foundation of sociological theory to the concept of community development. The purpose of this thesis may therefore be stated as "the study of the theoretical background of the concept of rural community development." The main aim is not so much to examine the concept of community development itself, as it is to examine some of the sociological theories that could be brought together to construct a basis, as it were, which would support a generalized concept of community development. It is assumed here that the central concept of community development has its foundation in the theories of sociology. This study seeks to bring together these relevant theories so as to show their conceptual relationship with community development.

Importance of the Study

A study of this kind has both the theoretical and practical usefulness. Any contribution to a clearer understanding of community development facilitates further development and refinement of the concept. It will serve, as one of the many studies required for the purpose, to reduce the gap between the sociological theory and the fast accumulating field experience. Such a study will be particularly useful from the view point of the practitioner of community development.

The method of community development has been made use of by an increasingly large number of countries in the last two decades. Its efficacy as a method will have a great deal to do, in the next few decades, with the course of events to be faced by a vast proportion of the humanity in the under developed regions. The success or failure of community development will have important implications in terms of prosperity or misery, or emancipation or stagnation of this enormous population. It will also have its influence on the people of the advanced areas of the world. It will not only have some implications for the well-being of these privileged nations, but also for their chosen and cherished way of life - democracy.

How well is community development or are its operators equipped for this onerous task? Taylor, who describes the Indian Community Development Programme as "the most gigantically planned . . . programme of its kind in the world,"¹⁷ has this to say about its applicability

¹⁷Taylor, op. cit., p. 4.

elsewhere:

It (the genius of the Programme) is the way in which it has already reached more than one hundred thousand villages without a large body of highly trained technicians, and without adequate funds to employ them had they been available. It is not a perfect programme but it is a programme by which changes of many kinds have been initiated in India and can be initiated in other countries which are not strong financially, nor rich in highly trained personnel, and in which the vast majority of the peasants, who must be reached and helped can neither read nor write and therefore cannot be reached by mass means of communication.¹⁸

Again, indicating that something else in addition to the faith in the people is required for the success of the Programme, he states,

India has this knowledge and this faith, but she has not yet completely demonstrated that all of those who plan and are working in and directing the Community Development Programme possess or know that they need to possess a sure knowledge of how to catalyse and form responsive and responsible local groups and mobilize and organize whole villages.¹⁹

Continuing his observations on the Community Development Programme and the role of leaders in it, he mentions:

Its greatest weakness is that many of its leaders have neither theoretical knowledge of technical community development methods, nor do they have practical experience in local community mobilization.²⁰

Subsequently he concludes,

. . . it will not move rapidly toward or as surely gain its objectives unless many persons from Village Level Workers to top national and state leaders learn more about local group formation, the utilization and development of local leaders, and the development of initiative and responsibility on the part of the local communities and local leaders.²¹

¹⁸Ibid, p. 3. (Parenthesis supplied.)

¹⁹Ibid, p. 5.

²⁰Ibid, p. 55.

²¹Loc. cit.

These foregoing statements are amply indicative of the fact that a clearer understanding of the characteristics of community development is needed at three different levels on the operational side - the field functionaries, the administrators and supervisors, and the planners and leaders; and, on the theoretical side in two different areas - in bringing theory and practice closer, and in facilitating inter-disciplinary communication.

This thesis, by studying some aspects of community development, seeks to contribute to the understanding of its theoretical nature, and to the extent that such understanding is achieved, to promote a unity of approach in its practice.

Method and Procedure

By necessity, this study is exploratory. The method employed is the review of current literature. The material comes from the works on sociology, applied sociology, periodicals devoted to community development, some theses on related topics, and other relevant publications.

Consistent with the main purpose of the thesis Chapters II to V are devoted to the study of the several related aspects. Chapter II deals with community as a social system. The concept of rural community, its development, its phases and components are considered here. In Chapter III a treatment of social change and social control finds a place. Attention is focused on the nature of social change, sources and process of social change, and social control. Chapter IV dwells upon the controlled change leading to social planning. Here the beginnings of

social welfare work, efforts in social planning, and other social improvement endeavors are briefly examined. Chapter V includes a study of community development in some of its phases, in a general way. In Chapter VI an attempt is made to sum up some of the salient points of the study.

CHAPTER II

THE CONCEPT OF RURAL COMMUNITY

People everywhere have a habitual tendency to live together. They do so in groups which are mostly sedentary. They have found, through the ages, certain advantages in collective living. As they settle down in chosen locations, their unitedness renders the task of adjustment to natural conditions less strenuous. Jointly they can face and harness the natural forces more effectively than otherwise. Group life affords unified defence against many types of external dangers. It also provides a sense of security which facilitates normal daily life. The feeling of belonging together which the members living in association have and reciprocate has its sociological significance. Besides, the communal life conveniently meets several of the service needs of the members which they may not be able to satisfy as individuals or as smaller groups. Further, in this process of living together in a particular locality, for a considerable length of time, enjoying the security and the sense of belongingness that group life offers, and contributing to and benefiting from the common institutions, the people develop and share certain values, norms, customs and traditions which they cherish as their culture. The human aggregates with these characteristics are generally referred to as communities.

Communities have been a subject of study in sociology for a long time. A community for Murray G. Ross, "May be all the people in a specific geographic area," or may "include groups of people who share some common interest or function."¹ Robert L. Sutherland and Julian L.

¹Murray G. Ross, Community Organization: Theory and Principles, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1955), pp. 40-41.

Woodward observe that "the community is a local area (this is its geographical aspect), and the community is an association of persons and groups who live together and influence each other (this is its social or cultural aspect)," and insist that unless the geographic aspect and the cultural aspect are combined the community cannot exist.² If people happen to live in the same territory but have nothing to do with one another, "they form not a community but a 'locality group'; if they "have a common interest but live in different localities," still they constitute not a community but a "special interest group."³ P. D. Kulakarni describes three aspects of a community.

The community is the manifestation of the very life-force integrating a regional group of human beings at biological, sociological and psychological levels. The instincts of self-preservation in the midst of hostile, cooperative and competitive forces is the gift of biological 'elan vital.' The creation and sustenance of social institutions is a product of sociological forces and the positive activity towards welfare is a psychological phenomenon.⁴

Being unable to find a precise answer to what a community is, William W. Biddle says, "we wish that we might give a clear-cut answer to this question, but we cannot."⁵ However, the different concepts of community have certain common elements: (1) the population content,

²Robert L. Sutherland and Julian L. Woodward, Introductory Sociology, (New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1937), p. 374.

³Ibid.

⁴P. D. Kulakarni, "Programs of Community Welfare," Orientation and Training Course for Project Executive Officers at Nilokheri, (New Delhi: Community Projects Administration, 1952), p. 356.

⁵William W. Biddle, The Cultivation of Community Leaders, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953), p. 29.

(2) the geographical basis, (3) the cultural aspect, (4) the psychological element, and (5) the time factor. These are fundamental to the concept of community.

Over the years, many sociological methods have been devised and refined for empirical delineation of communities. The ease as well as the definiteness with which communities can be identified vary vastly. The rural communities of the East, where peasant societies still predominate, are compact, cohesive, and centralized, and therefore can be isolated with relatively less difficulty as compared with the amorphous, diffused communities of urbanized societies as in the United States. In India, for instance, the village community is an independent entity, because of its spacial isolation, cultural identity, psychological integration, sufficiency of common services and the long tradition. Thus, according to S. C. Dube, these villages "have a corporate unity, and each one possesses an individuality of its own;" and, again, "as a territorial, as well as social, economic and ritual unit, the village is a separate and distinct unity."⁶

The "concept of rural community in the United States is of recent origin," and "has an interesting history."⁷ In one of his latest works, The Growth of a Science, Edmund deS Brunner traces the brief history of rural sociology in several of its phases.⁸ In a chapter on "community

⁶S. C. Dube, Indian Village, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1955), p. 6-7.

⁷Lowry Nelson, Rural Sociology, (2nd. ed.; New York: American Book Company, 1955), p. 72.

⁸Edmund deS. Brunner, The Growth of a Science, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957).

studies," he deals with the gradual growth in many dimensions of the community concept, a brief review of which, along with other works would be useful.⁹

The early studies of communities "were almost purely descriptive in nature" and no inter-relations were explained, which was largely attributable to the paucity of the information on the structure and organization of rural communities.¹⁰ This may also be due to the fact that the methods available to the researcher were not so highly developed in the initial stages. With the gathering experience of the social scientist, however, the community came to be regarded as not a mere physical aggregation to be studied and described as a mechanical unit but more as an inter-relationship of persons.

Warren H. Wilson, one of the earliest sociologists to describe the rural community, delineated the geographical area wherein men buy and sell as "the radius of social interaction" as measured by the "team haul."¹¹ He meant by "team haul" the distance that a farmer would customarily drive with a horse and a wagon, prior to the automobile era. "Wilson conceived of the community as made up of the people at some center and those who lived close enough to reach it after the morning chores were done and return home in time for the evening chores."¹²

The concept of community as a geographic area of interaction

⁹Ibid., pp. 11-47.

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 11-12.

¹¹Nelson, op. cit., p. 72.

¹²Brunner, op. cit., p. 12.

around a service center was further developed by C. J. Galpin who devised a technique of delineating and mapping what he called a "rurban community."¹³ This way he was able to indicate the community boundaries with some degree of precision even though the service transactions did not coincide entirely, in all cases.¹⁴ Galpin concluded that the trade zone was most important in determining the community boundaries.¹⁵

Galpin's concept of community has been generally validated by a number of later studies. However, the services that lend themselves significantly for delineation of communities vary in some cases. Thus Nelson mentions a study in Michigan wherein "the high school attendance area was a more satisfactory single factor in determining a community boundary than any other. . . ."¹⁵ This is different from the trade center communities. The process of mapping the community area was further improved by Irwin T. Sanders and Douglas Ensminger, who, working on the basic principle of "trade and service area," included within the community boundaries not merely individual families but also the neighborhood units, naming it the "neighborhood cluster method."¹⁷

These and similar studies, according to Brunner, lead to the conclusion that changes in rural life during the last thirty years have been conditioned largely by a readjustment of spacial relationship.¹⁸

¹³Nelson, loc. cit.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 73.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 76.

¹⁸Brunner, op. cit., p. 14.

In the post war years, especially, greater attention has been given to "the inter-relationship of factors in the community."¹⁹ A hypothesis has been developed that "natural communities existed, the boundaries of which could be determined with some exactitude; that identifiable social forces gave them cohesion; and that factors in community organization could be observed and defined."²⁰ But, "the conception of the completely self-sufficient community in rural society has been outmoded by inter-related forms of association which can be plotted and predicted."²¹

After a brief review of some of the important community studies Brunner proceeds to discuss the problem of defining the community.²² For the layman, of course, the community consists of the people that live in a specific locality and support various institutions and organizations which have measurable areas of service.²³ The social scientists, on the other hand, have no commonly accepted definition of a community. Broadly, when the different versions are considered together, three major areas of emphasis become evident.

The locality basis of the community, as a trade and service area, has been adopted by many sociologists beginning from Wilson and Galpin. Some of them define "the rural community as the people in any area with-

¹⁹Ibid., p. 18.

²⁰Ibid., p. 19.

²¹Ibid., p. 23.

²²Ibid., pp. 34-36.

²³Ibid., p. 33.

in which more than half the families obtain more than half their services at the village center."²⁴ As for Robert E. Hieronymus, quoted by Dwight Sanderson, "A community consists of a group or company of people living fairly closely together in a more or less compact contiguous territory, who are coming to act together in the chief concerns of life."²⁵ According to Sanderson himself, "the community is composed of the people within a local area; the land that they occupy is but the physical basis of the community; whether or not people live closely will depend upon the geographical character of the territory in which they live."²⁶

The psychological aspects of the community are stressed as basic to community identity, by some other sociologists. Ray E. Wakely, in his studies, concluded that psychologically self-contained community did not exist, but that psychological factors influenced the community solidarity as determined on a locality basis.²⁷

Some scientists consider community as essentially a social system. "Du Wors defined the community as a social system which originated in the people's acceptance of common definitions of recurring life situations, through which social continuity is achieved. This formulation is in the nature of theory as well as definition," in the opinion of Brunner.²⁸

²⁴Ibid., p. 33.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Ibid., p. 35.

²⁸Ibid., pp. 35-36.

Again, Charles P. Loomis and J. Allen Beegle define the community in terms of "a social system encompassing a territorial unity."²⁹ In one of his recent publications, Sanders takes a similar view in describing the community.³⁰

It is evident from the foregoing that full agreement does not exist among the social scientists on the definition of the community. "It is difficult to define community because of its diversity and complexity. For this reason no universal definition should be attempted," according to Pauline V. Young.³¹ However, the fact remains that unanimity exists that community comprises of a body of people, that it has spacial dimensions, that it has common services and institutions, and that it has a varying degree of cohesiveness originating from the psychological identification. The contemporary sociological thought is in favor of the concept of community as a social system, as a dynamic medium in which identifiable patterns of interaction operate.

Community as a Social System

A good knowledge of the characteristics of community is a prerequisite for the study at hand. Any one community is similar to another

²⁹Charles P. Loomis and J. Allen Beegle, Rural Sociology: The Strategy of Change, (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1957), p. 22.

³⁰Irwin T. Sanders, The Community, (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1958), pp. 186-200.

³¹Pauline V. Young, Scientific Social Surveys and Research, (3rd. ed.; Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1959), p. 470.

in some respects; and, also, at the same time, different from it in some respects for which reason it acquires an individuality of its own. "Every community," in the words of T. R. Batten, "is in some way different from every other . . . even neighboring communities have different histories, different personalities as leaders, different physical environments, and differences in local skills and resources."³² However, there are certain community features which lend themselves for generalization, and within the framework of which individual communities tend to be different from one another. These may be 'concrete' or 'inferred' features.³³ Some of these main features are:

The community is a place; it consists of people; it provides jobs and services; it has a communication network; it has a past living on in traditions and values; it contains social layers; its people express themselves through groups; it is an arena of interaction; it experiences social change; and it has a system of controls to enforce a reasonable degree of conformity to its traditions and values.³⁴

A consideration of some of these aspects is essential for an effective understanding of community life.

In the past there has been a conspicuous tendency to look upon the community as a phenomenon, the structural aspects of which could be focused upon for analysis and study. This view was based upon the assumption that the community was like a mechanical unit. This approach with a greater emphasis on the structural rather than the operational aspects has been described by Albert J. Reiss, Jr., thus:

³²T. R. Batten, Communities and Their Development, (London: Oxford University Press, 1957), p. 22.

³³Sanders, op. cit., p. 99.

³⁴Ibid., p. 2.

The conventional treatment of communities, particularly omnibus community studies, present the community as a microcosm of the larger macrocosm - the smallest territorial system which encompasses the major features of society, ie. a society in miniature. A community is usually seen then as possessing a system of stratification, a power structure, characteristic institutions such as educational, religious, and economic ones, and so on, depending upon the complexity of its organization.³⁵

Actually what gives a community the character of a community is the nature of inter-personal relationship that exists within its entity. Individuals and groups who make up the community, invariably interact in daily life. These mutual contacts or acts tend to be repeated over time and become identifiable patterns of behavior. The totality of these relationships is commonly termed as social interaction.

Another concept to be considered here is that "the group is a moving unit of interacting personalities."³⁶ A view is often taken of the community, as does John D. Black,³⁷ as a social medium. In this medium some kind of interplay between individuals and groups takes place ceaselessly; this activity is concomitant with community life. This approach many times leads to the assumption that a regular social process pervades the community life. It is an antithesis of the concept of community as a rigid, inflexible social structure. Indeed, "the concept of social process is a reaction against static theory; it opposes the concept

³⁵Albert J. Reiss, Jr., "The Sociological Study of Communities," Frontiers of Community Research and Action, (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1958), p. 7.

³⁶Sutherland and Woodward, op. cit., p. 279.

³⁷John D. Black, Introduction to Economics of Agriculture, (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1953), p. 62.

of a society as a structure, or society as a formal or static arrangement of blocks of material."³⁸

Most of the sociologists do not accept this theory of social process. In its full implication, it indicates the existence of continuous, progressive or retrogressive changes in the society, which, over time, may be conceived as vertical or spiral sequences of systematic changes. Pitirim A. Sorokin, declares that prevailing evidence does not substantiate this theory, as also the theory of social evolution.³⁹ Don Martindale also indicates the collapse of these "theoretical formulations of positive organicism."⁴⁰ But, on the other hand, social change, as the summation of social interaction between two points of time, is accepted by sociologists as an important social phenomenon.⁴¹

This stand does not mean, however, that the other aspects of the community such as its ecology, culture, stratification, etc. have been relegated to the background as less important. Consideration of community as a social system only emphasizes the fact that the sociologists have recognized another aspect of society as a unit of observation. It would be appropriate here to take note of what Charles L. Cleland observes:

³⁸Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences, Vol. 13, (New York: The MacMillan and Company, 1953), 1949.

³⁹Pitrim A. Sorokin, Contemporary Sociological Theories, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1928), pp. 738-746.

⁴⁰Don Martindale, "Sociological Theory and Ideal Type, "Symposium on Sociological Theory, (New York: Row, Peterson and Company, 1959), p. 61.

⁴¹Hornell Hart, "Social Theory and Social Change, "Symposium on Sociological Theory, (New York: Row, Peterson and Company, 1959), p. 234.

In the past few years a theory of social organization or structure has appeared, the basic unit of which has special significance for those concerned with study of systems of social interaction. In the theory developed by Parsons . . . the basic unit of social interaction is the social system which is a subsystem of interaction within the society. The smallest social system is that composed of two individuals socially interacting. . . .⁴²

Thus the community has both its static aspects and dynamic features.

A. Setting Factors of the Community

In his elaborate treatment of the community, Sanders discusses the several setting factors of the community.⁴³

Spacial Adaptation of the Community

Every community has a geographical base. "A community is a territorially organized system coextensive with a settlement pattern."⁴⁴ Within this spacial system, it has a network of communication; its people share common facilities and services; and they develop a psychological identification with the locality symbol - name.⁴⁵ Looking at the community as a territorial system, Reiss says that "a community arises through sharing a limited territorial space for residence and sustenance and functions to meet common needs generated in sharing this space by

⁴²Charles L. Cleland, A Survey Method for Studying Rural Social Systems, Doctoral Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1958, pp. 4-6.

⁴³Sanders, op. cit., pp. 186-190.

⁴⁴Ibid.

⁴⁵Ibid.

establishing characteristic forms of social action.⁴⁶

Thus, a system of social relationships must bear some connection to the place in which its members carry on their daily activities. Ecology describes the adjustments man has made to his natural environment which includes natural resources, climate, and surface features.

Environment has a far-reaching effect on human life. The setting and the elements composing it condition, to a large extent, the human reaction to them; they influence the fact whether a particular group becomes a farming, ranching, or mining community. In the United States, if one finds livestock farming in the north, wheat farming in the west, and cotton farming in the south, the influence of natural surroundings is not difficult to discern.⁴⁷

Another side of this human adjustment to the geographic peculiarities should not be overlooked. While man is undoubtedly influenced by natural forces, he himself does influence environment to a surprisingly large measure. Human communities in the past have survived and thrived wherever they harmoniously lived with nature. But the modern history of man is replete with the successes he has had in harnessing nature's resources with his ingenuity to suit his needs. Sometimes this activity goes to the extreme of exploiting the nature remorselessly. A revealing account of such indiscriminate overuse is given by Fairfield Osborn in

⁴⁶Reiss, op. cit., p. 1.

⁴⁷Popular Report - American Farmer in 1956, (Washington: U. S. Department of Commerce, 1956).

his book Our Plundered Planet.⁴⁸

The common pattern of adjustment to nature by human beings, insofar as space is concerned, has been outlined by Sanders.⁴⁹

The community as a settlement pattern, according to him is one of the man's adjustment to his physical surroundings through cultural adaptation. The main features of this pattern are the actual 'location' of the settlement, the physical 'shape' it acquires, and the demographic 'size' of the community. In addition it develops and becomes a part of the communication and transportation system.

He also analyses the aspects of competition for space within the community. One of the factors related to this is the competition with respect to 'land use' for the industrial, commercial, institutional, and residential purposes. Another factor is the competition between individuals and groups which is beset with considerations like social acceptability of individuals, social status, economic standing, and similar considerations.

Nelson deals with "the physical environment and spacial patterns or rural life"⁵⁰ as pertaining to American rural life. One of his statements in this regard is of general applicability and adequately sums up the situation.

All life subsists upon a superficial layer of the earth's

⁴⁸Fairfield Osborn, Our Plundered Planet, (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1948).

⁴⁹Sanders, op. cit., pp. 3-21.

⁵⁰Nelson, op. cit., pp. 27-94.

crust. . . . Man, no less than the other animals and the plants is depending upon this thin coating of the planet. He not only must recognize this dependence and adapt himself to it, but his adaptation must also be to other physical conditions such as topography, temperature, and precipitation. This process of adaptation affects society and culture. Rural people especially have direct relations with the soil, the lay of the land, the wind, and the rain. They are not only acted upon by these forces, but they themselves act upon and influence them as well.

In man's adaptation to physical environment there arise certain patterns of arrangement, which the geographer calls the cultural landscape. Regions in the homogeneous characteristics can be delineated and constituent areas described.⁵¹

Cultural Aspect of the Community

Among the several facets of a community none is more important than its culture. It is one of the universal characteristics of the society. It is the social heritage. While habitat is the natural environment, culture is the man-made environment. "The fundamental predication of the concept of culture is that human life is a socially organized and transmitted structure of behavior and thought."⁵² "No people are so primitive as to lack a culture."⁵³

Most of the culture is passed on from one generation to the next through the informal groups of family, neighborhood and the play group.⁵⁴ Culture is a binding force; it is one of those strands in the community that holds it together. "People, because they live in proximity and

⁵¹Ibid., p. 28.

⁵²Ralph Turner, "The Cultural Setting of American Agriculture," Farmers in a Changing World, (Yearbook 1940; Washington: USDA), p. 1029.

⁵³M. L. Wilson and Edmund deS Brunner, "The Role of Extension in World Culture," Farmers of the World, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945), p. 195.

⁵⁴Sanders, op. cit., p. 114.

share a common past, share the accumulation of the past - the culture."⁵⁵
To that extent the culture serves an integrating function in the community.

Culture is both a specific and composite term. Ralph Linton in his book, The Study of Man, writes:

In human beings the social heredity is called culture. The term is used in a double sense. As a general term, culture means the total social heredity of mankind, while as a specific term a culture means a particular strain of social heredity. Thus culture as a whole, is composed of a vast number of cultures each of which is a characteristic of a certain group of individuals.⁵⁶

Culture is many-sided - it is complex, bulky, and all-pervading. It almost defies orderly description. "Culture includes all those ways of behaving which the individual learns as a member of a society."⁵⁷ It includes material as well as non-material things. Wilson D. Wallis, as quoted by Nelson, defines culture as "the artificial objects, institutions, and modes of life or of thought which are not peculiarly individual, but which characterize a group."⁵⁸ Solon T. Kimball cites Bronislaw Malinowski to define culture as "a body of artifacts and a system of customs."⁵⁹ Again, Ernest Beaglehole quotes E. B. Taylor in

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 354.

⁵⁶Ralph Linton, The Study of Man, (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1936), p. 78.

⁵⁷Sutherland and Woodward, op. cit., p. 13.

⁵⁸Nelson, op. cit., p. 7.

⁵⁹Solon T. Kimball, "Diversity and Change in the Culture of the Non-literate Peoples," Farmers of the World, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945), p. 8.

defining culture as "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society." ⁶⁰

Perusing a number of definitions, Francis E. Merrill advances the following conception of culture:

Culture therefore: (a) is the characteristically human product of social interaction; (b) provides socially acceptable patterns for biological and social needs; (c) is cumulative as it is handed down from generation to generation . . . ; (d) is meaningful to human beings because of its symbolic quality; (e) is learned by each person in the course of his development . . . ; (f) is therefore a basic determinant of personality; and (g) depends for its existence upon the continued functioning of the society but is independent of any individual or group.⁶¹

The study of the culture is necessary to understand the human community as a whole.⁶² Along with the geographical factors, the cultural elements give the community its uniqueness.⁶³

Culture in its inclusive sense is essentially an anthropological term. Modern social thought which is breaking away from anthropology is not using the large scale concept of culture.⁶⁴ But sociologists are interested in culture as such wherever they have to deal with the communities in their welfare and developmental activities. Particularly in

⁶⁰Ernest Beaglehole, "Cultural Factors in Economic and Social Change," Underdeveloped Areas, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957), p. 417.

⁶¹Francis E. Merrill, Society and Culture, (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1958), pp. 120-121.

⁶²Robert Redfield and W. Lloyd Warner "Cultural Anthropology and Modern Agriculture," Farmers in a Changing World, (Year Book 1940: Washington: USDA), p. 992.

⁶³Douglas Ensminger and Irwin T. Sanders, "What Extension Is," Farmers of the World, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945), p. 4.

⁶⁴Martindale, op. cit., p. 61.

dealing with the underdeveloped peoples of the world cultural barriers need to be recognized and surmounted.⁶⁵ Gaining a knowledge of cultural inter-relatedness of a particular community is a preliminary step in this venture.⁶⁶

Content of culture. Culture consists of the material and immaterial elements. The former includes all tools and touchable products which have material substance. "Strictly speaking, of course, the fabrications are not themselves parts of culture; it is the art of manufacturing them and using of them that belongs to the social heritage."⁶⁷ The immaterial culture comprises of such things as the language, religion, philosophy, morals, art, and literature. Thus, customs, folkways, mores, institutions and value systems are all the essential elements of a culture.

Folk ways and customs. For Sutherland and Woodward, folk ways are part of the immaterial culture and constitute the group habits, usages, and customs.⁶⁸ They quote William Graham Sumner who states that the folk ways are seldom the results of reflection and rational planning. But the authors feel that the process of custom-making may not be so blindly un-premeditated. Anyway, a large part of the culture, they say, has a rational origin which mostly remains anonymous.

⁶⁵Chestler L. Hunt, "Cultural Barriers to Point Four," Underdeveloped Areas, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957), pp. 316-321.

⁶⁶Edward H. Spicer, Human Problems in Technological Change, (New York; Russell Sage Foundation, 1952), p. 286.

⁶⁷Robert L. Sutherland and Julian L. Woodward, op. cit., p. 15.

⁶⁸Ibid., pp. 16-18.

Sanders describes custom as "a folk way, a behavior pattern."⁶⁹

It is "an accepted behavior pattern for people occupying certain statuses in the community. . . . Custom is like a social role that people perform at a given time and place."⁷⁰ "Customs are as widespread as group behavior . . . the individual who follows a custom without giving it a second thought is relieved of the responsibility of deciding just what he is supposed to do. Customs therefore save much decision-making 'wear and tear'."⁷¹

Mores. In the opinion of Sutherland and Woodward, again, folkways which are moral issues and belong in a spacial realm become mores.⁷² The folkways are the 'right' ways of doing things, but sooner or later, some of them come to have a more binding sanction than others and become mores. These are related to the value system of the community and are defended when needed. They constitute, together, the real code of morality of the society. Sanders also states that mores are customs that are 'sacred'; they are obligatory customs.⁷³ Some mores become laws and some become 'taboos'; and both have a sense of compulsion connected with them.⁷⁴

Tradition. "Customs and mores are traditional in that they have

⁶⁹Sanders, op. cit., pp. 78-79.

⁷⁰Ibid.

⁷¹Ibid., p. 79.

⁷²Sutherland and Woodward, op. cit., pp. 18-21.

⁷³Sanders, op. cit., p. 79.

⁷⁴Ibid.

been handed down from the past by word of mouth and by example."⁷⁵ But traditions are something more than "customs or behavior patterns; they also involve an explanation of why these traditions are important and must be preserved."⁷⁶

Institutions and mores. "Institutions are produced out of the mores."⁷⁷ Government, trade, education, and religion are all at the roots only aggregates of folkways built together around some central unifying concepts.⁷⁸ Institution-patterns, like the family are "crescive" - they grow by a slow process of accretion and organization of mores into wholes.⁷⁹

Values and value orientations. Normally, "no community can possess all that it might want to possess nor achieve all that it might want to achieve," and therefore, the possible goals are to be ranked in an order of importance and available energy and resources spent in pursuing them."⁸⁰ Values are those things which the community considers good and to be sought, thereby implying that the opposites are bad and to be rejected.⁸¹ Sanders cites Clyde Kluckhohn to define 'value orientations' as those views of the world which define the meaning of life, thereby providing a context in which the daily problems are solved.⁸² "Just as customs are

⁷⁵Ibid., p. 79.

⁷⁶Ibid.

⁷⁷Sutherland and Woodward, op. cit., pp. 21-22.

⁷⁸Ibid.

⁷⁹Ibid.

⁸⁰Sanders, op. cit., pp. 79-80.

⁸¹Ibid.

⁸²Ibid.

what people do and traditions are explanations people have for doing specific things, so value orientations are the ways people look at life in general."⁸³

The analysis of culture by Hart is of some interest here:

Culture may be analyzed horizontally into six institutional slices: the economic, financial, educational, political, religious, and leisure time. Vertically, culture traits may be classified into four levels in relation to the sciences which have primary concern with them: namely, material sciences . . .; the biological . . . the psychological . . . , and sociological. . . .⁸⁴

Culture is transmitted from generation to generation. The process by which the new members are initiated into the group culture is called socialization. Cultural transmission also takes place between cultures. This process includes diffusion, acculturation and assimilation.

Population Content of the Community

The study of population is called demography. People are the basic material with which communities are formed. In this sense people are considered as a population rather than as interacting personalities.⁸⁵ They influence the behavior of the community as a social system, not only quantitatively, but also qualitatively.⁸⁶ Sanders writes:

A community made up of many diverse ethnic groups has different problems of assimilation and integration from one in which the population is homogenous. Increasing or declining members, changing sex ratios or age composition, have subtle but no less

⁸³Ibid.

⁸⁴Hart, op. cit., p. 221.

⁸⁵Sanders, op. cit., p. 187.

⁸⁶Ibid.

real impact upon the social behavior within the community.⁸⁷

A community is to be viewed as consisting of "a population in all stages of the life cycle," to which new members are recruited through the biological processes of birth.⁸⁸ Moreover, this population has to possess adequate skills and knowledge to maintain life at a desirable level.⁸⁹

Sanders makes a systematic analysis of the demographic aspect of the community in his book cited earlier.⁹⁰ Over a period of time the total population either increases or dwindles, but seldom remains constant. This growth or decline of population base mainly depends upon three factors: natural increase or decrease, migration, and annexation.⁹¹

The natural variation is influenced by the birth rate and death rate in the community which are variable factors. Migration here means the movement of people into or out of a community, which is a resultant of several other related factors. Annexation is a phenomenon observed more in the case of expanding urban units than in the case of rural communities.

Another aspect of the population is its composition.⁹² It includes the sex ratio, age composition, and race composition. Some of the other points regarding the population considered by Sanders are,

⁸⁷Ibid.

⁸⁸Ibid., p. 189.

⁸⁹Ibid.

⁹⁰Ibid., pp. 22-36.

⁹¹Ibid.

⁹²Ibid.

briefly, the marital status, religious groupings, educational levels, occupational distribution and health standards.⁹³

Thus, concisely,

A community is lived in by many people who can be counted, studied in terms of various groupings to which they belong, and understood in the light of the problems that demographic trends reveal. Demographic trends represent only one aspect of the community but when added to knowledge of the community as a place or the community as provider of jobs and services, they provide a necessary background against which to view the intense social activity of which community life consists.⁹⁴

Some of the above considerations which have far reaching implications deserve to be further examined, not merely as related to individual communities but to larger societies.

People live in balance with nature. The size of population of a locality is often limited by the natural forces and resources it has to live with. A rapid exploitation of the available facilities like a natural timber crop, or the climatic fluctuations like droughts can have an unfavorable effect on a community.⁹⁵ Amongst the many natural resources the food and water supply are of particular significance.

Another consideration is the rate of growth of population. In most parts of the world the population is increasing at alarming rates. The size of population increases geometrically according to the classic Malthusian theory.⁹⁶ The considerations implicit in this have been

⁹³Ibid.

⁹⁴Ibid.

⁹⁵Nelson, op. cit., p. 126.

⁹⁶Black, op. cit., p. 59.

discussed by Black from several angles.⁹⁷

These facts, that population increases at an increasing rate, that many natural resources are not unlimited, and the skills with which the resources are exploited are not improved as fast as the population increases, make a tremendous effect on other spheres of human life.

Speaking about rural America, O. E. Baker and Conrad Taeuber discuss the many sided problem of the population - the cultural dissimilarities, the income disparities, the differential growth, the migration problems, and the opportunities for youth.⁹⁸ Paul V. Maris analyses one specific aspect of population and farm tenancy as a problem of adjustment to land.⁹⁹ The aspect of population density, industrialization, and farm policy is treated by L. E. Gray.¹⁰⁰

On a broader plane, similar problems of population as related to underdeveloped areas have been discussed by different authors.¹⁰¹ A dubious question, "Will Malthusian law of population thwart economic progress in under developed areas?" has attracted the attention of some scientists.

⁹⁷Op. cit., pp. 343-365.

⁹⁸O. E. Baker and Conrad Taeuber, "The Rural People," Farmers in a Changing World, (Year Book, 1940; Washington: USDA), pp. 827-847.

⁹⁹Paul V. Maris, "Farm Tenancy," Farmers in a Changing World, (Year Book 1940; Washington: USDA), pp. 887-906.

¹⁰⁰L. C. Gray, "Our Major Land Use Problems and Suggested Lines of Action," Farmers in a Changing World, (Year Book 1940; Washington: USDA), pp. 398-415.

¹⁰¹Iyle W. Shannon (ed.), Under Developed Areas, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957).

Malthus' law states that the population tends to outrun the food supply, keeping the standard of living for the mass of people at a subsistence level. Every advance in productivity is cancelled by an increase in population. Unless this problem is solved there is little point in attempting to solve the other problems. Population pressure has caused many experts to give up in despair, declaring the whole problem of development of backward areas to be doomed from the start.¹⁰²

Such a hopeless condition prevails in about two-thirds of the world.¹⁰³ After a full consideration of the population problem in the under developed areas, Kingsley Davis concludes, that "from a strictly scientific, or dispassionate, point of view the chances do not appear good" for solving the imbalance.¹⁰⁴

However, communities or nations may react to such situations and attempt to check the disproportionate growth of the population. For instance, S. Chandrasekhar speaks of "the prospect of planned parenthood in India."¹⁰⁵ A confident, if not quite optimistic, note is struck by Hope Tisdale Eldridge in discussing "population growth and economic development."

Those who take a dim view like to compound population increases at various percentages per annum and terrify us with the results. But it is useless to calculate numbers of persons without qualifying the other variables in the equation of the future. The prospect of a doubling of the world's population

¹⁰²John M. Hunter and William H. Knowles, "Ten Problems of Point Four," Under Developed Areas, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957), p. 312.

¹⁰³Douglas F. Dowd, "Two Thirds of the World," Under Developed Areas, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957), pp. 12-21.

¹⁰⁴Kingsley Davis, "Population and Change in Backward Areas," Under Developed Areas, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957), pp. 73-76.

¹⁰⁵S. Chandrasekhar, "The Prospect of Planned Parenthood," Under Developed Areas, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957), pp. 386-393.

by the end of the twentieth century holds no terrors unless we can be certain that the physical appurtenances of life cannot be more than doubled in the same period.¹⁰⁶

The above discussion gives an indication of the importance of population as an organic part of the community and also of the magnitude of problems associated with it.

Personality Factors in the Community

"In human life," says Ralph Linton, "the society rather than the individual has become the primary unit in the struggle for existence - men confront nature not as isolated units but as members of organized cooperative groups."¹⁰⁷ He further states that "the foundation of every society is an aggregate of individuals."¹⁰⁸ "The incorporation of the individual into the group and his training" has become a primary function of the man's social heredity.¹⁰⁹ Every society, therefore, has its own process of preparing the younger members to take their roles in the community. This process is called socialization.

Individuals are born with a given biological equipment which is their biological heritage. They also inherit a vast set of potentialities for adjustment. As a result of the impact of the culture, through the contact with others in the group, they become gradually socialized and develop characteristic personalities. They thus acquire the social

¹⁰⁶Hope Tisdale Eldridge, "Population Growth and Economic Development," Under Developed Areas, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957), p. 68.

¹⁰⁷Linton, op. cit., p. 86.

¹⁰⁸Ibid., p. 92.

¹⁰⁹Ibid., p. 86.

heritage and "cease to be simply individuals, mere biological units," and "become persons with habits of thought and action."¹¹⁰

A personality is a person's pattern of life, the integration of his habit systems, capacities, and attributes into a single whole.¹¹¹ In other words, personality designates the whole of the individual's mental qualities - the sum total of its rational faculties, perceptions, ideas, habits, and conditioned emotional responses.¹¹² The personality is the subjective aspect of the culture.¹¹³

Over and above the biological inheritance, culture is the most influential factor in shaping the personality of an individual. At the same time, culture itself derives all its qualities from the personalities of the group and the interaction amongst them.¹¹⁴

Linton points out that every personality presents two aspects, namely, its content and its organization.¹¹⁵ He conceives content as consisting of the personality's component elements; and organization as the way in which these elements are related to each other and oriented both in respect to each other and to the total configuration. "The process of personality formation seems to be primarily one of integrating the

¹¹⁰Sutherland and Woodward, op. cit., p. 156.

¹¹¹Ibid.

¹¹²Linton, loc. cit.

¹¹³William L. Kolb, "The Changing Prominence of Values," Modern Sociological Theory, (New York: The Dryden Press, 1957), p. 98. (Quotation from Faris.)

¹¹⁴Linton, loc. cit.

¹¹⁵Ibid., pp. 464-465.

individual's experience with its constitutional qualities to form a naturally adjusted, functional whole."¹¹⁶

Consideration of the processes of personality formation and personality types in a community lends it a new dimension.¹¹⁷ This will indicate, according to Sanders, if any special types of personalities are developing within or attracted to the community.¹¹⁸ Further, it also throws light on the prevalent attitudes and their development, and the problems related to the conformity to and deviation from the established customs of this group by its members. The consideration is based on the fact that every community has its own mechanism of socializing its new members and developing in them a psychological identification with the locality symbol.¹¹⁹

Socialization is the lifelong process through which the human organism learns a culture.¹²⁰ Sanders uses this term to designate a motivational process of personality development as viewed from the standpoint of the society rather than the individual.¹²¹ Thus, he considers personality as a social product and socialization as the process by which it is achieved. By this means of socialization, "people arrive at

¹¹⁶Ibid., p. 466.

¹¹⁷Sanders, op. cit., p. 188.

¹¹⁸Ibid.

¹¹⁹Ibid., p. 189.

¹²⁰Allison Davis, "The Continuous Socialization of the Individual," Readings in Social Psychology, (2nd. ed.; New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1952), p. 520.

¹²¹Sanders, op. cit., 169.

the meanings they attach to different symbols."¹²² From the viewpoint of the individual the personality development amounts to social learning, and is termed "internalization." This process involves learning by the individual the whole range of skills, habits and attitudes which are necessary for him for an adequate role playing in the group.¹²³

Sanders outlines, after David Reisman, three "ideal types" of society which have a bearing on the character formation and conformity of the individuals.¹²⁴ They are: (1) 'tradition-directed' type, (2) 'inner-directed' type, and (3) 'other-directed' type which may be profitably summarized here.

(1) In the first type conformity is ensured by the tendency of the members to follow tradition. The culture controls the behavior minutely. Little energy is directed for finding new solutions to old problems. The tradition-directed person feels the impact of the culture as a unit. "The sanction for behavior tends to be the fear of being shamed."¹²⁵

(2) The second type is characterized by increased personal mobility. "The source of direction for the individual is 'inner' in the sense that it is implanted early in life by the elders and directed toward generalized but none-the-less inescapably destined goals."¹²⁶ The

¹²²Ibid., p. 123.

¹²³Sutherland and Woodward, op. cit., pp. 182-195.

¹²⁴Sanders, op. cit., p. 169-171.

¹²⁵Ibid., p. 171 (Quotation from David Reisman).

¹²⁶Ibid., p. 170 (Quotation from David Reisman).

inner-directed person is capable of more stability. He is led to a sense of guilt whenever he deviates from the expected course.

(3) In the third type people find the source of direction in their contemporaries. "The other-directed person is a cosmopolitan."¹²⁷ The control equipment of the other-directed person is the psychological lever of 'diffuse anxiety'.

The family, kinfolk, neighborhood, and religion play an essential role in socialization in the first and second types of society. The peer group is an important factor in the third type.¹²⁸ Generally speaking, the "individual first learns to function within the family group. The interactions between relations are governed by the background of family life, its physical environment and economic and social activities."¹²⁹

Time Element in the Community

Sanders treats time as one of the setting factors of the community.¹³⁰ The community persists through time. Time is required for any culture to acquire its distinctive features. The knowledge of the past, he feels, which lives on into the present is essential to understand the contemporary events. This should not merely trace the sequence of events, but must also "reconstruct the interrelationships which existed

¹²⁷Ibid., p. 171 (Quotation from David Reisman).

¹²⁸Ibid., pp. 171-173.

¹²⁹B. H. Mehta, "Social Psychology," Orientation and Training Course for Project Executive Officers at Nilokheri, (New Delhi: Community Projects Administration, 1952), p. 385.

¹³⁰Sanders, op. cit., pp. 188-189.

at a given time in the past."¹³¹

The setting of the community system as visualized by Sanders is diagrammatically represented in figure 1.

B. Components of the Community

After the analytical examination of the setting of the community-including ecology, demography, culture, personality, and time - Sanders takes up the consideration of the components of the community as a social system.¹³² It is implicit in the concept of community as a social system that it is composed of certain constituent segments. Sanders provides a simple and graphic analysis of this phase which is used here.

Every social system has its parts or components, which are, essentially, analytical concepts for study. It comprises of groups, groups being actually the patterns of interaction amongst individuals. The community is not a static unit; it is ever-acting. It is therefore necessary to have a 'snapshot' look at it to have an anatomical perspective.

. . . the dynamic aspects may be frozen at one point in time so that an analysis can be made of the structure, or of the relationship of the parts to each other. The comparison is often made with a motion picture film which tells the story only as it moves from one frame to the next. But it is possible to halt the camera and project one particular frame on the screen as long as desired so that some special detail can be studied. Social scientists have to catch "society on the run," since

¹³¹Ibid.

¹³²Ibid., pp. 190-199.

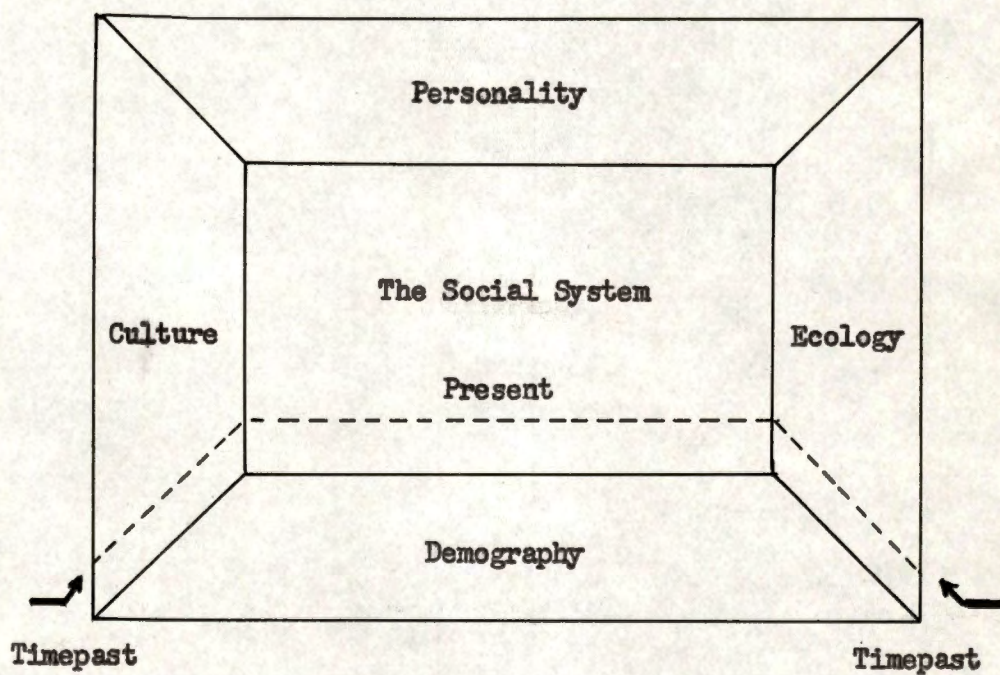


Figure 1. The Setting of the Community System^a

^aIrwin T. Sanders, The Community, (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1958), p. 187.

people never stop interacting, but they can trace the patterns of behavior and separate out a particular cluster of these behavior patterns for further study. It is in this sense that one can talk of components of a social system.¹³³

As presented by Sanders, the basic unit of analysis of the total system of community is the subsystem, which in turn is a network of groups; the groups themselves are made up of social relationships of constituent personalities.¹³⁴

The person. The individual through the acquisition of personality "becomes social and moves from the animal plane to what might be called the human plane. . . . The social isolate cannot function as a person indefinitely, since his personality derives from and sustains itself through interaction with others."¹³⁵ The socialized individual is a social product in one sense, and, in another, a partner in teaching what he has learned to others and the new members. In the latter capacity he seeks to influence others in the definite direction that he considers proper. He is always "able and ready to interact with other people in ways he considers expected and appropriate."¹³⁶ The person occupies many different statuses filling some of them more adequately than others.

Although there appears to be a "society vs. individual" controversy with "social realism" and "social atomism" philosophies,¹³⁷ the

¹³³Ibid., p. 190.

¹³⁴Ibid.

¹³⁵Ibid.

¹³⁶Ibid.

¹³⁷Florian Znaniecki, "Social Organization and Institutions," Twentieth Century Sociology, (New York: The Philosophical Library, 1945), pp. 178-179.

individual in the society is still of considerable importance both as a biological unit and as an entity in social interaction.

Social relationships. Persons and groups make responses to and are responded to by others. These inter-personal and inter-group responses may be called relationships when they become established. They may be identified between persons, between groups, and also between communities and larger societies.

Social relationship is a bond between two interacting persons who have their respective statuses and the role expectations associated with these statuses; in that sense, social relationship has both static and dynamic aspects.¹³⁸ When relatively small numbers of people are in a relatively lasting face-to-face association - for no single purpose, but merely as persons rather than as specialized functionaries - they constitute a primary group in sociological terms.¹³⁹ These primary groups play an important part in influencing the attitudes and opinions of their members.¹⁴⁰ A high rate of interaction within the group, amongst other things, contributes to the stable structure of the group.¹⁴¹

In a community generalized social relationship exists between

¹³⁸Sanders, op. cit., p. 106.

¹³⁹Sutherland and Woodward, op. cit., p. 198.

¹⁴⁰Leon Festinger and John Thibaut, "Inter Personal Communication in Small Groups," Readings in Social Psychology (2nd. ed., New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1952), p. 125.

¹⁴¹William Foote Whyte, "Leader-Follower Relations in Street Corner Society," Readings in Social Psychology, (2nd. ed., New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1952), p. 125.

parents and children, between officials and citizens, and between merchants and customers.¹⁴² The nature of relationships between different parts in a community will throw some light on the important aspects of social life. Again, the class relationships between ethnic groups, religious groups, professional groups, and family groups - "all reveal much about a community" even though they may pertain to status-relationships.¹⁴³ Sometimes the relationships between persons or groups may also vary significantly rendering it difficult to generalize, but to that extent it indicates the "deviant behavior patterns and possibility of variant values."¹⁴⁴

Social Groups. "The group concept has been called pivotal in Sociology."¹⁴⁵ In a real sense group life is community life.¹⁴⁶ But an entire community cannot come together to act in one place, every time. Thus, the individual, even though he is a member of the community, acts through groups of different descriptions.¹⁴⁷ As a result, the larger the community, the smaller is the proportion of those making up the total community with whom the individual associates himself.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴²Sanders, op. cit., p. 193.

¹⁴³Ibid.

¹⁴⁴Ibid.

¹⁴⁵Logan Wilson, "Sociology of Groups," Twentieth Century Sociology, (New York: The Philosophical Library, 1945), p. 139.

¹⁴⁶Sanders, op. cit., p. 103.

¹⁴⁷Ibid.

¹⁴⁸Ibid.

Every association in a community is related to some human needs.

"Group association originates and is maintained as a means of satisfying the similar interests of individuals."¹⁴⁹ Individuals find it more convenient to tackle certain common problems through group action rather than by themselves. Two of the several conclusions arrived at in a research in this area are that the "groups seem assured of a much larger proportion of correct solutions than individuals do," in problem solving situations, and that "in erroneous solutions . . ., groups do not err so soon as the average individual does."¹⁵⁰

Sanders makes use of "the status-role bundle" of Talcott Parsons to discuss the individual in the group.¹⁵¹ He makes out that the individual moves from one status to another; that each status the individual assumes carries with it certain roles which the individual considers normal and which others expect of him; and, the individual performs these roles in the presence of others, thereby communicating and interacting with them. From one standpoint, according to him, the community may be viewed as a gigantic collection of statuses, which each new generation inherits and adds to.

The members of a group think of themselves as a group and have a "certain unity of outlook."¹⁵² F. H. George conceives of "the group as

¹⁴⁹Sutherland and Woodward, op. cit., p. 275.

¹⁵⁰Marjorie E. Shaw, "A Comparison of Individuals and Small Groups in the Rational Solution of Complex Problems," Readings in Social Psychology, (2nd. ed.; New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1952), pp. 145-146.

¹⁵¹Sanders, op. cit., pp. 194-207.

¹⁵²Allison Davis, Burleigh B. Gardner, and Mary R. Gardner, "The Class System of the White Caste," Readings in Social Psychology, (2nd. ed.; New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1952), p. 287.

a collection of individuals who interact with each other in specifi-able ways."¹⁵³ Looking at the social group as a social relationship, Sanders describes it as "a set of social relationships organized around a common interest."¹⁵⁴ A common interest is the social cement for the group. If the interest is fleeting, the group is short-lived, and if it is deep and abiding, the group persists through time.¹⁵⁵ However, since no group is self-sufficient, it must interact with other groups. Therefore, "the group as a total system is characterized by the inter-play between the external and internal systems," the former being the conditioning effect of the environment and the latter being the expression of sentiments within the group.¹⁵⁶ Summarizing, Sanders says, that a satisfactory description of the group comprises of a statement of the sentiments of the group, a list of the activities of the group, and the pattern of interaction that is pursued in the group.¹⁵⁷

Every group is organized. This means that there is some arrangement of the statuses in terms of leadership and followership; that there is awareness of a sense of belonging; and, it has mutually acceptable values and norms so that the role playing is meaningful.¹⁵⁸ Social

¹⁵³F. H. George, "Models and Theories in Social Psychology," Symposium on Social Theory, (New York: Row, Peterson and Company, 1959), p. 311.

¹⁵⁴Sanders, op. cit., p. 107.

¹⁵⁵Ibid.

¹⁵⁶Ibid., p. 108.

¹⁵⁷Ibid.

¹⁵⁸Ibid., p. 107.

structure which denotes the stable aspects of group life, serves as a frame work for its organization and establishes relationships enabling the preservation of unity during periods of change.¹⁵⁹

Groups can be classified in different ways. One that is common is the primary and secondary groups. The first is a small, face-to-face association where contacts are personal and intimate; the other is a larger, more formal, and specialized one where contacts are mostly indirect.¹⁶⁰ Another important classification is the in-group and out-group. The former is based on the "we-feeling" which is characteristic of persons belonging to the same group; the latter is the group to which the former group refers in the third person.¹⁶¹ The third classification is formal and informal groups which correspond to primary and secondary groups respectively. The study of both the formal and informal groups in a community is important in gaining an understanding of the community.

In groups individuals spend their leisure, worship, carry on their jobs, get educated and get acquainted with each other; through groups things get done or get blocked.¹⁶² Groups, both informal and formal, have their functions in community. Members of the community develop a dependence on these groups even though they may not participate in them directly.

¹⁵⁹Sutherland and Woodward, op. cit., p. 280.

¹⁶⁰Ibid., pp. 282-283.

¹⁶¹Ibid.

¹⁶²Ibid.

Social groupings. Sanders looks upon social groupings as an important component of the community.¹⁶³ Using the term "group" to signify people in direct social contact, he employs the term "grouping" to designate those who bear certain common characteristics, fall into the same category, but do not directly interact. Examples would be the age groupings of children, youth, adults, and aged; occupational groupings of farmers, skilled workers and managers, and so forth.

Subsystems. Following Sander's analysis, it may be stated that neither individuals nor groups exist in isolation.¹⁶⁴ Individuals are born into groups, and groups exist in relation to others. Most groups come into being and survive "in response to deep-seated human needs."¹⁶⁵ New groups become organized as life becomes more and more specialized and get tied together in some sort of coordinated way.¹⁶⁶ Such inter-related groups on specific needs are important from the viewpoint of community study. The number of such subsystems depends on the size of the community. This could be illustrated by agriculture, as a subsystem, organized around the need of biological maintenance dealing with the particular aspect of food production.¹⁶⁷

Major systems. Sanders makes use of these major systems which are more inclusive units as "convenient analytical constituents for grouping

¹⁶³Ibid., pp. 195-196.

¹⁶⁴Ibid., pp. 196-198.

¹⁶⁵Ibid.

¹⁶⁶Ibid.

¹⁶⁷Ibid.

together the subsystems into functional contexts."¹⁶⁸ "The totality of the interaction of these subsystems, within limits at least, characterizes what might be termed the economic segment,"¹⁶⁹ or "religious unit," and so forth. These major systems are interactive. It is pointed out by the author, that not all activities of any one of these major systems are communal, while some are.¹⁷⁰

Social class. Sanders treats social class as another major system closely related to power structure and connected reciprocally with other systems of the community.¹⁷¹ Social class is a customary reference to status levels in community and traditionally includes the upper, middle, and lower classes, while, sometimes, each is sub-divided into two groups.¹⁷² Caste system is associated with social class and includes those of inferior status in the society who are barred from moving into higher social class.

In every community people are found to be holding different ranks, depending upon the dominant value system prevailing. For Sanders, stratification in the society is the social expression of inequality; and the social stratum is the grouping of people holding similar social rank based on occupations, accomplishments and possessions.¹⁷³ According to

¹⁶⁸Ibid., pp. 198-199.

¹⁶⁹Ibid., p. 198.

¹⁷⁰Ibid., p. 198-199.

¹⁷¹Ibid., p. 199.

¹⁷²Ibid., p. 87.

¹⁷³Ibid., p. 86.

Harold F. Kaufman, quoted by Sanders, "one's community status is a composite of the statuses in the various groups in which he participates and of the evaluations of his personal quality, accomplishments and possessions."¹⁷⁴ Loomis and Beegle who use the term 'social status' consider it to be based upon the consensus as to what is to be rated high and what low insofar as this is relevant to the system under consideration.¹⁷⁵ Social rank results, according to them, from an overall appraisal which includes, when applied to an individual, his prestige, his esteem, his standing in the neighborhood, and his power. However, the basis on which the social rank of an individual is arrived at differs with the community as well as the purpose of study. But some of the common factors, as seen by Nelson in case of stratification in rural society, are prestige, material style of living, income and land tenure.¹⁷⁶

The study of stratification in a community is very important from the view-point of vertical social mobility, which means the "movement from one class position to another."¹⁷⁷ This will also help in finding out the caste lines, if any, in the community. Besides, it gives an over-picture of the structure of the unit. Thus, the study of social layers is the examination of another dimension of the community.¹⁷⁸

This brief catalogue of the components of a community system

¹⁷⁴Ibid.

¹⁷⁵Loomis and Beegle, op. cit., p. 6.

¹⁷⁶Nelson, op. cit., pp. 213-219.

¹⁷⁷Sanders, op. cit., p. 93.

¹⁷⁸Ibid., p. 100.

should provide the basis for classifying and describing most of the social units in the community . . . a complex patterns of relationships (subsystems and systems), so intertwined with other patterns that they cannot be separated even theoretically, assist one in finding out what is behind the observable group behaviour and make possible not only the analysis of a community but the description of a total society as well.¹⁷⁹

C. Interaction in the Community

While the community has its static features, it also has its dynamic aspects. "A community," says Sanders, "like a group, is essentially a system of social interaction."¹⁸⁰ To him, it is a "setting for interaction; it is the locale." Also, it is a system of interaction in which the interacting elements are the people of all the age-groups, sex-groups, and groups of a host of other interests and pursuits.

Social interaction consists of the totality of the behaviour patterns.¹⁸¹ Individuals in the community come together to operate as groups around certain common interests. They continually enter these groups and leave them; they form, and dissolve them. In these social systems they agree with each other, they cooperate, and they share the responsibilities in common endeavors; they also disagree with each other, they compete, they come into conflict, and they accommodate. Thus, from one angle, the community is a social medium of constantly interacting personalities.

Within the community interaction takes place between individuals

¹⁷⁹Ibid., p. 199.

¹⁸⁰Ibid., p. 120.

¹⁸¹Ibid., p. 150.

and groups, who function as units of social interaction. It is intimately associated with the social ranks and the accepted status-roles in the community. It is conditioned and dominated by the traditions and value-systems. It pervades and is fundamental to all spheres of community and group life. Communication is an essential part of interaction.

After Sorokin, Loomis and Beegle describe meaningful social interaction as an event by which one party tangibly influences the overt actions or state of mind of the other.¹⁸² The definition given by Sutherland and Woodward runs thus: "the social interaction is that dynamic interplay of forces in which contact between persons and groups result in modification of the behaviour of participants."¹⁸³ They further elaborate to characterize the social interaction:¹⁸⁴

- (1) Social contacts are a prerequisite to interaction.
- (2) Communication by means of symbols provides the medium.
- (3) The elements or social forces that interact are the attitudes of individuals and the social values of the group.
- (4) The different modes in which these forces interact constitute the types of interaction.

Social interaction has been analyzed into four different items.¹⁸⁵

(1) Interaction and communication: The latter, when interpreted as contact between human minds, may be equated with interaction. There

¹⁸²Loomis and Beegle, op. cit., p. 2.

¹⁸³Sutherland and Woodward, op. cit., p. 569.

¹⁸⁴Ibid., p. 570.

¹⁸⁵Sanders, op. cit., pp. 121-126.

are various levels of communication from a nod of the head to open conversation. Quite often differences arise in groups because of lack of effective communication or exchange of meaning.

(2) Interaction and process: The former is also a process by which people arrive at the meanings they attach to different symbols. In this process of socialization the people who interact bring to this association certain expectations which largely influence what they do. The totality of all the role-playing amounts to the totality of the social interaction in the community. Thus, while the statuses are the static aspects of the social relationships, the social roles form the active aspects.

The term process connotes the idea of flow or continuity, a sequence of events. The term social process, which is not very much in current sociological use, can be employed in this context in a wider sense. Social process can be viewed as made up of selected types of social interaction, or selected series of occurrences which characterize a community. But, surely, one should be able to relate a process, step by step, to the role-playing of actual human beings in real life situations.

(3) Interaction and function: Here, function means the contribution that a unit like a social group makes to the total entity like a community. In this sense function is more than interaction; it is an analysis of the interaction that takes place between the structural parts of the community. Some functions are manifest or evident; and some are latent or hidden. Interaction, therefore, may be viewed as a functional activity in a community.

(4) Interaction and dynamics: Social dynamics deals with that

which is moving or changing. The concept of dynamics, hence, adds the element of change to interaction. Obviously, no two people who interact are ever the same afterwards. Furthermore, without interaction, social change does not occur. Thus, from the consideration of socio-dynamics, the community is a changing system of interaction in which certain uniformities could be discerned. The concept of dynamics needs to be added to that of structure-function to give a complete account of the social system. Underlying all these is the basic fact of continuing interaction in the community.

Thus, "by comparing and even equating interaction with communication and by contrasting it with process, function and dynamics, one gets a clearer picture of the nature of interaction."¹⁸⁶

Types of interaction as categorized by the same author include conflict, accommodation, assimilation, competition, cooperation and amalgamation.¹⁸⁷ Nelson considers conflict and cooperation as two extremes of a continuum, with neutrality in the center and with several intermediary stages on either side.¹⁸⁸

Returning to Sanders, it could be seen that a social relationship between two groups may move from competition to conflict, then into accommodation, and finally into cooperation.¹⁸⁹ The sociologists differ

¹⁸⁶Ibid., p. 126.

¹⁸⁷Ibid., pp. 126-127.

¹⁸⁸Nelson, op. cit., p. 150.

¹⁸⁹Sanders, op. cit., p. 127.

in their approach to these processes but the main points common are the following:

(1) Conflict: Conflict arises between two individuals or groups while seeking some relatively scarce goods or services. As a response to conflict, a party may withdraw; may seek to destroy or dominate the other; or may accept the adversary, more or less permanently, adapting itself to live with it.¹⁹⁰ In open conflict "the opposing agents are identified and their elimination from the contest is attempted."¹⁹¹ Generally, conflict exists over short periods and always leads to accommodation.

(2) Accommodation: It is "the process used for easing conflict so that people who have been wasting their energies fighting each other can get busy doing something else. It is rational in that men consciously begin to see a way out of an impasse."¹⁹² In this process each party to the conflict may concede certain ground to arrive at a working arrangement, with a new and mutually acceptable relationship, in which, usually, one dominates the other.

(3) Assimilation: The process implies cultural and attitudinal fusion. Social distance between the new-comers and the old tends to disappear and the trend toward unity becomes more complete.¹⁹³

(4) Competition: This arises between individuals and groups in

¹⁹⁰Ibid., p. 130.

¹⁹¹Nelson, op. cit., p. 159.

¹⁹²Sanders, op. cit., p. 133.

¹⁹³Sutherland and Woodward, op. cit., p. 602.

pursuit of some economic ends.¹⁹⁴ The competing agents may or may not know the identity of the opponent. It may serve a beneficial purpose in many situations as it may keep "the free enterprise system operating successfully," as in the American society.¹⁹⁵

(5) Cooperation: This is the joint striving with others for a good, goal, or value.¹⁹⁶ This is more common and basic to life in the community than conflict. Individuals pool their efforts and resources to achieve objectives which are either unattainable individually or would be economically unsound even if so attainable. It takes many forms and operates in many spheres of community life.

(6) Amalgamation: Once in a while groups merge with one another and lose their former identity. This happens in a case of some formal organizations, more conspicuously.

After the brief discussion of some of the types of interaction, attention may be turned to communication which is a very significant phase of interaction in the community.

In the broadest sense communication includes transportation of men and material. But, normally, communication centers round the exchange of ideas and information. This interchange takes place in an intelligible and meaningful manner against a common body of experience and knowledge. They develop and use certain methods and channels for this purpose. Communication in addition to being the carrier of atti-

¹⁹⁴Nelson, op. cit., p. 151.

¹⁹⁵Sanders, op. cit., p. 139.

¹⁹⁶Ibid., p. 142.

tudes, opinions, or decisions, also has the integrative function in the community. According to Baker Brownell, "communication is also a function of the identification of people with one another. In this is the substance of community."¹⁹⁷ Human language, which is one of the most universal modes, "serves as an instrument of thought and of communication, as a means of controlling the actions of others, and as a cohesive force uniting the members of a particular community."¹⁹⁸

Communication is the "process by which information, decisions and directives pass through a social system, and the ways in which knowledge, opinions and attitudes are formed or modified."¹⁹⁹ The process is not always smooth and complete. Problems in communication are evident every so often in a community. But the difficulties in communication, in general, are minimum within the informal groups.²⁰⁰ The more intimate the friendship, the greater the range of content which flows through the communication channel and the lower are the restraining forces against communication.²⁰¹

Sanders finds that "there are frequently well-defined systems of transmitting news through informal contacts."²⁰² The "process of com-

¹⁹⁷Baker Brownell, The Human Community, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), p. 240.

¹⁹⁸Otto Klineberg, Social Psychology, (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1950), p. 50.

¹⁹⁹Loomis, and Beegle, op. cit., p. 17.

²⁰⁰Ibid., p. 130.

²⁰¹Ibid.

²⁰²Sanders, op. cit., p. 58.

munication is action of mind upon mind," and thus, "human interaction builds the human community."²⁰³ Earle E. Eubank is quoted by Sutherland and Woodward to state:

Where there is contact of human minds, there association exists; where there is no contact, there is a state of isolation. The group cannot be defined apart from the psychic interaction of its members, because without it the group does not exist. Mental interchange, reciprocal influencing, mutual modification--these are the sine qua non of collective life.²⁰⁴

In the community the informal patterns of communication include, as some of its phases, the gossip chain and the rumor.

Concluding, it may be said:

Social interaction is the basic process through which human nature and society develop and are changed. The process can take place only when the contacts between people are social. Contacts are social only when ideas are communicated between persons by the use of symbols. Symbols constitute the medium for communication by virtue of the fact that they are social products. Symbols are summaries of past experiences which provide the basis for common understanding of present situations.²⁰⁵

D. Community as an Operating Unit

The conceptual scheme of Sanders includes the examination of community not only as a system with specific components, but also as a system which operates.²⁰⁶ In this connection he describes and uses the term 'processes' as the "streams of interaction," and the term 'oper-

²⁰³Ibid.

²⁰⁴Sutherland and Woodward, op. cit., p. 572.

²⁰⁵Ibid., pp. 572-573.

²⁰⁶Sanders, op. cit., pp. 342-343.

ations' as "the behavior of the whole system and . . . the behavior within the system which keeps it going."²⁰⁷ Some of the main operations of the community he discusses are the following.²⁰⁸

(1) Recruitment of new members: A community keeps going essentially through the recruitment of new members who are born into it. Immigration is another source by which it adds new members to itself.

(2) Communication: The essence of community is communication. It is considered to be as important to the social system as circulation is to the biological system. Not only is there a need in the community for shuffling around the goods and persons, but also for the circulation of ideas and information so as to achieve certain amount of unity of understanding. Agreement about common action is secured only through this interchange of thought and opinion.

(3) Differentiation and status allocation: With the increasing complexity of the community the need for the specialization of functions of individuals and groups increases. So as to survive, each community has to devise ways of determining the special roles needed, the rewards that go with them, as also the persons who should be assigned to these roles. The communities being more or less complex, each person is required to hold a large number of statuses in the daily life; also some of the statuses are held by a relatively few people. As a result, individuals differ in the repertory of statuses and this differentiation often increases the difficulty in communication. Status allocation,

²⁰⁷Ibid., p. 344.

²⁰⁸Ibid., pp. 344-355.

too, is not often complete in communities. Still, every community operates in the direction of setting up the statuses, and allocating the persons and groups to fill them more or less adequately.

(4) Allocation of goods and services: In addition to allocating people to different statuses in the community, the existing goods and services have to be allocated to the people in accordance with the statuses they occupy - this forms the economic aspect of the community. If there is unequal distribution, it will be recognized as economic discrimination.

(5) Socialization: One of the basic operations in the social system of community is the training, through the process of socialization, of new recruits not only to become members of the community but also to fit into the special statuses they have to occupy. This process involves the inculcation of the social values and the understanding of the various status roles appropriate to different situations, and also, acquisition of adequate skills in performing these roles.

(6) Social control and allocation of power: Although every individual exerts some amount of control in the social space in which he is present, ultimate power is centralized in the formal and informal groups in the community. The legitimate, delegated power rests with the governmental institution. A part of this control, largely in the form of socio-economic power, rests with the power structure in the community. A community operates in this regard to evolve its own governmental and power structure and to distribute power properly at different levels.

(7) Allocation of prestige: This operation is tied in with other allocations in the community, but not always. For instance, in some com-

munities the economic status may not carry corresponding social prestige. The prestige often carries certain responsibilities towards the community, also.

(8) Social mobility: This operation deals with the movement of the people from one station to another, and often is a result of the combination of allied operations. This vertical mobility may be upward or, even, downward. This operation serves the purpose of circulation of ability in the community. The channels for such mobility are essential in a community.

(9) Integration: This is another important operation in the community, and includes cultural, normative, participative, and functional integration. Cultural integration is the relationship of the different traits in the cultural standard, in the sense they require adherence. Serious inconsistencies in the values, beliefs, and standards may lead to a state of cultural disorganization in the community.

Normative integration deals with the extent to which conduct is in accordance with the norms. There could be good cultural integration but little normative integration if the people do not pursue the norms.

Participative integration pertains to interpersonal communication. Where there is comprehensive interpersonal communication, there the number of isolated persons is small. The degree of isolation is a clue to the breakdown of communication. People through participation develop a sense of belonging, along with a heightened sense of their own identity.

Functional integration is related to the interdependence, especially with reference to the division of labor in the community. In

a social system the components are functionally inter-related. Hence, a feeling of social solidarity in the community exists to the extent people feel involved in the conduct of what is essential to the community. This is the basis of corporate action which gives the social cohesion to the community.

Integration as an operation in the community describes all those tendencies within the system which give a common orientation, a sense of participation and identification.

All operations are obviously related to each other; recruitment of new members is related to socialization; communication to integration; one type of allocation to the other types; and social mobility to allocation of prestige, to mention only some of the connections.²⁰⁹

"Community as a changing system" has been discussed by Sanders, next.²¹⁰ Change as far as the community is concerned is of two origins - internal and external. Internally, every interaction produces some sort of change in the social relationships. While adjusting to these changes, the community must find a balance between too little or too much change.²¹¹ This presupposes a dynamic equilibrium. "There will never be any constant equilibrium, but for fairly long periods there may be what is called "a running equilibrium."²¹² Externally, what happens in the larger society also affects the community in a profound manner to

²⁰⁹Ibid., p. 355.

²¹⁰Ibid., pp. 355-356.

²¹¹Ibid.

²¹²Ibid.

which it has to make suitable adaptations.

Thus, as problems and pressures occur from within or without, the community as a social system adjusts itself to them, from which social change results. It is appropriately pointed out by Sanders that the "community is not merely a passive receiver of influences from outside."²¹³ Often it acts positively, on its own.

To put it together, even though a large area of agreement exists among the sociologists on the concept of community, a universally acceptable definition is not available as yet. As a unit of analysis and study, it is viewed more as a medium of endless interaction, as a social system, rather than as an area of habitation or as a mere conglomeration of people. The community, while in itself consists of several parts, is also considered as a part of the larger social system. In its static aspect, it has a body of setting factors and is composed of certain components which are inter-related; in its dynamic aspect it is constituted of identifiable patterns of behavior of individuals and groups. The elements making up the community are conceived as continuously influencing and being influenced by one another. As a social system, it is an operating unit, and is subject to change of internal or external origin.

²¹³Ibid., p. 357.

CHAPTER III

SOCIAL CHANGE AND SOCIAL CONTROL

Over relatively short periods of time, a community appears to be rather an inflexible entity; it seems to be rigid and immobile. Its physical features, its institutions, its established relationships and also the beliefs and customs appear to be static and permanent. But a community is not really static. At least in some aspects of it, change is easily visible. The individuals and groups who come together and interact are never the same again. When examined minutely, the nature or content of interaction between the same set of individuals and groups, is found to be changing; and more so as participants change. The cultural values and traditions, too, undergo change through time "since individuals never learn the habits and follow social patterns exactly as received from the past."¹ Even the material aspects of the community get altered gradually; for, as time passes, new residential areas are added, new roads are built, slums are cleared, new buildings are constructed, and parks and play grounds come into the picture. Thus a community, on closer observation, is seen to be continuously changing.

The study of the phenomenon of change in the community, in which certain uniformities are sought to be identified by some sociologists like Pitirim A. Sorokin, is termed as "sociocultural dynamics." The concept of dynamics adds "the element of change to interaction,"² the

¹Wayland J. Hays, The Small Community Looks Ahead, (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1947), p. 58.

²Irwin T. Sanders, The Community, (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1958), p. 126.

latter being the foundation of the community.

Thus, the community is considered to be an ever-changing social system. An illustration in the case of the American rural society in the recent decades is given below:

The changes that have been coming to agriculture at a quickening pace in the past two or three generations are more than mere material changes. As things have changed, customs and ideas have changed. Notions of what is proper to do, right to desire, and judicious to hope are altered under altered circumstances, conceptions even of right and wrong are changed in the course of time. But moral ideas, though inevitably they change in the long run as the world changes, alter more slowly than most other customs and ideas. The basic ideas developed in childhood and youth ordinarily cling with us as eternal verities until we die. This is the fundamental reason why every generation of old people inclines to look with uneasiness upon the ways of the young and feels sometimes that the younger generation is headed straight for perdition.³

"Where things happen, as they do in any community," says Sanders, "change is bound to result."⁴ The changes in material bases of life reveal one side of the transformation within the community and are usually associated with changes in social relationships.⁵ "If a change is to be considered social it must focus on the changes which occur in the bonds between people, in social groups, and in the community viewed as an arena of interaction."⁶ Hornell Hart, writing on "Social Theory and Social Change," puts forth a definition of the term, thus: "social

³Paul H. Johnston, "Old Ideals Versus New Ideas in Farm Life," Farmers in a Changing World, (Year Book: 1940, Washington, USDA), p. 164.

⁴Sanders, op. cit., p. 146.

⁵Ibid.

⁶Ibid.

change has occurred in a stated area when the culture or the demographic conditions in that area are measurably or verifiably different, to a statistically significant extent, at one date as compared with another."⁷ For Alvin Boskoff, "Social change refers to the intelligible process in which we can discover significant alterations in the structure and functioning of determinate social systems."⁸ The concept of social change, therefore, includes the entire range of variations that occur in a community, from the interpersonal relationships, at a molecular level, to the peripheral and manifested characteristics like demographic modifications, at a molar level.

The concept of sociocultural dynamics, with a beginning in the eighteenth century, has undergone interesting and significant changes in the later centuries, according to Sorokin.⁹ "Sociocultural change is a complex manifold," the different aspects of which could be studied individually.¹⁰

The dominant stream of social thought of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries concentrated largely on a study of various linear trends believed to be unfolding in the course of time, and in mankind as a whole. It operated mainly with the humanity at large, and sought to discover "the dynamic laws of evolution and progress governing the main course of human history. It paid

⁷Hornell Hart, "Social Theory and Social Change," Symposium on Sociological Theory, (New York: Row, Peterson and Company, 1959), p. 199.

⁸Alvin Boskoff, "Social Change: Major Problems in the Emergence of Theoretical and Research Foci," Modern Sociological Theory (New York; The Dryden Press, 1957), p. 263.

⁹Pitirim A. Sorokin, "Sociocultural Dynamics and Evolution," Twentieth Century Sociology, (New York: The Philosophical Library, 1945), pp. 96-120.

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 96-97.

little attention to the repeated sociocultural processes. . . .¹¹

Thus developed the theories of social progress and social evolution with a firm belief in the existence of perpetual linear trends in social change.¹² The central content of the historical process of mankind was conceived as the manifestation of this trend of progress and evolution; and, the historical tendencies were conceived as the laws of sociocultural development.¹³ "Some delineated these trends as unilinear, others as 'spiral', still others as 'oscilating and branching', . . . nevertheless in all these varieties the conception of a linear direction of the central sociocultural process remained intact."¹⁴

Describing social progress as consisting of "social changes that enable human beings to fulfill their purposes more adequately,"¹⁵ and social evolution as the progress of matter as it passes "from a relatively indefinite, incoherent homogeneity to a relatively definite, coherent heterogeneity,"¹⁶ it should be stated that the above theories of progress and evolution became increasingly unacceptable to the sociologists of this century. The social thought of the later period in this sphere has been summed up by Sorokin in the following terms:

¹¹Ibid., p. 97.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Hart, op. cit., p. 199.

¹⁶Robert L. Sutherland and Julian L. Woodward, Introductory Sociology, (New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1937), p. 612.

. . . in the field of rythms, cycles, tempi and periodicities, sociology and social sciences of the twentieth century have found a field of dynamics yielding more fruitful and more certain results than the search for the eternal historical trends as it was carried on in the nineteenth century. There is hardly any doubt that rythms and repeated processes will be studied still more intensively by the social scientists of the next decades and in all probability will yield more significant results than those obtained by the social science of the nineteenth century.¹⁷

Contemporary sociologists appear to have abandoned the terms social evolution and social progress and are inclined to employ "the more non-committal term 'social change'."¹⁸ Even the term 'social process' which carries an idea of flow or continuity, a sequence of occurrences, is not being used by them.¹⁹

Similarly, Hart analyses social change theories and categorizes them into three types.²⁰ (1) Consummational theories prophesying a future golden age. This includes the Judaistic and early Christian thought and the theories of individuals like Condorcet and Karl Marx. (2) Social evolution theories stressing progress. These include the theories of Herbert Spencer, Charles Darwin, Lewis Henry Morgan and others. (3) Cyclic theories emphasising trendless fluctuation. These include the theories of Oswald Spenglers, Arnold Toynbee and Pitirim Sorokin.

But Hart adds this:

¹⁷Sorokin, op. cit., p. 111.

¹⁸Sutherland and Woodward, op. cit., p. 619.

¹⁹Hart, op. cit., pp. 199-200.

²⁰Ibid.

Theories of all the above three types have been tendential. They have embodied theses which their proponents have attempted to prove by theoretical arguments and by examples selected to that end, rather than inductive findings emerging out of a dispassionate study of adequate samples of data. Yet these theories did adumbrate hypotheses which the systematic, inductive study of data has developed into what are now factually supported laws of social change.²¹

The Nature of Social Change

Much of the social change is unconscious. In the transmission of the culture from generation to generation, variation occurs always. When new situations arise, when problems are solved, and when needs are stimulated, change takes place in the community. Social change is also brought in by conscious planning and deliberate action. The products of social change, conscious and unconscious, may be either material or immaterial. The change may just be in the nature of inter-personal relationships, in the patterns of behavior of a group, or in the values and beliefs held by the community. It may also manifest itself directly, on the physical plane, as with improved sanitary facilities, new recreation centers, additional school buildings and so forth.

Sutherland and Woodward describe three kinds of causative factors in social change.²² (1) The "inorganic or geographic" factors which consist of climate and topographical changes. (2) The "organic or biological" factors which comprise of changes in the density of plant and animal population. (3) The "super organic or cultural" factors made up of inventions and cultural diffusions. One or the other of these

²¹Ibid.

²²Sutherland and Woodward, op. cit., pp. 620-633.

will initiate a social change whenever it occurs.

Considering the origin of social change is another way of looking at it. The source may be internal to the system, like the invention. It may also be of external origin as in the case of a cultural borrowing.

The nature of social change has been considered by Sanders in three of its phases.²³

(1) Change as adjustment.²⁴ Where conditions are relatively static, the behavior patterns undergo minor modifications but remain essentially the same. However, where new forces cause shifts in human motivation or create new value orientation, the behavior patterns also get altered significantly. In the community, a change necessitates the adaptation, which in turn causes further changes. The change and the counter change characterize a dynamic society. In the usual course, the changes become built into the social structure and become acceptable as normal. In this context, Sanders uses two terms originally employed by William H. Harlan, namely, 'social adjustment' meaning the adaptation to social change by modifications in social institutions, and, 'community adaptation', as a more inclusive term, covering both ecological and social changes.

Further he discusses several processes of adaptation by the community. (1) The process of regimentation, which is witnessed in emergent situations like a war, leads to decreased autonomy of local people over their own affairs. (2) The process of mechanization is another one in

²³Sanders, op. cit., pp. 150-154.

²⁴Ibid., pp. 150-152.

common evidence both in mining and agricultural areas which has affected the social structure, considerably. (3) The process of urbanization includes not only the migration of rural population to cities but also the urban ways and manners to the rural areas. (4) The industrialization process is an adjustment in the interest of greater economic progress. (5) The commercialization process means that more and more aspects of life are brought under the influence of the business man. (6) The process of secularization is a tendency to substitute rationality for tradition. These processes are part of the American and Western European way of life according to Sanders; and, these not only characterize areas of life in which change is occurring but also typify certain major adjustments of a community to the dynamic forces about it.

Change and equilibrium.²⁵ A social unit, such as a group, "cannot adjust too far in any one direction without changing so radically that its individuality is threatened."²⁶ A counter force therefore operates to adjust the balance, tending to restore the equilibrium. Conservatism which is a tendency to preserve the old ways, to question the proposed changes, is such a useful counterforce. It slows down the tempo of change. In a social unit, the dynamic equilibrium is never restored to its original balance; but, a level is reached where most people can go about with their daily routines making use of most of their previously learned roles. This will save them from facing at every stage a new situation for which they are not prepared. Social planning is also a counter

²⁵Ibid., pp. 152-154.

²⁶Ibid., pp. 152-153.

balance to change, which softens the effect of change. Local institutions also serve as counter-forces to change and maintain equilibrium.

Components of Social Change.²⁷ In the matrix of culture of a community the material things, the social group, the system of ideas are all intimately interrelated. Change in one sphere will have its effect, sooner or later, on the other spheres also.

Charles P. Loomis and J. Allen Beegle discuss Social Change as Social Equilibrium.²⁸ They consider equilibrium, like the biologists, as "a state in which, if a force is impressed upon a system, resultant modifications are produced within the system; when the force is removed the system will tend to return to its original state."²⁹ This is a moving equilibrium rather than a static one. The concept of social equilibrium implies social integration which, in addition to assuming cooperation amongst the members in achieving the common objectives, means that external influences of change are resisted and conformity is enforced to maintain the system intact. "Hence we may say that the internal or external forces which change the equilibrium will impose strain on the system."³⁰ Integration, as per these authors, is present if the system is functioning as a team, and the individual effort is contributory to the collective efforts in the attainment of desired ends. Solidarity

²⁷Ibid., p. 154.

²⁸Charles P. Loomis and J. Allen Beegle, Rural Sociology: The Strategy of Change, (Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1957), pp. 7-17.

²⁹Ibid., p. 8.

³⁰Ibid., p. 9.

is the extent of agreement amongst the members with regard to the ends and means, and is the extent to which individuals 'identify with the system as value in and of itself.'³¹ They also introduce a concept, as one related to the concept of equilibrium, of 'boundary maintainance' which "signifies activity to retain the identity, value orientation and interaction pattern of a social system."³²

This conception of social system as a boundary maintaining unit carries the implications that changes may be expected to set up strain, that strains set up processes of restoring equilibrium, and that resistance may be met with to changes challenging the basic values of the system.³³

Social change can be classified variously. According to Loomis and Beegle it may result from - (1) changing the relative importance of the different social systems in the society, (2) creating new social systems, and (3) changing the elements of systems and their mutual relationships, as also creating new elements.³⁴ They also use the term cultural change, as a more inclusive one than social change, "including changes in technology, philosophy, belief systems, systems of expressive symbols or acts, and systems of values."³⁵ However, in general use

³¹Ibid.

³²Ibid.

³³Ibid., pp. 9-10.

³⁴Ibid., p. 15.

³⁵Ibid., pp. 16-17.

much distinction is not made between social and cultural changes.

Cultural Factors in Social Change

For observations over long periods of time a historical perspective of cultural change and cultural accumulation becomes available. These changes are not so easily perceptible at any one point of time, however. The essential factors involved in the long range social change have been mentioned below.

The cultural base for innovation. According to Sutherland and Woodward, the elements associated with social change include the geographical and biological environment, the native ability of the people, and, also, the prevailing cultural pattern.³⁶ What has gone before in cultural accumulation conditions what is to come after; the appearance of any new cultural trait depends always on the previously existing cultural base."³⁷ Apparently, the new inventions appear to be a logical outgrowth, in a very broad sense, in both the material and immaterial phases of culture.

Invention. In a social system innovations can come either through individuals or groups. The elements of cultural change are invention and diffusion. Invention is a new arrangement of old culture traits. It is "the combination of two or more existing culture traits or patterns into something new that is greater than the sum of its parts."³⁸ It is the

³⁶Sutherland and Woodward, op. cit., p. 636.

³⁷Ibid., pp. 636-637.

³⁸Francis E. Merrill, Society and Culture, (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1958), p. 473.

"product of someone's ability to see new relationships between ideas or customs already familiar. An invention never contains all new elements; it is a recombination in some new pattern of elements already present in the cultural base."³⁹ Sutherland and Woodward identify certain factors that are likely to give rise to an invention.⁴⁰ (1) The cultural base serving as the necessary background for the invention, which may be a primary invention giving rise to secondary inventions or vice versa. (2) The inventive genius is a prerequisite for an invention, who, often recognizes problems in the existing situations and seeks to solve them. (3) The social attitude toward invention is an important factor in creating a suitable social atmosphere in terms of group's approval or disapproval of inventions. (4) The run of attention in a culture will determine to a large extent the area and nature of inventions that are likely to appear.

Culture borrowings. Diffusion of a culture is a known manner in which inventions spread from one group of people to another. This radiation of new ideas was slow in olden days, but it did take place in course of time. But such a transmission takes place at a quicker pace in the modern world. However, "neither a foreign trait nor a native invention will be adopted unless there is a cultural base that gives it meaning and usefulness."⁴¹ Also, "while diffusion generally proceeds from the 'higher' or more complex culture to the 'lower' or less complex

³⁹Sutherland and Woodward, op. cit., p. 637.

⁴⁰Ibid., pp. 637-646.

⁴¹Ibid., p. 661.

there is always some interchange whenever two peoples come in contact" with each other.⁴²

Speaking of cultural contact or transmission, Lowry Nelson uses the terms diffusion, acculturation and assimilation.⁴³ By diffusion he means, like Herskovits, "that aspects of culture change which includes the transmission of techniques, attitudes, concepts and points of view from one people to another; whether it be through the medium of a single individual or a group, or whether the contact is brief or sustained."⁴⁴ He uses acculturation with reference to "those contacts which are brief and involve no prolonged association between an individual and folk of a different culture . . ."⁴⁵ Further, he employs the term assimilation to "designate the process by means of which a synthesis of culture is achieved, whatever the degree of contact or amount of borrowing."⁴⁶

The concept of assimilation needs further consideration. Park and Burgess, quoted by Sutherland and Woodward, define the term thus:

Assimilation is a process of interpretation and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiments, and attitudes of other persons or groups, and, by sharing their experiences and history, are incorporated with them in a cultural life.⁴⁷

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³Lowry Nelson, Rural Sociology, (2nd. ed.; New York: American Book Company, 1955), p. 187.

⁴⁴Ibid.

⁴⁵Ibid.

⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷Sutherland and Woodward, op. cit., p. 602.

Contact between two groups of distinctly separate cultures may give rise to various reactions such as conflict leading to accommodation, or to assimilation and fusion. Assimilation itself may consist of several stages. Nelson uses assimilation both as a process and as a synthesis - the end product.⁴⁸

Factors retarding assimilation. According to Sutherland and Woodward,⁴⁹ (1) extreme differences in cultural background may be a barrier to assimilation. (2) Prejudice of the dominant group may operate as an obstacle. (3) Physical appearances may serve as hurdles. There are many other subsidiary factors in assimilation according to other authors, like Nelson,⁵⁰ such as differences in language, religious beliefs, marriage preferences, and so forth.

Factors conducive to assimilation. Again according to Sutherland and Woodward,⁵¹ (1) attitude of the group toward innovation is an important consideration. (2) The motive of self gain may play a role in assimilation. (3) Collective representations, through dramatic symbolization of whatever interests the groups hold in common may facilitate assimilation. (4) Conscious control of the process of assimilation itself may be an appropriate means.

The Process of Social Change

Boskoff, pointing out that the current emphasis in the study of

⁴⁸Nelson, op. cit., p. 188.

⁴⁹Sutherland and Woodward, op. cit., pp. 603-606.

⁵⁰Nelson, op. cit., pp. 192-201.

⁵¹Sutherland and Woodward, op. cit., pp. 606-611.

social change is on processual analysis, proceeds to state that even though this approach is somewhat embryonic, it is possible to form a provisional schema of social change.⁵² He discusses five problem areas as related to the phenomenon.⁵³

(1) Sources of social deviation: Deviation is conceived as "a variably conscious response to personal and group difficulties experienced in the process of enacting accepted social roles and occupying assigned status positions."⁵⁴ For sociologists social change is collective deviations from the established social patterns. Fundamental deviations are sought to be explained by reference to migrations, intrusions, social collisions, and prolonged accessibility to alien influences. In complex societies deviations of internal origin are more significant than those of external origin. Such deviations are considered relatively normal. Four general sources of deviation have been mentioned by Baskoff: (a) Role conflicts - unanticipated conflicts in role-playing are generated in the ongoing social systems. (b) Blockage of need patterns - the social system has instrumental character, and hence deviant behavior can be traced to inadequate or non-satisfaction of biological and socially acquired needs. (c) Crisis - social order is the routine satisfaction of biological and social needs. Smooth functioning of the system involves adequate social control or need satisfaction. Crisis arises when this condition fails, and awakens

⁵²Baskoff, op. cit., pp. 289-302.

⁵³Ibid.

⁵⁴Ibid., p. 291.

attention in order to obtain control. Thus, attention, reborn in crisis, expresses itself in a new or deviant behavior designed to restore control.

(d) Cultural integration - this bears relation to two referential types of social system, namely, congeneries and logico meaningful social system. The former has minimum of meaningful integration and maximum vulnerability to external influences, hence deviation is inevitable and incessant, with no real order existing. The latter are relatively immune to external influences and develop changes which are inherent in the normal inter-related functioning of their parts. Changes in such systems express an expected line of development.

(2) Innovation: "Deviation manifests itself in a process of innovation," as some independent creation, or as a creative application of an alien pattern.⁵⁵ There are several different viewpoints in this area. The connection between the innovation and its sources has yet to be clearly established. Mannheim suggests significant innovation as primarily derived from small groups which remain in the periphery of the established social system.⁵⁶ Herskovits considers that every society develops a limited area of special interest to which much attention and interest are devoted.⁵⁷ The structural approach reveals the built-in and sanctioned processes of innovation that achieve a certain autonomy from the presumed sources of deviation.⁵⁸

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 293.

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 294.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 294.

⁵⁸Ibid.

(3) Appraisal of innovation: Here, Thomas and Znaniecki contributed the concept of "definition of the situation," which MacIver restated as "dynamic assessment."⁵⁹ People evaluate the situation and subsequently adjust their behavior to their assessment. In this sphere there are four focal points. (a) Innovation - this includes both material and non-material inventions. Ogburn and others appear to think that material items are more readily accepted by the social system than the ideological patterns, while Sorokin and the rest reject this view. (b) Innovator - attempt here is to gain understanding of the appraisal process in certain characteristics of the innovator. (c) Agents of diffusion - Linton suggests that the prestige of the intermediary group is a key factor in the appraisal process. (d) Appraiser - Here the nature of the appraiser and its relation to the acceptance and rejection of the innovation is considered. The concept of dynamic assessment with prominence to the role of socially conditioned and personally interpreted need patterns, is widely used in this area.⁶⁰

(4) The transitional phase: The social appraisal of innovation is analytically divided into experimental and decision-making phases. The former is a trial period, while the latter is a period of social decision when sufficient numbers of people become acquainted with the innovation. The possible results of appraisal are rejection, full acceptance, or partial acceptance of the innovation. The last is a chaotic condition with precarious adherence to both the established and

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 295.

⁶⁰Ibid., pp. 296-297.

new patterns. Odum conceptualizes transition as a period in which the folkways and mores are rivaled by the technic ways.⁶¹

Mannheim looks upon the transitional phase as a conflict of social techniques which is largely accepted by anthropologists.⁶²

(5) Institutional and integrative problems: The major problem "in the transitional phase is the unequivocal selection among alternatives."⁶³ The two related tasks are: (a) the legitimization of the innovations, or institutionalization; and (b) the integration of these patterns with the strategic areas of existing sociocultural system. Both of these are further complicated by the attempts to maximize the benefits of an accepted innovation, and to aid in adjusting to unforeseen difficulties generated in the process of approval. In either case legitimization ensures continued and practicable acceptance. However, "institutionalization does not represent a completed process of change, . . ."⁶⁴ Societies are never completely integrated; societal continuity demands some minimum articulation. The problem of mal-integration or cultural lag is always there.

Sorokin speaks of Toennies' theory of the passage of human society, in course of time, from Gemeinschaft to Gesellschaft type.⁶⁵

⁶¹Ibid., p. 298.

⁶²Ibid.

⁶³Ibid., p. 299.

⁶⁴Ibid.

⁶⁵Sorokin, op. cit., p. 100.

Loomis and Beegle interpret the former as a social system "in which the relationship is an end in itself," and the latter as one "in which the relationships are means to ends."⁶⁶ They state that "for a given system instrumental or rational action is primarily Gesellschaft-like, whereas the integrative or moral action is primarily Gemeinschaft-like."⁶⁷ Rural social systems are more in the nature of Gemeinschaft-like relationships, characterized by 'functional diffuseness'; the relationships here are "determined by norms which are personal and particularistic;" and they are further "characterized by emotional or affective behavior."⁶⁸ These systems have considerable integration and solidarity. The social change is supposed to move in a particular direction, as in the case of under-developed societies adopting western culture, to become Gesellschaft-like systems.⁶⁹

Some processes involved in social change. The concepts of communication, decision-making, boundary maintainance, and sociocultural linkage are introduced by Loomis and Beegle as associated with the process of planned social change.⁷⁰ Communication, as discussed earlier is the process of transmission of information, ideas, and decisions in a social system. In this process the thoughts and attitudes of the concerned members are influenced, and the influence tends to move both

⁶⁶Loomis and Beegle, op. cit., p. 12.

⁶⁷Ibid., pp. 12-13.

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 13.

⁶⁹Ibid., p. 14.

⁷⁰Ibid., p. 17.

ways. Decision-making is "the process whereby alternate courses of action available are reduced."⁷¹ Whenever social change is consciously planned, this process becomes a very important one. Boundary maintenance is "The process whereby the system retains its identity and interaction pattern; that is, retains its equilibrium involving both integration and solidarity."⁷² Social systems always try to defend their values and faith whenever challenged. Socio cultural linkage is "the process whereby the elements of two systems come to be articulated so that in some ways they function as a unit."⁷³ This process requires the dove-tailing of the two systems in some compatible facets, at least temporarily. Further, the process involves three subsidiary processes - imitation, legitimation, and execution.⁷⁴ The first of them is a process, in the context of planned change, whereby the proposed change is brought to the attention of the system; the second, whereby the proposed change is made rightful; and the third, whereby the process of acceptance of change is brought about.⁷⁵

The rate of social change. When change occurs in a social system, certain aspects of its culture supposedly undergo change earlier or quicker than other aspects. Thus, material forms of culture are said to change more rapidly than the non-material forms. This lagging of one

⁷¹Ibid., p. 18.

⁷²Ibid.

⁷³Ibid., p. 19.

⁷⁴Ibid.

⁷⁵Ibid.

segment behind the other is called the 'cultural lag'. While some sociologists agree with William F. Ogburn, on such a theory, others like Kingsley Davis feel that the differential changes in the material and non-material segments are not comparable with one another, as mentioned by Loomis and Beegle.⁷⁶ However, Hart has this significant statement to make in this regard.

After centuries of theorizing and dogmatizing about the end of the world, social progress, social evolution, cycles in human history and the like, two laws of social change have become more and more clearly established. These may be stated here in a preliminary, categorical way

The Law of Cultural Acceleration: Over the long sweep of time, man's power to carry out his purposes, in the material, biological, psychological, and sociological realms, has tended to increase at an accelerated rate (though with recurrent stagnations and set backs), and the rate of acceleration has itself tended to accelerate.

The Law of Logistic Surges. Progress with respect to specific purposes, as expressed in individual inventions and in the growth of specific social organizations and culture complexes, has tended to take place in the form of surges, progressing slowly at first, and speeding up, and finally slowing down to a stop or a collapse. In scores of instances, the evidences of these surges can be fitted mathematically with logistic curves.⁷⁷

Thus, some sort of uniformity or order in the progress of social change has been recognized even though it has yet to find fuller and wider acceptance.

Causation of Social Change

Robert Morrison MacIver distinguishes three causal types of social phenomena.⁷⁸ (1) Distributive phenomena - These are "directly expressive

⁷⁶Ibid., p. 11.

⁷⁷Hart, op. cit., pp. 200-201.

⁷⁸Robert Morrison MacIver, "Social Causation and Change," Twentieth Century Sociology, (New York: The Philosophical Library, 1945), pp. 122-124.

of the like or converging assessments of a number of people as they issue in separate activities of a like nature, together constituting an aggregate or ratio of the same order, such as a crime rate or an opinion trend."⁷⁹ These do not express the concerted behavior of a section or whole of a population, but is only an aggregation of individual activity.

(2) Collective phenomena - These are "directly expressive of the like or converging assessments of a number of people, as they issue in concerted and unified action, such as a legal enactment or an organizational policy."⁸⁰ Here individuals who size up the situation more or less similarly, take concerted action. (3) Conjunctural phenomena - These arise "from variant assessments and activities of interdependent individuals and groups, as they issue in unpurposed resultants, such as the business cycle under a capitalistic system."⁸¹ These are the products of social conjuncture.

At this stage a brief look may be taken at the views of Joseph S. Himes on social change.⁸² According to him there are four factors associated with the initiation of social change, they being, natural environment, significant characteristics of social change, the prevailing culture, and certain bio-psychic traits of the people. Alteration of one or more of these factors will in turn set in motion a sequence of

⁷⁹Ibid., p. 129.

⁸⁰Ibid.

⁸¹Ibid.

⁸²Joseph S. Himes, Social Planning in America, (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1954), pp. 1-13.

adoptive changes in the social system. Besides, the factors are themselves so intimately interrelated that a change in one is very likely to affect the others. Social change has two connected aspects - changes of culture and alteration of social relationships. Generally, changes in a culture occur by the accumulation of invented or borrowed elements that compete with or complement the existing traits. Adaptive changes are produced, by new traits of culture, in the case of diffusion by disrupting existing coordination of elements, by provoking re-arrangement of elements, and by ultimate incorporation within the on-going culture system.

He further points out that simultaneously patterns of interpersonal and inter-group relationships change in three discernable ways: the conditions or positions of relationship may alter, the frequency and intimacy of associations may change, or the modes and forms of interaction may vary. Also, an episode of social change often displays a cyclic character. This view renders it possible to put events of change into historical perspective and to predict the probable courses of change. A cycle of social change is supposed to have four phases - starting point, innovation, disorganization, and organization. Commonly, the last two phases will be in progress at the same time.

There is, again, an aspect of relativity in social change. According to Himes, it is relative insofar as its rate, depth, direction, and meaning of its consequences are concerned.

Social Control

Some interaction is basic to every social system. There is some

sort of regularity and order in this pattern of interaction. The social system has also a built-in apparatus of control which regulates the conduct of its members. It deals with the changes entering from without, as also changes originating from within, more or less effectively. In a social system the members themselves control the behavior of one another, directly and indirectly; and also institutions are developed to serve this purpose.

Social control has been defined by George Guruvitch in the following terms:

Social control can be defined as the sum total or rather the whole of cultural patterns, social symbols, collective spiritual meanings, values, ideas and ideals, as well as acts and processes directly connected with them, whereby inclusive society, every particular group, and every participating individual member overcome tensions and conflicts within themselves through temporary equilibrium and take steps for new creative efforts.⁸³

The nature of social control. Social control is inherent in and essential for the social system to exist through time. Regularity and order lend a certain sense of security to the society. The regularity is achieved by the behavior of the members in the accepted pattern. The individual conformity to the norms of the group is secured by the social control which is implicit in the very system of relationship existing in the group.

The security made possible by regularity and order in the social system is of three types, according to Sanders.⁸⁴ (1) There is the

⁸³ Georges Guruvitch, "Social Control," Twentieth Century Sociology, (New York: The Philosophical Library, 1945), p. 291.

⁸⁴ Sanders, op. cit., pp. 165-167.

physical security including the personal and property security. (2) There is the psychological security which exists in a situation where the unexpected and unpredictable are kept at a minimum. The community life itself is a device to reduce through group action the threat and the consequences of these unpredictable events. It is, however, significant to note that some degree of psychological insecurity is desirable to induce individuals into acceptable behavior. (3) There is the social security which means that an individual feels secure in most social situations.

Further, as per this author, security is an associated factor of consensus in the community on issues of common interest.⁸⁵ "For a community to exist as a community and not merely as a collection of isolated family units, there must be agreement on certain matters."⁸⁶ Identification with the community, a feeling of belonging to the same community, is one of these matters.

The traditions and values held by the community is an indication of the agreement prevailing as to what is most important in life.⁸⁷ There may not, in any case, be complete or absolute agreement in a group, on all the issues. But, "they will agree on enough of them to enable them to work out ways of reaching community decisions."⁸⁸

The views expressed by Sanders on consensus, its development, and

⁸⁵Ibid., p. 167.

⁸⁶Ibid.

⁸⁷Ibid., pp. 167-168.

⁸⁸Ibid.

socialization as related to social control are conveyed in the following words.

The consensus does not happen by some mysterious process but is the result of time-tested ways of transmitting the culture from one generation to the next. The result of this inculcation of the traditions, values, and norms is the desire on the part of the individual to do what "is right." It may not even occur to him to do otherwise in many areas of life. Consensus, therefore, is based on motivation accepted as proper by the members of the community. Such motivation can be looked at from the standpoint of the society and of the pressures which it brings to bear to assure a reasonable degree of conformity. "Socialization" is the motivational process which describes the internalization, or the automatic acceptance, of the appropriate roles, values and norms; social control deals with the pressures toward conformity brought against the deviant, or the person who does not behave as though he had been properly socialized.⁸⁹

Guruvitch distinguishes six kinds of social control, namely, religion, morality, law, art, knowledge, and education.⁹⁰ Each of these could be further subdivided. In each social system, their relative importance varies. He also identified four main forms of social control.⁹¹ They are: (1) organized social control, which may either be autocratic or democratic; (2) social control through cultural usages and symbols not crystallized in an organization; (3) spontaneous social control through values, ideas and ideals; and (4) even more spontaneous social control through direct collective experiences, aspirations, and creations, including revolts and revolutions. He means by organized social control "a particularly standardized, stereotyped and crystallized form of social control through patterns and rules;" and by spontaneous social

⁸⁹Ibid., pp. 168-169.

⁹⁰Guruvitch, op. cit., p. 290.

⁹¹Ibid., p. 294.

control, that "which starts with symbols of unpatterned character, which takes the more intensive form of control through values, ideas and ideals, and gets its strongest expression in acts of collective experience, aspiration, and creation."⁹² It should be added here, that "not only the hierarchy of kinds in the whole process of social control varies, but also the role or intensity of different forms in each kind and in the whole process changes too."⁹³

The process of social control. In this connection, socialization is regarded as an important regulative and normative process.⁹⁴ Socialization, viewed from the standpoint of the society, is the development of personality as a social product, while internalization is the process by which it is achieved.⁹⁵ David Reisman's thinking on the development of the personality types - the tradition-directed, inner-directed, and other-directed - as discussed by Sanders, has been studied earlier. Sanders says: "The ultimate aim of socialization, . . . is to make socially acceptable patterns seem second nature to those growing up in a society. It is the surest way of getting consensus on which order and regularity depend."⁹⁶

To a large extent, the individual is the basic unit in the com-

⁹²Ibid., p. 293. (Parenthesis supplied.)

⁹³Ibid., p. 294.

⁹⁴Sanders, op. cit., p. 169.

⁹⁵Ibid.

⁹⁶Ibid., p. 173.

munity as far as social change,⁹⁷ as well as social control are concerned. It is to be recognized that "every act is the act of a personality, and every personality is bred within the social system, and every social system exhibits its cultural complexes."⁹⁸ The cultural complex in which the personality of the individual develops has a marked influence on him and his conformity to the group norms. Discussing the question "as to why the individual is almost always willing to accept uncritically the customary behavior of his community," Otto Klineberg puts forth four main reasons.⁹⁹ (1) The phenomenon of prestige suggestion, "which in this case are associated with the fact that the group has power and importance, and the ideas coming from it will therefore tend to be accepted." (2) The individual often knows no more customs than those of his own community. (3) The individual who deviates "will soon be regarded as outside the system of reciprocal rights and duties upon which life in the community may depend." (4) There may be punishment for transgression.

Four major processes of social control have been described by Sanders.¹⁰⁰ All of them operate in every community but their relative importance varies vastly. The need for adequate social control is quite obvious, as otherwise there would be lawlessness or rule of the might in the society. "Each individual has to sacrifice some of his own indi-

⁹⁷Margaret Mead, Cultural Patterns and Technical Change, (New York: The New American Library, 1958), p. 15.

⁹⁸MacIver, op. cit., p. 137.

⁹⁹Otto Klineberg, Social Psychology, (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1950), pp. 332-333.

¹⁰⁰Sanders, op. cit., pp. 173-178.

vidual longings for the security provided when the social stability is maintained by various methods of control."¹⁰¹

The process of social control is comprised of socialization, suggestion, persuasion, and coercion as per Sanders.¹⁰²

Socialization: To so control the social environment that the child while growing up incorporates into his own personality structure as attitudes the values set forth by the community; accepts as 'normal' the hierarchy of community statuses; and learns as 'proper' the officially prescribed norms, or rules, governing the behavior of those occupying the various statuses, together with the reinforcing explanations as to why the social world is as it is.

Suggestion: To set up as copies to be imitated those whose behavior best conforms to the values of the community, indicating the rewards which follow such emulations.

Persuasion: To gain concurrence by appeal both to emotion and reason, using both formal media and informal, face-to-face discussion.

Coercion: To gain acquiescence to community demands, using non-violent psychological pressure to induce compliance (threat of punishment) and violent physical force to bring about submission.¹⁰³

The behavior of individuals is conditioned by the socialization process. But, in any community, the deviants from the norms - the non-conformists - are not rare. It so happens that "by the time their behavior has become recognized as 'irregular' it is obvious that the process of socialization and suggestion no longer are effective controls. At this point persuasion is brought into play."¹⁰⁴ "With many people persuasion is effective. The weight of social pressure of this sort is

¹⁰¹Ibid., p. 174.

¹⁰²Ibid., p. 173.

¹⁰³Ibid., p. 174.

¹⁰⁴Ibid., p. 174.

sufficient to make the individuals agree to conform more fully than in the past."¹⁰⁵ Quite frequently even these pressures prove inadequate to bring the deviant members in line with the norms. "Persuasion, whether by juvenile court judge, clergyman, or a grown daughter, seems to be of no avail. The community then brings into play the techniques associated with the process of coercion."¹⁰⁶

Every social system has its own pattern of social control. It is "incorporated in the interaction."¹⁰⁷ Nelson, particularly with reference to rural societies, discusses this issue.

Social control. In primary groups, social control - the establishment and maintenance of order - is achieved principally through the informal pressures of the folkways and mores, rather than by means of external or legal controls. It is true that legal enactments play an important role in rural society, but the relative strength of the folkways is much greater than in larger communities. The influence of folkways in rural society grows weaker as primary group gives way to secondary group organization.¹⁰⁸

The community, thus, controls the individual behavior, in a general way. People are also sensitive, to varying degrees, to the opinion of others about themselves. The different sections of the community have their particular reference groups. Some of the informal mechanisms of control, described by Kimball Young, referred to by Sanders, include the symbolic means like praise, flattery, ridicule, indoctri-

¹⁰⁵Ibid.

¹⁰⁶Ibid.

¹⁰⁷Ibid., p. 175.

¹⁰⁸Nelson, op. cit., p. 23.

nation, slogans, badges, name-calling, and threats.¹⁰⁹

There are also formal means wherein force in one form or other is applied. For instance, "This resort to force often finds expression in the discussions of official bodies, such as a school board, dismissal of a school principal. . . ."¹¹⁰ Such formal methods also serve the purpose of being deterrents to potential deviants.

The operation of social control, in the manner such as the above, may be at three levels, broadly. The socialization of the individual, in which amongst other things, the religious and educational institutions play their significant role, is the primary one. The second is the informal mechanisms consisting of primary group influence, and other symbolic means. Finally, the formal system is made up of governmental, legal controls.

As to the question who controls the processes of social control, Sanders has three considerations.¹¹¹ (1) The past plays an active part in the present. (2) Each individual exercises some control, particularly in face-to-face contacts. (3) Many communities have some kind of power structures operating within them.

(1) The past "makes its greatest contribution in that it has worked out such satisfactory solutions to many problems that these have been incorporated into the life ways of the society and passed on from

¹⁰⁹Sanders, op. cit., p. 177.

¹¹⁰Ibid.

¹¹¹Ibid., pp. 178-184.

generation to generation."¹¹² People are relieved of the responsibility of finding answers to the problems they face and are free to devote their attention to other things, to the extent they accept the social heritage.¹¹³ The traditions and value systems would be exerting the social control in areas of life which are held sacred by the community. Thus, the past governs the social control to the extent the people accept the ready-made solutions of the previous generations, and to the extent the parts of the social heritage is held highly valuable.

(2) "An individual, simply by being present in a social situation, exercises control over others."¹¹⁴ In the presence of a person, the tendency on the part of the others is to behave agreeably to him than otherwise. In such a way, he either encourages or discourages the behavior of other members in certain respects. It is also a fact that some individuals participate in the social interaction with a definite purpose of influencing others. They exert considerable control over the group behavior. Also, the social space and social status of the individual who seeks to influence others have their effect on social control.¹¹⁵

(3) "Power, or the ability of an individual to control others is distributed in unequal degree throughout the community."¹¹⁶ There are

¹¹²Ibid., p. 178.

¹¹³Ibid.

¹¹⁴Ibid., p. 179.

¹¹⁵Ibid., p. 180.

¹¹⁶Ibid., p. 181.

formal and informal patterns in which power is shared in different social systems. Community power structure "refers more to the informal decisions made by a relatively few people at the top of the respective social and occupational heirarchies about matters of community concern."¹¹⁷ The actual distribution of power within the community varies widely - it may be the top leaders, it may be estate holders, or it may be the traditionally recognized families.

Bringing it together, social interaction in a community is characterized by change. The sociological study of this feature is termed socio-cultural dynamics. There are many theories in this area originating in the past two centuries and based on the historical processes, social progress, and social evolution. Currently rhythms and cycles in social change are in greater favor which have given rise to laws of cultural acceleration and logistic surges. Every social system has its own inherent mechanism for regulating social change and keep it within limits. This control operates both at the unconscious and conscious levels. It is both formal and informal. Also, it is seen that social change is a natural social phenomenon which is guided by human motivation to a considerable degree.

¹¹⁷Ibid.

CHAPTER IV

CONTROLLED CHANGE AND SOCIAL PLANNING

Change is a universal phenomenon. All human groups undergo change through time. Change does not occur in one or two isolated areas of community life, even though it may begin that way; it more or less, pervades the whole pattern of life. Notwithstanding an apparent lack of uniformity in the way change takes place, certain tentative laws may be identified for study. It is felt that some aspects of the cultural complex are subject to modification earlier and faster than others. This phenomenon of differential or unequal rate of transformation is referred to as "cultural lags and leads."¹ Thus, within a single community, the material aspects are supposed to undergo change before the immaterial traits do. On a broader scale, within a nation, the urban and industrial communities are found to be more advanced in some respects than the rural communities. Again, on a cross-cultural comparison, it is witnessed that some nations are more progressive, in economic and the related areas, than others, leading to the differentiation of countries as developed and under-developed.

Social control too is a universal phenomenon. It is another associated feature of the social system. It may be considered to operate at two levels. At the basic level, in the informal social groups, it functions as a normal, more or less unconscious, regulative process which tends to preserve the unity and solidarity of the community. On a higher

¹Robert L. Sutherland and Julian L. Woodward, Introductory Sociology, (New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1937), p. 657.

plane, it becomes a more sophisticated process of deliberate and predetermined course of guidance of social action. The latter, frequently designated as social planning, again involves two phases, namely, the initiation of social change, and the facilitation of social adjustment necessitated by social change. Social planning is attracting increasing attention, in modern times, of both the social scientists and the political leaders as a potential area of human development. It has been an area of interest in the past also.

Joseph S. Himes writes that "since before the time of Plato men have dreamed of a planned society. Every age has had its dreamers. The literature of every society contains moving accounts of these dreams. The utopian motif runs through the ancient Greek . . . and Arabian legends. . . ."² In the recent times, such dreams have appeared to have become more realistic, but within definite limits, the boundaries being slowly explored and expanded. "Change - inevitable and universal - is an element in every human situation, and social scientists and educators are today showing an increasing amount of interest in the theories of change and the use of these theories to influence society."³ Lowry Nelson, while discussing the technological progress in relation to rural societies and the attendant social adjustment, states: "This naturally raises the large question as to whether limits will be imposed upon the technological advance in other countries. Is there a point beyond which it is

²Joseph S. Himes, Social Planning in America, (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1956), p. 52.

³Willard B. Spalding, "Foreword," The Dynamics of Planned Change, (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1958), p. v.

undesirable to go in the march toward efficiency . . .? If so where is that point?⁴

An illustration of the frequent attempts in recent decades to purposefully direct the social change is provided by Aly Fouad Ahmed:

In Egypt, as in many other parts of the world, people are undergoing a period of rapid social change and consequent instability. There is an obvious need to apply our theoretical understanding of society to guide and control such change. It is hoped that this study may make a contribution toward this end. It proposes a plan for a controlled experiment to bring about desirable social change in the life of an Egyptian village through the conscious efforts of the people. . . .⁵

In the international situation today, controlled change is by no means in an experimental stage, as considered apart from the social scientists. The processes of planned change are in evidence not only in the highly organized American life but also extensively in the under-developed areas of the world. In this regard David Owen says:

The United Nations set out to fulfill the mandate in its charter in a world that was wide awake. The millions of men and women in economically less developed countries were no longer apathetically resigned to poverty, disease and illiteracy; they are actively seeking a better way of life. Many governments had already made a start on plans for self development; some had made considerable progress. . . .⁶

But some students of sociology appear to believe that social change is not amenable to regulative human discretion and action. Such

⁴Lowry Nelson, Rural Sociology, (2nd. ed.; New York: American Book Company, 1955), p. 526.

⁵Aly Fouad Ahmed, A Proposed Experiment in Community Change by the People of a Selected Egyptian Village, (A Doctoral Thesis, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, 1952), p. 1.

⁶David Owen, "Technical Assistance for Economic Development," Under Developed Areas, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957), pp. 321-322.

a futilitarian view is summed up by Hornell Hart in these words:

The view that social scientists can do little or nothing to direct or control social change is epitomized in the title of William Graham Sumner's essay on "The Absurd Effort to Make the World Over." He stressed the glacier-like development of the mores, with their massive resistance to social reform. Such arguments against the feasibility of social engineering appear to gain some weight from consideration of various factors capable of control only with great difficulty and uncertainty, or to very limited degrees.⁷

Similarly, there is an 'ever-widening gap' theory which regards "technical progress as one aspect of social change, evolving with an ever-accelerating speed, while agencies of social control are regarded as a separate aspect, developing at much slower acceleration, the difference in rates being regarded as inherent and incurable."⁸

But, there is another side to this picture. William F. Ogburn, who propounded the 'cultural lag' theory cautiously states this:

The theory of social change, with the accompanying need of changed social controls and the lag in making the new adjustments, is not very encouraging. Yet it is always surprising to see what human effort can accomplish, as is shown by the list of brilliant achievements of the past. If then, there be wider understanding of the problem which confronts us, and society makes the effort, there is reason to believe that much can be done to anticipate the needs for new economic and social controls, by planning in advance, although it would be unwise to underestimate the difficulties.⁹

Many sociologists will agree with Hart when he states that social prediction is not impossible.

⁷Hornell Hart, "Social Theory and Social Change," Symposium on Sociological Theory, (New York: Row, Peterson and Company, 1959), p. 225.

⁸Ibid., p. 227.

⁹William F. Ogburn, "Invention and Economic Control: Social Change," Planned Society, (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1937), p. 604.

The facts reviewed . . . seem sufficient to refute the defeatism of those social thinkers who have denied the possibility of social prediction. It must be recognized that the prediction of social phenomena is a difficult and hazardous process. However, instances cited in the present chapter show that a number of quite specific predictions have been fulfilled. Not only is all social scheduling based upon routine forecasts of human behavior, but specific and fairly complex events and trends can (in some cases) be predicted within reasonable margins of error. If sociology is to become a science worthy of the name, the energy of its practitioners may better be directed toward improving the techniques of prediction rather than toward demonstrations that prediction is impossible.¹⁰

The social phenomena not only lend themselves to certain amount of scientific predictability within limits, but also offer "constructive possibilities of social engineering."¹¹ Hart, who considers various types of physical engineering as dealing with different forms of energy, regards social engineering as dealing with social energy.¹²

Social life consists in energy flows. Within limits and under certain circumstances, social energy can be generated, accumulated, controlled, directed, and utilized. To work out and apply systematically the best methods of doing these things is the task of social engineering.¹³

Such a thinking seems to be fundamental to many types of social improvement tasks that could be observed in many countries at present. Numerous instances of this kind can be found all along the history of mankind, too. Margaret Mead, in her introduction to a survey under the auspices of UNESCO, writes:

¹⁰Hart, op. cit., p. 226.

¹¹Ibid., p. 227.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Ibid.

Technical change is also as old as civilization and since time immemorial the way of life of whole peoples have been transformed by the introduction of new tools and new technical procedures, as inventions like the plough, the domestication of animals, writing, the use of steam, the factory assembly line, and the internal combustion engine, have been diffused from one country to another. Relationships of relative dominance between two people, population balances, dynasties, and whole religious systems have been upset by some change in technology, just as the inventions which underlie technological change have themselves arisen from conceptions of nature and of man.

Nor is the attempt to control technological change new; monarchs have tried to introduce new practices among their peoples; merchants have attempted to keep within national borders some valuable technical process like the weaving of cloth; conquerors have educated the conquered so that they would fit in better with the scheme of conquest.

.....
This survey therefore will deal with the ways in which changed agricultural or industrial practices . . . can be introduced so that the culture will be disrupted as little as possible, and so that whatever disruption does occur can either be compensated for, or channelled into constructive developments for the future.¹¹

While designing an experiment in controlled change in rural Egypt, Ahmed discusses the sociological thinking behind the concept of directed change, particularly of Lester F. Ward.

Social scientists have developed increasingly better understanding of rapid social change. They recognize the impact of the tremendous development of science and technology in addition to the occurrence of two world wars in speeding the tempo of social change in the world. Cultural lags produced by changes in some traits in culture in disharmony with others appear to account for many personal and social maladjustments. . . . Lester F. Ward was among the first analysts to draw attention to the importance of applying our theoretical understanding of society to the guidance and control of action. Ward, who was a biologist before being one of the founders of

¹¹Margaret Mead, Cultural Patterns and Technical Change, (New York: The New American Library, 1955), pp. 12, 15-16.

sociology, was concerned with the fact that man through his intelligence can transform not only the natural world but the social world, and that he can harness not only the natural forces to social ends, but even the social forces to social purposes. Thus Ward defined reform as the desirable modification of social structure. Any attempt to do this must be based on a full knowledge of the nature of such structures; otherwise its failure is certain. Giddings, likewise, follows Ward in advocating the idea that man can guide and control social action by utilizing scientific understanding of society.¹⁵

According to Wayland J. Hays, too, planned societies are not a new phenomena.¹⁶ He feels that planning is inevitable in certain situations. "Man has been compelled to make conscious adjustment to his environment, especially when the social structure he has built functions badly and deteriorates."¹⁷ Further he states that inventions are accepted as they come in either by unconscious imitation, or by trial and error; they produce sooner or later social problems that compel attention and some degree of rational adjustment. This natural process could be guided intelligently toward the end of social betterment. //

Social Movements

Social changes are affected by social movements. John Eric Nordskog quotes Philip Taft to define social movement as "a widely held desire to change political, social, or economic relations, not primarily

¹⁵Ahmed, op. cit., pp. xiv-xv.

¹⁶Wayland J. Hays, The Small Community Looks Ahead, (New York: Harcourt Brace and Company, 1947), p. 59.

¹⁷Ibid.

for the advantage of the participants, but for the benefit of all people."¹⁸

Hart, after Rudolf Herberle, describes it as consisting of

a collective attempt to bring about fundamental changes in the patterns of human relations and social institutions, when the acting individuals have become aware of themselves as being united with each other for fulfillment of sentiments and goals which they are aware that they have in common."¹⁹

He classified social movements into four groups.²⁰ (1) Social reform movements are usually ostensibly altruistic collective endeavors to eliminate some social injustice. (2) Social revolutions are attempts to over-throw the existing government, and to set up a new one in its place with the power held in the hands of the revolutionists. (3) Pressure movements operate within the frame work of the existing government, to advance the interests of the proponents of the movement as opposed to other groups. (4) Non-political movements 'include all social movements whose objectives do not require changes in the existing law."²¹

✓ Social planning, like social movements, "involves collective action to achieve shared objectives by means of social change," and employs social engineering techniques.²² Boskoff, who defines social movements as "the organized attempts to effect one or more basic institutional changes," regards social planning "as a special case of the

¹⁸John Eric Nordskog, "Social Reform and Revolution," Contemporary Social Reform Movements, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1954), p. 3.

¹⁹Hart, op. cit., p. 228.

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Ibid.

²²Ibid., p. 229.

phenomena that make up 'social movements'."²³ The difference between social movements and social planning is brought out by Hart in the following terms.²⁴

(1) Social reform is ordinarily motivated by strong emotional revulsion against some form of cultural lag. Social planning on the other hand stresses much more dispassionate appraisal of the social needs involved, and much more systematic application of research and established scientific knowledge to the development of techniques for meeting these needs. (2) Social reform must usually acquire the power to act, by electing a slate of candidates or passing legislation, whereas social planning is usually based on authority already acquired, and is concerned with the wise utilization and application of that power.

From the foregoing it is evident that some phases of social change, to some degree or other, are amenable to human steering. Certain trends of social change can be stopped or slowed down, diverted or speeded up, to some limited extent, under certain specific conditions. It would be profitable to study the land marks in history which indicate the interest that men have had in handling the social problems.

Rural Social Welfare

Change occurs constantly within a social system. Some of them tend to create an imbalance. Quite a few social problems arise out of such situations.

Thus social change is one key to social problems. They appear, vary, and disappear in the ebb and flow of altering conditions and shifting values. They are both unstabilizing

²³Boskoff, op. cit., pp. 278-279.

²⁴Hart, op. cit., p. 229.

and unstable phases of the life of the society. Social problems become the vital issues around which people rally to strive together for the good life. . . . Each indicates a place where the realities of daily life fall short of the expectations embodied in the heritage of values. Each marks off a field for conscious social endeavor to halt, redirect, or initiate some course of social change.²⁵

A problem is an undesirable condition. It indicates a situation that is existing and in which there is an unsatisfactory element. The term social problem, according to Himes "denotes one rather common reaction to the consequences of social change. It embodies an interpretation of the altered relations between social conditions and social values. The term social problem expresses disappointment that life experiences fall short or differ from traditional expectations."²⁶ Therefore, from one angle social problems originate from changes that are inconsistent with the culture of the community.

Anthropologists believe that culture is an organic unity; its parts are intimately interrelated and interdependent.²⁷ Any change affecting a part of it will have its repercussions elsewhere in the cultural whole. Hence, when unequal changes take place in the life of a community, maladjustments develop invariably. They may manifest themselves in isolated community problems. In serious situations they may reflect in different kinds of social tensions and a general breakdown of group relations. The consequences may also lead to the extreme cases

²⁵Ibid., p. 12.

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Ruth Benedict, Patterns of Culture, (New York: The New American Library, 1959), pp. 201-203.

of extensive disorganization. Thus the effects of industrialization are referred to by Jerome F. Scott and R. P. Lynton in one of their discussions.

✓ The history of industrialization is the history of increasing wealth. But it is also a history of a loss in the sense and value of community. By community we mean . . . things shared and held in common, the free association and basic understanding, by which people 'belong' - and from which they gain a sense of function and place amongst their fellowmen. In that sense, traditional established communities have been disrupted and new communities have often failed to grow. Many people no longer have an inner sense of belonging anywhere.²⁸

Such problems of disequilibrium are neither rare nor new to the society. Often the social system itself will make an attempt, mostly through its own institutions, to tackle some of these problems. These efforts vary widely in breadth and intensity. The early history of social welfare work consists of such endeavors in almost every part of the world.

However, especially in rural areas, "organized welfare is a comparatively new institution."²⁹ According to Nelson, welfare in a general sense is the state of situation in the society; but in a specific sense it has a different connotation.³⁰

In the specific sense it refers to those acts, procedures, and organizations in society which are intended to assist individuals or groups out of trouble. It involves the correction of social ills, the alleviation of such pathological states as poverty, unemployment, family disorganization, crime and delinquency. Formerly such activities were referred to as charity and correction, but such words, though still in

²⁸Jerome F. Scott and R. P. Lynton, The Community Factor in Modern Technology, (Paris: UNESCO, 1952), p. 9.

²⁹Nelson, op. cit., p. 471.

³⁰Ibid.

use, are gradually being replaced by the words 'welfare' or 'social welfare'.³¹

The objective of social welfare institutions is "to provide an effective means by which the risks of life can be shared by the community and the burden on the individual accordingly lightened."³² In other words, it is a means by which the individual risks are rendered less severe by distributing their effect over a wider area of community.

The principle underlying social welfare work, in its modern conception, is that the "socially pathological states are not necessarily incurable."³³ It is founded on the assumption that many of the social ills could be prevented or cured. It is in contrast with and in substitution to the fatalistic view that social maladies are inexorable like some of the natural calamities.

Tracing the historical background of social welfare work, Nelson finds its origin in "human needs and in mores and folk ways which develop from simple primary group relations."³⁴ The family is the first and primary welfare organization that cushions off the shocks of the individuals and helps in times of need. In the primitive societies it is perhaps the only institution that serves this function. But in developed societies "the formal organization of welfare came about as a result of the growth of cities and towns, where family or neighbors were

³¹Ibid.

³²Ibid.

³³Ibid.

³⁴Ibid., p. 472.

often unable to care for the increased number of dependent persons."³⁵ Charity as a "principle of extrafamilial responsibility for the poor and the needy," existed in the pre-Christian period, far back in history.³⁶ But the development of community agencies specifically dedicated to the service of the underprivileged took place early in the Christian era, particularly in the past 300 years.³⁷ Historically, they evolved "in the urban centers as private philanthropic efforts rather than as functions of government."³⁸

The church was one of the first to engage in organized welfare work. . . . During the Middle Ages, the Christian monasteries became centers of relief, collecting funds from those able to give and dispensing them to the poor, . . . disabled. The beginning of governmental assumption of responsibility for relief and welfare was the English Poor Law enacted in 1601 during the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Under its provision each parish was authorized to raise by taxation, by gift, or by both, the necessary funds for relief of the needy. The principle of responsibility for the poor at the local level of government, as well as support of the program from the public treasury, dates from that time.³⁹

Nelson classifies welfare agencies as public or private, and as generalized or specialized. The private institution "is the result of voluntary association of people having the desire and the means to contribute to the solution of a social problem. Such an institution is

³⁵Ibid.

³⁶Ibid.

³⁷Ibid.

³⁸Ibid.

³⁹Ibid., pp. 472-473.

chartered by the state and incorporated as a non-profit organization."⁴⁰
 The public agency "is an aspect of government and is similar in its
 design to the public school or public library."⁴¹ The general welfare
 agency "is designed to cover more than one form of social need. . . ."⁴²
 Specialized institutions "are those which are devoted to the treatment
 of a special case."⁴³

Benson Y. Landis, in his book on rural welfare services, discusses
 the origin, evolution, and related aspects, particularly in the American
 context.⁴⁴ At one stage he states that "no attempt was made in the United
 States or in England to study the causes of destitution."⁴⁵ It is true
 not only in the case of poverty but in most cases of welfare problems.
 Early social reform or remedial work focused attention more on the
 symptoms than on the causes of social problems.

Social Planning

In recent times, social scientists, especially economists and
 political theorists, have attempted to gain a deeper insight into social

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 473.

⁴¹Ibid.

⁴²Ibid., pp. 473-474.

⁴³Ibid., p. 474.

⁴⁴Benson Y. Landis, Rural Welfare Services, (New York: Columbia
 University Press, 1949).

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 17.

problems, and have sought to project their thinking into the future. Thus, Charles H. Page mentions about "man's deliberate attempt to control the present and shape the future."⁴⁶ A few excerpts from the book Planned Society, which mainly deals with the economic activity of men, will be significant at this stage.⁴⁷ Findlay Mackenzie in his introduction, as editor, states this:

While the cultural changes in society during the last century and a quarter have been greater than in any other preceding thousand years, their significance has not been sufficiently appreciated. A few scholars, notably Professor Ogburn, have pointed out that the technological or material basis of culture changes more rapidly than the non-material basis, and that this results in a 'cultural lag'. Now, perhaps for the first time in all history, man, as a result of his own capacity, is faced with a problem of what to do with his tools.

The rapidity of social and economic changes has given rise to the belief that we are passing from an older social and economic order into newer, and our difficulties are those of a transitional period. Whether or not this will be the ultimate judgement of history, . . .

Social reformers, influenced by scientific method, have become interested in developing a technique of social "engineering" along lines parallel to those of physical engineering . . . At present the technique of social engineering is insufficient for any extensive practical application; . . .⁴⁸

Since then much advance has been made in this direction. A group of authors express thus: "The subject of this book is planned change - that is change which derives from a purposeful decision to ef-

⁴⁶Charles H. Page, "Editor's Foreword," Social Planning in America, (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1956), p. v.

⁴⁷Findlay Mackenzie, Planned Society, (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1937).

⁴⁸Ibid., pp. xi-xxiii.

fect improvements in a personality system or social system and which is achieved with the professional guidance."⁴⁹

Another confident note is sounded by Himes.

America today possesses abundant resources. Sufficient knowledge, materials, and controls for broad-scale social planning are probably available at the present time. It is difficult, to be sure, to estimate with accuracy the planning potential represented in such an accumulation of resources. Some students maintain that if our national potential were efficiently organized and utilized, many aspects of the society could now be planned. Under such circumstances, they argue, the conditions and experiences could be established to guarantee achievement of our most cherished values.

Contemporary America is unique in another respect. The tools of social planning are accessible to most segments of the society.⁵⁰

"Planning is a word that has been employed to cover so many different types of activity that it is well, in any special discussion of the matter, to have in mind exactly what is meant by it."⁵¹ It is a complex concept involving in its structural aspects the coordination and synchronization of subordinate fields of activity; and in its functional aspects several things like determination of policy, definition of objectives, and the selection of procedures.⁵²

Social planning has been defined by Himes as "a conscious interactional process combining investigation, discussion, agreement, and

⁴⁹Ronald Lippitt, Jeanne Watson and Bruce Westley, Dynamics of Planned Change, (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1958), p. vi.

⁵⁰Himes, op. cit., p. 53.

⁵¹George Soule, "Prospects of General Economic Planning," Planned Society, (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1937), p. 913.

⁵²Lewis C. Gray, "Planning the Use of Land: Land Planning," Planned Society, (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1937), pp. 161-162.

action in order to achieve those conditions, relationships and values that are recognized as desirable."⁵³ According to Lewis Mumford, planning "involves the job of coordinating special views, focussing them in common fields of knowledge, and canalizing them in appropriate channels of common action."⁵⁴

Social planning has been discussed comprehensively, as applied to America, by Himes. It is useful to make a brief study of this, here.

* The nature of social planning⁵⁵

Social adjustments are usually forged within the center of conflicting social values. The clash of opposing interests is inherent in any democratic process. Further social adjustments are fabricated out of the ongoing stream of social change. Social adjustment is an enterprise in deliberate social change.

The planning activities occur in a double context of continuous social change and conflicting social values. At the core of every culture, there are certain values that give form and direction to the society. As these values impinge upon changing social conditions, they assume certain expressions which may be classified into three types.

(1) The values of social organization: The moral foundation of many values influence remedial activities in the traditional social organization. Through the process of socialization individuals are

⁵³Himes, op. cit., p. 53.

⁵⁴Lewis Mumford, "Foreword," Planned Society, (New York: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1937), p. vii.

⁵⁵Himes, op. cit., pp. 14-26.

provided with standards of judgement, motivation to behavior, goals of endeavor, and justification of conduct that are comparable with the historic organization. The institutions prescribe appropriate behavior in major life situations, and also establish and quote important norms of valuation.

(2) The values of individualism: It is the belief in the individual as the original source of energy, resourcefulness, and responsibility in the society. As such, it is widely held that the social and political order should impose the least possible restraint on the individual.

(3) The values of social welfare and humanitarianism: These have their foundation in the altruistic impulses, such as interest in health and well-being of the society, equal opportunities to individuals and so forth. The social welfare values originate from religious, political and economic institutions. These values place on all members the sense of duty to act on behalf of the whole society. The humanitarian values, on the other hand, seek to advance the interests of individual members. People motivated by these considerations wish for others, whom they cannot see and do not know, the things and experiences that they would wish for themselves. These motives stem from the sentiments of personal sympathy and charity.

Collective action for social adjustment is achieved through a compromise and fusion of conflicting and contemporary social interests. Most often this action is deliberate. When people react to changing social conditions in terms of their cherished values, it often culmi-

nates in strong motivation to ameliorative efforts. These collective remedial activities are called as social planning and this concept, as defined by Himes, involves human purpose introduced into the process of social change, thereby subjecting the latter to human values and control. Social planning, therefore, is regarded as both a method and an instrument of social policy.

Social planning is also a process in the ongoing social life of the community. "It takes place in the shared, reciprocal, and opposing activities of people." As a process it has no defined beginning or end. Another aspect of social planning is that it is made up of four related activities, namely investigation, discussion, agreement and action. Further, social planning implies that it operates within a context of social values.

Sources of planning techniques.⁵⁶ The major sources of social planning techniques with reference to America, are (1) social work programs, (2) regional planning agencies, (3) national governmental department, and (4) social scientists. Concerning the last group in particular, it is stated that "the growing body of professional social science literature on social planning represents the efforts of scholars to generalize the wealth of data into theoretical systems of their respective disciplines."⁵⁷ Also, considerable contribution to the understanding of the process and techniques of social planning comes from the

⁵⁶Ibid., pp. 20-21.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 20.

social workers in the field of community organization. However, social work process, associated with community organization, is different from social planning in three different ways. (1) Community organization deals with a specific set of skills and techniques of professional social work. (2) It is oriented toward certain traditional objectives like removal of poverty, illiteracy, and illness. (3) It is generally practiced within the limits of social work agencies and within the limits of local communities.

Major objectives of social planning.⁵⁸ The objectives of social planning are derived from the existing value considerations in the society. Social values are high-level abstractions. They are influenced by the conditions in which people live. Social planning, in turn, may enhance or limit social values by altering the underlying conditions of social life. Some plans seek to adjust the population, or material resources or both, to modify the material aspects of the culture, this being illustrated by an improvement of recreational facilities. In some other cases, plans may concentrate attention on changing social organization as the major immediate objective, with a view to initiating or altering systems or structures of social relationships. Thus social planning may have different objectives while operating within and acting upon the existing system of social value constellation.

Some limitations of social planning.⁵⁹ The process is beset with many obstacles and limitations. Some of these are inherent in the

⁵⁸Ibid., pp. 21-22.

⁵⁹Ibid., pp. 22-25.

planning process itself. Others originate from the organization and content of the social system. Some others arise from physical and psychic limitations of the human organism.

There may be three limitations inherent in the social planning process. The plan may be based on an inadequate and improper investigation. In a democratic setup, citizen participation is basic to social planning; but often the participation may not be sufficient. The competence and standing of the leaders involved in social planning may be a limiting factor.

The peculiar characteristics of a particular social system sets limits to social planning in achieving adjustments in social relationships, conditions, and values. The range of possible arrangements are defined by these characteristics. This indicates the resistance in the prevailing culture which may be termed as "vested interests, indifference, complacency, fear of the new, and ignorance of the nature and value of the plan."⁶⁰ The planning process may also frequently become sectarian and controversial. Inadequacies in equipment, technical ability, political and social skill may also contribute to the limitations of social planning.

The Method of Social Planning ⁶¹

As mentioned earlier, "in the broad perspective social planning is deliberate social change administered within a field of conflicting social values. Its technique is embodied in four related forms of

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 24.

⁶¹Ibid., pp. 27-43.

activity,"⁶² of investigation, discussion, agreement, and action. These various activities need not always occur in a fixed sequence, but may be present in every planning experience.

Investigation or research has five essential functions in social planning which can be enumerated as: (1) definition of the character of the social problem, (2) delineation of what can and what cannot be done, (3) review of experience of others in similar circumstances, (4) assessment of the resources that may be utilized to implement the plan, and (5) delimitation and definition of the character and size of the planning unit.

Social problems may involve immediate reaction of the people in terms of what could be done to set right the situation. Preparedness to act on the part of the concerned people may be brought about by some dramatic events in the society or may develop slowly and gradually. The variety of solutions suggested for the social problem may indicate the range of values that motivate the people affected.

Social policy and plan evolve through the operation of some kind of choice and combination of alternate proposals. The process of formulation of policy and plan is usually initiated by a small group of interested people. They become effective when they ultimately embody the purpose and enlist the participation of the people. Generally, agreement on social plans is reached in two ways: - in small informal groups consensus emerges from the ordinary experience of the people; in

⁶²Ibid., p. 27.

large, formal units informal discussion usually precedes and underlies the formal procedure of agreement.

Social action, in a general sense, includes investigation, discussion, and agreement. But in the specific sense, it refers to the translation of social policies into concrete activities. Social policies may be implemented either through governmental organization or private agencies, or both. Administration of social plans and policy also involves, amongst other things, the mobilization and harnessing of various resources, scheduling successive steps of action, and coordination of the total program.

Community Improvement

In relation to social planning, Himes finds that "two fundamental aspects of social action may be distinguished. First, the policy and plan must be implemented with adequate social organization. And second, the program must be carried out step by step in concrete daily activities."⁶³ Social organization is one of the essential prerequisites of effective social planning and its implementation. Charles E. Hendry in his introduction to a book on community organization states this:

The author conceives of community organization as a process basic to a wide range of functional fields and social settings. Community organization is seen to be as relevant in confronting human needs in the areas of health, agriculture, industry, and education, for example, as in the area of social welfare. Similarly, community organization is regarded as basic to com-

⁶³Ibid., p. 34.

munity planning for human services in any and all regions, cultures, and subcultures of the world.⁶⁴

Human experience and knowledge in organized and systematic tackling of social problems is fast accumulating in the recent decades. Such attempts in curative and preventive work against social maladies, or even the work of improving the existing situation, may be seen in progress in many parts of the world, in both developed and under-developed countries. The magnitude and range of social ills thus sought to be solved vary widely. It may be a simple work of repairing a bridge on the village road as a community effort; it may be the organization of an adult education class; or, it may be adoption of a new technology in crop cultivation. What is involved in such efforts may simply be the learning of a new method in place of the existing; it may be a readjustment in the social structure; and, it may be a complete re-orientation of the system of social values. These attempts, again, may seek to minimize the penetration of exotic cultural traits into a particular cultural pattern; they may also seek the selective introduction of technological change; or, they may seek to avoid or mitigate certain undesirable effects of the introduction of new technology. Further, the agencies undertaking these attempts may be small groups of progressive individuals, or whole communities on regional or functional basis, or the state and national governments.

Murray G. Ross makes a valuable contribution to the knowledge in

⁶⁴Charles E. Hendry, "Introduction," Community Organization: Theory and Principles, (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1955), p. x.

this area. Recognizing the fact that there are various ways in which experts and professional people work in the community, he proceeds to identify three major divisions of community work.⁶⁵ These divisions, according to him represent different situations and contexts for work, while carrying a fundamental similarity in what is being attempted through them. They differ from one another in degree rather than in absolute terms.

Community Relations ⁶⁶

The term denotes the relationship of the functional community with the geographic community. The former refers to a group of people who share some common interest or function, while the latter refers to the group of people in a particular locality.⁶⁷ "Community relations implies the methods or ways by which an agency, association or council relates itself to the geographic community."⁶⁸ There are three consistent approaches included in community relations.

(1) Public relations represents a particular type of attempts of the organization or the agency to enhance its own prestige or position in the larger community. The methods involved in public relations are often highly sophisticated. (2) Community services

⁶⁵Murray G. Ross, Community Organization: Theory and Principles, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1955), p. 6.

⁶⁶Ibid., pp. 23-26.

⁶⁷Ibid., pp. 40-41.

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 23.

represents the attempts of the functional community to help the larger community to develop by providing certain services to the latter, with or without the motive of building up its own prestige. (3) Community participation represents the attempts of the functional community to take part in the main events of the life of the larger community with several objectives in view, like keeping itself related to the other important agencies in the community, maintaining touch with the developments in the community, coordinating activities with others, and supporting the cooperative planning and development of new services.

Community Organization⁶⁹

C. F. McNeil, as quoted by Ross, defines community organization "as the process of bringing about and maintaining a progressively more effective adjustment between social welfare resources and social welfare needs within a geographic area or functional field."⁷⁰ Ross himself describes it in the following terms:

. . . a process by which a community identifies its needs or objectives, orders (or ranks) these needs or objectives, develops the confidence and will to work at these needs or objectives, finds the resources (internal and/or external) to deal with these needs or objectives, takes action in respect of them, and in so doing extends and develops cooperative and collaborative attitudes and practices in the community.⁷¹

In community organization also three different approaches may be outlined. (1) Specific content approach. This indicates the attempt of

⁶⁹Ibid., pp. 16-23.

⁷⁰Ibid., p. 16.

⁷¹Ibid., p. 39.

an individual, agency, or organization concerned with one single specific reform or objective to be achieved in a limited time. The methods employed vary according to the situation, objective, and time available, as also, the conscience or morality of the promoting group. It is a straight-line approach to the goal.

(2) 'General content' objective. This denotes the attempt of a group, association, or council to bring about an orderly and coordinated development in the community, not with a single reform in view but with a broad general objective. Here time is not so critical and methods employed are different. Participation of the interested local groups and individuals is secured in planning and implementation processes. The primary objective is achieving the set goals; but there is a secondary objective of developing an informed and interested group with a conviction of the need for community action.

(3) 'Process' objective. Here the attempts of the group or agency are focused not on the content but on initiating and fostering a process in which people or their representatives are involved in need identification and action planning. The emphasis on the cooperative and collaborative work toward increasing motivation, responsibility, and ability of the concerned people leading to community integration. The methods employed are involvement of local leaders and groups, exploration of problems of common interest, and development of programs which are shared commonly. Time is not a prime factor, here. The primary criterion is the greater capacity of the community in problem-solving and the secondary one is the solution of the common problem.

Community Development⁷²

The term designates the efforts to provide for advancement of communities in less-developed countries, or the less-developed communities of developed countries. The definition set forth by the United Nations, quoted by Ross, is as follows:

The term 'community development' designates the utilization under one single program of approaches and techniques which rely upon local communities as units of action and which attempt to combine outside assistance with organized local self-determination and effort, and which correspondingly seek to stimulate local initiative and leadership as the primary instrument of change.⁷³

A wide variety of objectives and methods are covered by this term. There are three main approaches, here, too.

(1) Programs implemented by external agents. Under this approach a specific technique or program is sought to be implemented by the external agent. The discretion is of the agent or the expert. The services of the expert are made available to the community at the request of the government, and seldom of the people. The expert, who is a specialist in some related field, is often preoccupied by the implementation of the project, and goes through the process of diagnosis of the community need, and the prescription of the solutions. He may leave it to the people to implement the project; or he may persuade the people with salesmanship to adopt the program; or he may even discuss the plan with the people and seek their cooperation in its implementation. The element of time and the nature of the need are important factors.

⁷²Ibid., pp. 6-16.

⁷³Ibid., pp. 6-7.

(2) 'Multiple' approach. In this approach, the indivisibility of the community, as well as the need to provide for the "social consequences of technical change" are recognized. A team of experts, usually, provide for multiple services. The effort is to move the whole community in the direction of change which will permit the use of modern tools, techniques and methods of living. Often the effort is to "move a century in a decade."

(3) "Inner Resources" approach. This encourages people to identify their own needs and wants, and work cooperatively in satisfying them. Projects are not preconceived by the external agents or a team of specialists, but are developed with the people. The emphasis is on people working at their own problems, in which process technological change follows social action. Direction of change is established internally, and not externally. Development of a specific project is less important than the development of the capacity of the people to develop a project.

Assembling it together, social change and social control are the concomitant features in a social system. One phase of the social control is the deliberate direction of social change, within the range of possibilities. Social problems have been sought to be solved through such efforts from early times. Social welfare activities in the past tackled mainly the effects of social maladjustments rather than the causes of them. Social planning in recent years, has attracted the attention of the social scientists and social reformers. Some of the systematic approaches in social control, which make use of the available methods and techniques of social planning, are categorized by 'community relations', 'community organization', and 'community development' endeavors.

CHAPTER V

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Community development is rather an inclusive term. Often it is used to encompass any and every effort toward the advancement of the community interests. Thus, it is understood in India as a method of initiating "a process of transformation of the social and economic life of the villages."¹ For Per G. Stensland, it is "a process whereby people may learn to mobilize all their resources to meet the common ends."² T. R. Batten says that "in community development, as I understand it, the agency (that is initiating the change) has in mind the welfare of the local community as a whole."³ Discussing the usage of the term Irwin T. Sanders states that "community development provides a large umbrella under which all people can gather," meaning thereby city planners, agricultural extension workers, civic club leaders, and so forth.⁴ Further, he observes that "one way of viewing community development would be to think of it as the totality of all those sporadic

¹Report of the Team for the Study of Community Projects and National Extension Service, Vol. I, (New Delhi: Committee on Planned Project, 1957), p. 1.

²Per G. Stensland, "Urban Community Development," Community Development Review, 8:32, March 1958.

³T. R. Batten, "Group Work and Community Development," Community Development Review, 5:5, June 1957. (Parenthesis supplied.)

⁴Irwin T. Sanders, The Community, (New York: Ronald Press Company, 1958), p. 391.

projects, occurring over a period of time. . . ."⁵ However, such an encyclopaedic view is not an indication of any reluctance on the part of the concerned people to be specific in their intent. Carl C. Taylor, for instance, feels that the loose way the term is used has created a great deal of confusion, and asserts that it is needless to say community development "cannot be administratively promoted or practically implemented unless it is used to mean something less than everything that contributes to economic and social welfare and something more than a pious slogan."⁶

Since the term community development does not mean the same thing to all people, according to both Sanders⁷ and Jean Ogden,⁸ it becomes necessary to have a brief look at the origin of the term.

The Concept of Community Development

Is Community Development really a new concept? Or is it old? Some interesting views are available on this point. According to Ernest F. Witte, "community development in its essential aspects is not a new idea, but in its application to the problems of the under developed areas there have been some rather original adaptations."⁹ Batten is more

⁵Ibid., p. 398.

⁶Carl C. Taylor, "Community Development Program and Methods," Community Development Review, 3:34, December 1956.

⁷Sanders, op. cit., p. 406.

⁸Jean Ogden, Conference Summary: Community Development: Africa, (Washington: ICA[1958]), p. viii.

⁹Ernest F. Witte, "Community Development in Selected Countries," Community Development Review, 4:37, March 1957.

vehement on this issue:

I must make another preliminary point. Enthusiasts for community development sometimes speak or write about it as if it were something entirely new, and they irritate the very many people who feel that community development is not new, but that its principles were in fact applied by a multitude of individual government officers and missionaries long before anyone had thought of such a term as community development. This is true, and in a very real sense community development as we recognize it today is based on, and has grown out of, the experience of the past. What is new is that these principles are becoming more widely recognized than ever before, and more consciously and more purposefully applied by the many agencies which are basing their policies upon them. It is the emphasis that is new, rather than the principles. . . .¹⁰

There are also other views about it, which consider community development as "a young subject."¹¹ Sanders seems to think that interest in community organization and community development, at least in American context originated in the period following World War I and more conspicuously so after the World War II.¹² He is, however, more explicit when he says that "community development is a brain-child of our generation. . . ."¹³ Neither is Louis M. Miniclier far from this thinking when he observes that it is a recent social invention.¹⁴

¹⁰T. R. Batten, Communities and Their Development, (London: Oxford University Press, 1957), pp. 2-3.

¹¹Community Development: A Handbook, (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1955), p. 1.

¹²Sanders, op. cit., pp. 389-391.

¹³_____, "Frontiers of Community Development," Frontiers of Community Research and Action, (Madison: Wisconsin University, 1958), p. 32.

¹⁴Louis M. Miniclier, "Introduction," Community Development Review, 4:1-2, March 1957.

It is evident from the above views that the concept of community development is old and new. It is old in the sense that its roots are deep in the past; its elements, its essential features, and some aspects of its practice are as old as community life. But the fact should not be overlooked that community development in its new dimensions is not very old; its significance as a tool in large scale social planning has been undoubtedly recognized not far long ago. In this sense - community development as community development - it is new.

Community development is a compound term. The concept of community has been dealt with earlier. Here, it may be gainfully supplemented with the notes of Howell V. Williams.

The community.¹⁵ Even within the same ethnic or cultural area no two communities are exactly alike. However, there are certain characteristics common among small communities. (1) These communities are close-knit - by living together people share certain common interests, values, and experiences. There is interdependence amongst the members in social life. Conformity to group norms is rigid. (2) The customs are inter-related - the smaller the community, greater is the tendency for the several facets of its life to become interdependent. If this inter-relatedness is strong, change in any one aspect of life affects the other aspects; and also, initiation of change becomes more difficult. (3) Communities are complexes of sub-group relationships - centered round biological, economic, and social interests there are intra-and inter-

¹⁵ Howell V. Williams, "Community Development Studies at the University of London," Community Development Review, 7:15, December 1957.

group relationships within the community. (4) There is leadership within the community - there are always people who are actually or potentially influential in the community.

The concept of development. In biological sciences the term development connotes growth or maturation. It implies the gradual and sequential phases of change. In the realm of sociology, however, the concept of development takes on a teleological tinge. Robert M. MacIver's¹⁶ reference to this and the related terms is interesting at this point. For him 'change' implies "nothing but a difference through time in the object to which it is applied;"¹⁷ and when the element of continuity is added to social change, it becomes a 'process'. The term 'growth' implies a direction of change, but merely in quantitative characters. 'Evolution' "involves something more intrinsic, a change not merely in size but at least in structure also."¹⁸ 'Progress' denotes direction toward some ultimate objective that is determined ideally. He uses the word 'development' to signify an upward course in a process "that is, of increasing differentiation. . . ."¹⁹

Alvin Boskoff, in the course of the discussion of social change, refers to the term social development along with the terms - social

¹⁶Robert M. MacIver, "Patterns of Social Change," Sociological Theory, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1956), pp. 451-458.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 451.

¹⁸Ibid., p. 452.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 457.

evolution and social progress.²⁰ In his opinion all the three terms commonly involve special interpretation of an extended process of social change; they have a reference to direction of successive changes; and they imply some judgement about the desirability or inevitability of an imputed direction of change. Speaking about the particular term social development, after Hobhouse, he states that it "comprehends some over-all movement toward greater efficiency and complexity - but with the recognition of the concomitant problems."²¹

As far as Phillips Roupp is concerned, "social development, as distinct from social change, is the purposive adaptation to altered conditions or the purposive adaptation of the conditions."²² Further, to him, development denotes a change from the less desirable to more desirable situation, and also implies the human ability to give a rational direction to this change and to attain what is sought. Thus, the notion of development is laden with human purpose as moulded by the individual and the social values. Also, he is quick to recognize that development is not justifiable by itself; it is justified by its purpose. He then proceeds to bring in three criteria of development as propounded by Morris Ginsberg.²³ They are: (1) the growth of man's control over the conditions of life as constituted by the natural environment, his

²⁰Alvin Boskoff, "Social Change: Major Problems in the Emergence of Theoretical and Research Foci," Modern Sociological Theory, (New York: Dryden Press, 1957), p. 266.

²¹Ibid.

²²Phillips Roupp, Approaches to Community Development, (The Hague: W. Van Hoeve Ltd., 1953), pp. 16-17.

²³Ibid., p. 18.

society, and himself; (2) the growth of intra- and inter-societal co-operation; and (3) the growth of freedom in cooperative relationships. Roupp distinguishes the first two as the biologists criteria, and the third as the ethical one. For him, "clearly not all development, not even all social development, is good."²⁴ He asserts that it is the social purpose, the ethical evaluation of the purpose that decides "what is good or bad in any social development."²⁵

With this understanding, attention may now be turned to the total concept of community development. In its elemental form it carries the idea of a cohesive body of people, living through time in spacial contiguity, sharing certain common conditions, and striving to give content and direction to certain aspects of social change to attain their own welfare as they conceive of it.

The history of the concept. According to the thinking emanating from London, 'community development' has emerged out of the concept of 'mass education'.²⁶ The report of the Secretary of State's Advisory Committee on Education in 1944, on mass education in Africa, is "taken as a starting point in the evolution of community development as an arm of government policy."²⁷ The idea behind mass education was (1) that

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Community Development: A Handbook, (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1955), pp. 1-3.

²⁷Ibid., p. 1.

the recognition of citizenship begins in small integrated communities; and (2) that the approach to the whole community to be educated is aimed at bringing about the awareness, promoting the understanding, and developing the ability to control the economic and social changes in the community.

Mass education was an out-of-school education system using the mass media of communication and teaching. "Mass education was an injection from outside; once stimulated the community was supposed to do the rest for itself."²⁸ For many reasons, the term "mass education" was later abandoned. A mention is made of the political overtones of the word 'mass', and the misconceptions that arose in local languages when the word 'education' was translated. Later, the term 'community development' appears to have originated from Cambridge. In 1948, the Cambridge Summer Conference on African Administration recommended this term defining it as:

a movement designed to promote better living for the whole community with the active participation, if possible on the initiative of the community, but if this initiative is not forthcoming spontaneously, by the use of techniques for arousing and stimulating it in order to secure its active and enthusiastic response to the movement. (Community development) embraces all forms of development. . . . (Community development) must make use of the cooperative movement and must be put into effect in the closest association with local government bodies.²⁹

In 1945, the Ashridge Conference on Social Development endorsed the Cambridge definition of the term but preferred the shorter Malayan version: "community development is a movement designed to promote better

²⁸Ibid., p. 2.

²⁹Ibid.

living for the whole community with the active participation and on the initiative of the community."³⁰

Considering a number of definitions and descriptions of community development, the London Study Conference of 1957 notices that there is considerable diversity in accent. "In some the emphasis is on material progress; in others community development is considered as a 'movement'; elsewhere it is regarded as an 'aspect of administration' in its broadest sense."³¹ L. S. Kudchedkar discussing "community development in the tropics," takes a stand very similar to this view.³²

Sanders traces the close relationship of community development to community organization in the American context.³³ The latter term is supposed to have developed after World War I. In recent years he notes the tendency that "more and more, people have been speaking of community development in preference to community organization."³⁴ The two possible reasons for this are: (1) that community organization has taken a connotation of social work; and (2) that community development has a more popular appeal to most Americans, particularly promoters of economic improvement.

In his discussion of the "Theories of Community Development," he

³⁰Ibid.

³¹Ibid., p. 3.

³²L. S. Kudchedkar, "Community Development in the Tropics," Kurukshetra, p. 476, March 1958.

³³Sanders, op. cit., pp. 389-391.

³⁴Ibid., p. 391.

traces the "lineage of community development."³⁵ According to him, community development is related to two areas: (1) economic development, and (2) community organization. Economic development itself has the ancestral concepts of rural reconstruction, agricultural extension, and economic planning. On the side of community organization, two lines of genealogy are discernible - social welfare, and adult education. Social welfare is born out of the concepts of community chest movement, public recreation, social planning, and social legislation. Adult education, on its part, originates from the concepts of community councils, public health education, and community surveys. The collateral concepts of adult education are mass education, basic education, fundamental education, and social education.

Further, Sanders identifies four major theoretical approaches to community development. They may be delineated in the following manner. (1) As a process the focus is on sequential changes through which a community passes from a simpler type to a more complex industrial type. "It involves a progression of changes in terms of specialized criteria. It is a neutral, scientific term. . . emphasis is on what happens to people, socially and psychologically."³⁶ (2) As a method it is more an action-oriented approach. The processual character is still recognized, but the emphasis is on achievements rather than on the sequences involved. Community development is looked upon as "a means to an end; a way of

³⁵ Irwin T. Sanders, "Theories of Community Development," Community Development Review, 9:27-39, June 1958.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 31.

working so that some goal is attained. . . . The process is guided for a particular purpose."³⁷ (3) As a program it amounts to a set of activities that have been carefully considered as to the content and procedures. The importance here is given to the activities, and the program becomes the objective. "The method is stated as a set of procedures and the content as a list of activities. By carrying out the procedures, the activities are supposedly accomplished."³⁸ As the program becomes highly formalized, the focus tends to be upon the program itself than on the people. (4) As a movement it is considered to be something more than a program; or as an unusual program so worthy that it elicits open commital on the part of the reformists. Community development here is viewed as "crusade, a cause to which people become committed. It is not neutral . . . but carries an emotional charge. . . . It is dedicated to progress . . . community development as a movement tends to become institutionalized. . . ."³⁹

In this discussion, Sanders suggests the consideration of four areas of sociological theory as related to community development - social change, social control, social organization, and political sociology.⁴⁰

A Definition of Community Development

A text book definition of community development is not yet in

³⁷Ibid.

³⁸Ibid.

³⁹Ibid.

⁴⁰Ibid., pp. 30-33.

sight.⁴¹ Even though "community development has moved out of the realm of theory" and is a reality, according to Jean Ogden, it does not have exactly the same meaning to all who use the term.⁴² In one situation Sanders says that, "I shall not try to give a precise, narrowly restricted definition to community development but prefer to let it mean whatever its promoters want it to mean in Afghanistan, India, Chile, Jamiaca, Ghana, or Wisconsin."⁴³ On another occasion he recommends that "any one doing serious thinking in the field must work out a definition of community development suited to the problem or program he is guiding or observing."⁴⁴ More than a score of authors contributing to a symposium on Approaches to Community Development have not found it possible to find even a tentative definition of community development.⁴⁵

All the same, the need for a definition of community development is certainly not unfelt. Attempts, too, are not wanting at setting up one, however incomplete it may be. The view expressed by Taylor represents the general feeling in this area.⁴⁶ A loose use of this term creates a great deal of confusion; both conceptually and administrative-

⁴¹Community Development: A Hand Book; (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1957), p. 1.

⁴²Ogden, op. cit., pp. vi-viii.

⁴³Irwin T. Sanders, "Frontiers of Community Development," Frontiers of Community Research and Action, (Madison: Wisconsin University, 1958), p. 23.

⁴⁴_____, "Theories of Community Development," Community Development Review, 9:38, June 1958.

⁴⁵Roupp, op. cit.

⁴⁶Taylor, op. cit., p. 34.

ly it may not be helpful to designate all kinds of undertakings that contribute to the improvement of productive capacities and living conditions as "community development." Positively, Lewis Harper Dickson makes a valid case for a definition of this term:

Extension workers and other professional leaders having an interest in or a responsibility for community development work should have a good understanding of the meaning and philosophy of community development. Without this understanding they would not be able to visualize either the ends and objectives of community development or the means appropriate to reach them. Without this understanding a professional leader is unable to inspire and guide the group effectively.⁴⁷

T. R. Batten starts off with a statement that many people would agree with the definition that community development is "a process during which the people in the small community first thoroughly discuss and define their wants, and then plan and act together to satisfy them."⁴⁸ He recognizes here that the stress is all on the community. Some other sources emphasize the role of the development agency. As a case in point, he quotes the definition given by the Cambridge Conference in 1948. Related to this is the opinion expressed by the study conference on community development held at London in 1957, that the accent should be on 'community' rather than on 'development', meaning thereby the 'development of the communities', more than for, or even by, the communities.⁴⁹

Carl C. Taylor appears to lay emphasis on the methods and on the

⁴⁷Lewis Harper Dickson, Community Development Approach in Extension in Tennessee, (Doctor's Thesis, Cornell University, 1959,) pp. 17-18.

⁴⁸Batten, op. cit., p. 1.

⁴⁹Community Development: A Handbook, (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1958), p. 5.

group or community more than on the accomplishments.

Community development, in this statement, is used only to describe the methods by which the people who live in local communities become involved in helping to improve their own economic and social conditions and thereby becoming effective working groups in programs of national development. The term community development programs is used to describe only those administrative plans and operational procedures which implement community development objectives.⁵⁰

The concept of community development used by the United Nations has a slightly different stress.

The term community development has come into international usage to connote the process by which the efforts of the people themselves are united with those of governmental authorities to improve the economic, social, and cultural conditions of communities to integrate these communities into the life of the nation, and to enable them to contribute fully to national progress.⁵¹

A more elaborate definition has been formulated by the International Cooperation Administration in Washington.

Community development is a process of social action in which the people of a community organize themselves for planning and action; define their common and individual needs and problems; make group and individual plans to meet their needs and solve their problems; execute these plans with a maximum of reliance upon community resources; and supplement these resources when necessary with services and material from governmental and non-governmental agencies outside the community.⁵²

Adopting this definition in his study, Dickson delineates some basic ideas inherent in the concept: "(1) community development is focused on the development of the people; (2) it is a process, not an

⁵⁰Taylor, op. cit., p. 34.

⁵¹"Community Development and Related Services - United Nations," Community Development Review, 3:7, December 1956.

⁵²"Community Development Guidelines of the International Cooperation Administration," Community Development Review, 3:3, December 1956.

event; (3) organization is required; (4) it is a dynamic, unified problem-solving approach; and (5) education of the people is one of the end products of community development."⁵³

Some Elements Involved in the Concept.

The client system and the change agent. In many of the countries where it is practiced, community development is a large-scale endeavor. In the under-developed countries, the national governments have a direct interest and take an active part in this process. This idea of the agencies external to the community participating in the latter's development is implicit in most of the definitions of the concept. Thus, in practice, community development as an operational process may be conceived as taking place as and when the local communities become active and strive for their own welfare, with or without the assistance of the acceptable external agencies. More often than not, these outside agencies are associated with the community development, and in a majority of the cases they are the governmental agencies.

Such assistance from the external sources may be in the form of general educational programs which are variously termed as 'mass education', 'fundamental education', 'social education', and so forth, their main purpose being the concentration of attention of the people on the local problems and on what they can do about them. The second form of assistance is the technical guidance on specific projects or group of activities. The third form of assistance consists of material

⁵³Dickson, op. cit., p. 18.

or monetary help to supplement the local self-help efforts.

In their recent book, Dynamics of Planned Change, the authors use two terms which are applicable here.⁵⁴ The 'client system', in this context, stands for the communities involved in the process designated as community development; and the term 'change agents' refers to those individuals and groups who promote change through various means. More or less similar terms are used by Batten,⁵⁵ as well as Charles P. Loomis and J. Allen Beegle.⁵⁶ The change agents, at least in the under-developed areas, seek to assist the client system in adopting new skills and techniques in the several spheres of community life, and to adjust themselves as best as possible to the changes arising out of such adoptions.

Development of the Community. As seen earlier, most authors lay clear and heavy stress on the "development of the community." The emphasis is expressly on the growth of the community. In the process and as a result of development the community should gain increased cohesiveness and enhanced ability to act together. It should become capable of identifying its own problems and needs, searching for ways and means of meeting them, taking stock of the resources at its disposal, making decisions and sharing responsibilities, and acting effectively to reach higher levels of satisfaction. In this process it should be

⁵⁴Ronald Lippitt, Jeanne Watson, and Bruce Westly, The Dynamics of Planned Change, (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1958), pp. 12-14.

⁵⁵Batten, op. cit.

⁵⁶Charles P. Loomis and J. Allen Beegle, Rural Sociology: The Strategy of Change, (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1957), pp. 48-50.

able to enlist, combine and coordinate the external assistance in the appropriate degree and manner. Group thinking and group action are basic to this process. However, this does not imply regimentation of thought and action in the community. It only implies the development of "cooperative and collaborative attitudes and practices in the community."⁵⁷ This means according to Murray G. Ross that as the process evolves, (1) "people in the community will come to understand, accept, and work with one another;" and (2) "subgroups and their leaders will become disposed to cooperate with other subgroups in common endeavors," and will develop skills in overcoming conflicts emerging out of such collective tasks.⁵⁸

Thus, the essentials are the stimulation of local initiative, location and development of local leadership, and fuller utilization of local resources. Beyond these, self-help and self-reliance, sustained interest, and cooperation are other aspects of significance.

Problems of adaptation. In the process of purposive change, in community development, generally two levels of problems arise. First, those that are connected with the introduction, acceptance, and integration of new ideas in any given phase of the community life; second, those problems of adjustment, created by the first, in the other related aspects of the community life.

Margaret Mead recognizing culture as "a systematic and integrated

⁵⁷Murray G. Ross, Community Organization: Theory and Principles, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1955), p. 39.

⁵⁸Ibid., p. 48.

whole," states that "a change in any one part of the culture will be accompanied by changes in other parts."⁵⁹ J. R. Rees, in an introductory note observes,

Rapid changes in the industrial or social structures in any country are apt to lead to unforeseen disturbances even when such changes are initiated or supervised by nationals of that country. When men and women with technical skills set out to help in shaping new developments in a country or a culture other than their own, there are clearly many more possibilities of producing unfortunate consequences. Sometimes great harm can be done to the people of that country, especially through the creation of social psychological stresses and the disorganization of family and community life.⁶⁰

In this context, Mead poses the significant question. "How can technical change be introduced with such regard for the culture pattern that human values are preserved?"⁶¹

Batten likewise recognizes, from another angle, two problems in community development - (1) how to effectively stimulate, help, and teach people to adopt new methods; and (2) how to help people to adapt their way of life to the changes they accept.

The phases in social action. Community development being essentially a process, involves certain phases that are analytically separable. H. Curtis Mial, says:

CD (community development) is a democratic social process whereby citizens participate fully in improving their own environment. Defining it as a process puts the emphasis on 'a manner of proceeding'. This implies that it is possible

⁵⁹Margaret Mead, Cultural Patterns and Technical Change, (New York: The New American Library, 1955), pp. 12-13.

⁶⁰J. R. Rees, "Introductory Note," Cultural Patterns and Technical Change, (New York: The New American Library, 1955).

⁶¹Mead, op. cit., (Preface.)

to follow an orderly progression from exploration and initiation through study and discussion to action and evaluation. It puts the emphasis, too, on the local group, on local initiative, on local participation. Finally, it puts the emphasis on full responsible participation and action by all the people affected.⁶²

Also, clearly indicated in the definition (by the International Cooperation Administration) are the following roughly sequential phases.⁶³ (1) The people of the community organize themselves for planning and action. (2) They define their common and individual needs and problems. (3) They make individual and group plans to meet their needs and solve their problems. (4) They execute these plans with a maximum of reliance upon community resources.

Taylor, too, identifies four steps in the community development process, which go beyond the above phases.⁶⁴ (1) The first step is the systematic discussion of the common felt needs by the members of the community. (2) The second step is the systematic planning to carry out the first self-help undertaking that is selected by the community. (3) The third step is the almost complete mobilization and harnessing of the physical, economic, and social potentialities of the community. (4) The fourth one is the creation of the aspiration and determination to undertake additional community improvement projects. Taylor considers

⁶²Mial H. Curtis, "Community Development - A Democratic Social Process," Adult Leadership. Vol. 6, No. 10, April 1958, p. 277.

⁶³"Community Development Guide Lines of International Cooperation Administration," Community Development Review, 3:3, December 1956.

⁶⁴Taylor, op. cit., pp. 37-39.

that the process of community development would be complete only if and when the fourth step is gone through.

While discussing community organization, Ross delineates a process consisting of several phases.⁶⁵ High significance is attached to the last phase, in particular. The community, according to him (1) identifies its needs or objectives, (2) orders these needs or objectives, (3) develops the confidence and will to work at these needs or objectives, (4) finds resources (internal and/or external) to deal with the needs or objectives, (5) takes action in respect of them, and (6) extends and develops cooperative and collaborative attitudes and practices in the community.

Community development is also a planned process. It embodies purposive change. This change is desired and designed. Wayland J. Hays, who considers planned change as no new phenomenon in social life, believes that the natural process of social change can be guided intelligently and utilized for human betterment.⁶⁶ From this premise he proceeds to consider the steps in the community planning process, as recognized by Eduard Lindman.⁶⁷ (1) The consciousness of need - some individual or or group becomes aware of and expresses the need. (2) Spreading this consciousness - the leader convinces his group or organization of the reality of the need. (3) Projection of consciousness - the concerned

⁶⁵Ross, op. cit., p. 39.

⁶⁶Wayland J. Hays, The Small Community Looks Ahead; (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1947), p. 59.

⁶⁷Ibid., pp. 66-67.

group arouses wider interest. (4) The emotional impulse to meet the need quickly - influential assistance is enlisted in this attempt. (5) Presentation of other solutions. (6) Conflict of solutions. (7) Investigation - often expert assistance is used here. (8) Open discussion of the issue. (9) Integration of solutions. (10) Compromise on the basis of tentative progress.

Community development may be regarded as a learning process. From the standpoint of the change agent it then becomes a teaching or educational process. Hays, who compares the community planning to learning process states thus:

The natural or spontaneous process of community planning closely parallels the learning process in individuals. Living and learning by the community and its individual citizens are almost identical. It is literally true that the communities are the products of learning and that their changes are due to conscious or unconscious learning.⁶⁸

Similarly, William W. Biddle, differentiates twelve stages of development in his discussion on the Training of Community Educators.⁶⁹

(1) Introduction - the change agent is introduced to the client system. (2) Exploration - the change agent makes his own assessment of the awareness of the problems amongst the people and the attitude towards common problems as compared with individual ones. (3) Discussion - all levels are included from the exploratory to more formal ones. (4) Organization - formation of groups concerned with the problem leading to more highly structured organization. (5) Analysis of the problem. (6) Decision.

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 69.

⁶⁹William W. Biddle, Training of Community Educators, (Earlham College Bulletin, 1958), pp. 4-13.

(7) Action. (8) Evaluation. (9) Expansion of successful experiences to other problem areas. (10) Awareness of community - "As a result of numerous activities that serve the common good, citizens begin to act more and more as though they were members of a common community."⁷⁰ (11) Skill in planning - members become more capable in solving their own problems as a community through a planned approach. (12) Awareness of personal change - comes as an ultimate achievement of the process.

These several authors cover a lot of common ground. Some, like Ross, Taylor, and Hays, look at the process from the viewpoint of the community while delineating the phases involved. Some others, like Lippitt, Loomis, and Biddle, consider the process from the viewpoint of the change agent. However, a total consideration of the process brings out certain common factors enumerated further. They are not exactly sequential or mutually exclusive. (1) Identification of the need. (2) Setting objectives. (3) Assessing resources. (4) Considering alternatives. (5) Making decisions. (6) Providing leadership. (7) Taking action.

The approaches of community development. Communities differ in their capacity to act as communities. They differ from one cultural setting to another. Even within the same region, adjoining communities are not alike. Over time, even the same community may differ in its ability to act as a cohesive unit. Therefore the preparedness of a community to undertake any or all steps outlined above is a variable

⁷⁰Ibid., p. 12.

factor. Again, some communities may deliberately seek the external assistance in the total process or any part of it. Or, on the other hand, some outside agency, like the governmental units in the under-developed countries, may find it desirable to offer suitable assistance to local communities helping them in the process of development.

Ross, while discussing community work, describes three approaches as involved in community development.⁷¹ He also attempts to develop a scaling system in terms of time, objective and method.⁷² On the basis of this, as also the current study (chapters IV & V) a provisional diagrammatic representation of three typical approaches in community development are worked out, as illustrated in figure 2.

Some Assumptions Underlying Community Development

Community development is a value laden process. Thomas and Znaniecki, according to William L. Kolb, use the term 'value' as any object with an accessible content and meaning to the members of a social group, and the term 'attitude' as the subjective orientation toward values.⁷³ Kolb himself is inclined to use the term 'value' as an element of orientation as well as the object of orientation.⁷⁴ It is both a directional aspect of life in one context, and an intimate quality of

⁷¹Ross, op. cit., pp. 6-16.

⁷²Ibid., pp. 26-29.

⁷³William L. Kolb, "The Changing Prominence of Values in Modern Sociological Theory," Modern Sociological Theory, (New York: Dryden Press, 1957), p. 94.

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 95.

APPROACH

Expert Approach

- + Usually a single specialist
- + Project prescribed
- + Consequences of change taken into consideration

Multiple Approach

- + Usually a team of specialists
- + Persuasion to adopt a particular project
- + Consequences of change partially considered

InnerResources Approach

- + Consultant/advisor
- + Expert counselling only
- + Major part of consequences taken into account

OBJECTIVE

Change Imposed

- + Project Preconceived
- + Implementation is expert's responsibility

Change Conceded to

- + Project preconceived but discussed before adoption
- + Implementation is joint responsibility

Change, a growth-like development

- + Project evolved with expert help
- + Implementation is local responsibility

TIME

- + Limited

- + Not critical, but limitation implicit

- + Adequate time

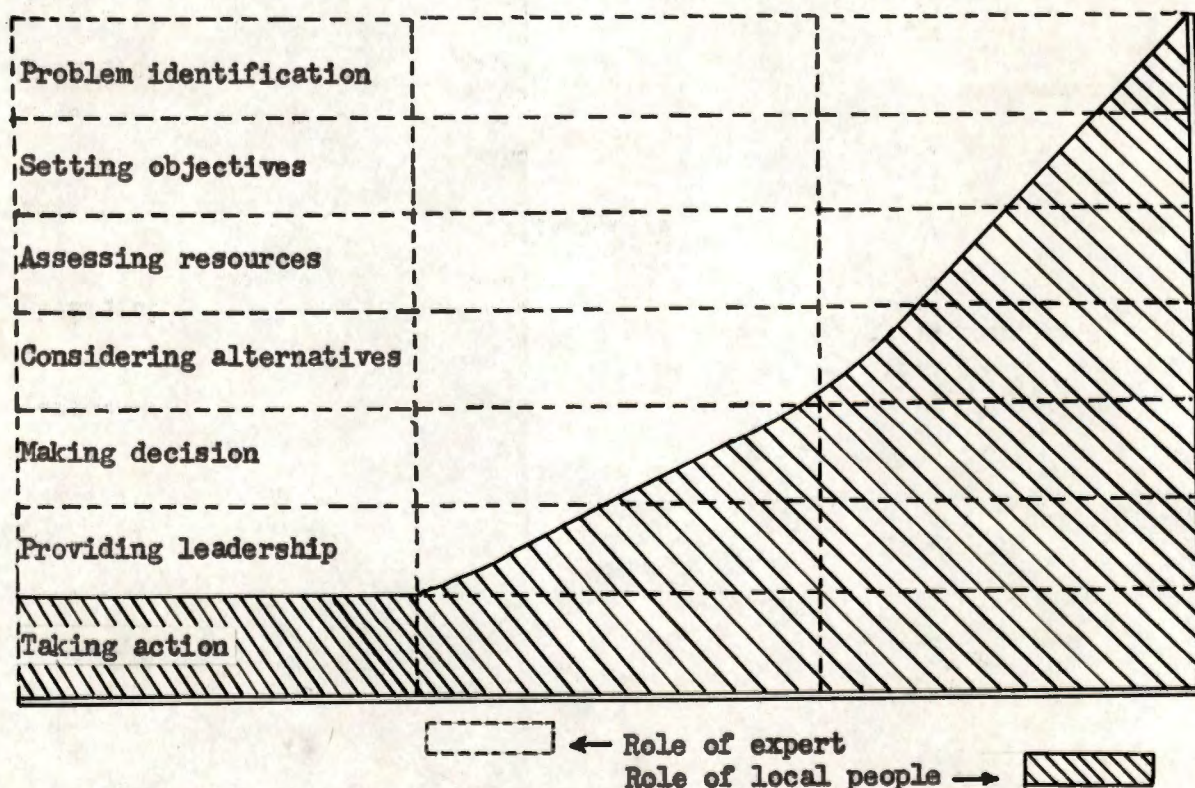


Figure 2. A Diagrammatic Representation of the Three Typical Approaches in Community Development

things in another.⁷⁶

M. L. Wilson and Edmund deS Brunner, writing about "The Role of Extension in World Reconstruction," build up a theme that as extension work establishes itself in an area it becomes interested in better organized and better functioning communities.⁷⁷ They observe that extension teaching at its best is a social process, and not a system or program to be administered. It contributes by teaching the application of scientific findings to the day to day problems. Mention is made here, that science is wholly impersonal and knows no geography nor group of people. They proceed to say:

If scientific knowledge is directed and controlled by certain philosophic and religious views with reference to the ultimate purposes and values in life, we believe it to be a great blessing to mankind. On the other hand, if proper ethical goals and values do not control science, it can be a terrifically powerful instrument for destruction and human misery.⁷⁸

If science, which is objective in its approach and procedure, is eventually influenced by human values, more so is community development. In fact it is imbued with human wants and hopes. Thus, M. L. Wilson, in another context, relates the fundamental values of community development to the philosophy of William James.

He said in effect: "Why can't we cease carrying on the military warfare, with its horrors and loss of life, which we have waged for centuries? Why can't mankind get together all of the good forces of society, and instead of mobilizing guns

⁷⁶Ibid., p. 266.

⁷⁷M. L. Wilson and Edmund deS Brunner, "The Role of Extension in World Reconstruction," Farmers of the World, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945), p. 193.

⁷⁸Ibid., pp. 193-194.

and battleships, mobilize science, technology, education and our cultural, moral and spiritual values in a great onslaught against evil?" Evil, he said, was poverty, ignorance, disease and all those things which prevent a human being from living full life in all respects. . . .⁷⁹

Community organization forms the core of community development.

"At each phase of community development process community organization is basic . . . the basic aim of community organization is to provide the machinery for a coordinated approach to community problems."⁸⁰

Discussing the basic assumptions in community organization, Ross touches upon the value orientation.⁸¹ He considers three contrary views to the concept of community organization, as he defines it, which may very well be applicable to community development. One is that the cooperation amongst the people in the process is over-valued and over-stressed. The other is that the process tends to manipulate ideas and people to secure the ends of the professional elite. The third is that the process is not practical in a society in which 'cultural lag' becomes more pronounced every day.

In an effort to answer these criticisms he identifies a unique frame of reference from which the concept of community organization emerges. It includes: (1) a particular value orientation; (2) a particular conception of the problems of modern men; and (3) certain assumptions that influence the methods, partly derived from value orien-

⁷⁹M. L. Wilson, Community Development Programme in India, (New Delhi: Community Projects Administration, 1956), pp. 2-3.

⁸⁰Curtis, op. cit., p. 278.

⁸¹Ross, op. cit., pp. 72-98.

tation and partly from past experience. This frame of reference limits, conditions, and provides the focus of community organization work. What is attempted, done, and valued has its source in this frame of reference.

Value orientation. It "derives from acceptance of certain concepts and facts as a foundation of work with people."⁸² Among these articles of faith are included:

The essential dignity and ethical worth of the individual, the possession by each individual of potentialities and resources for managing his own life, the importance of freedom to express one's individuality, the great capacity for growth within all social beings, the right of the individual to those basic physical necessities (food, shelter, and clothing) . . . the need for the individual to struggle and strive to improve his own life and environment, the right of individual to help in time of need and crisis, the importance of social organization for which the individual feels responsible and which is responsive to individual feeling, the need of social climate which encourages individual growth and development, the right and responsibility of the individual to participate in the affairs of his community, the practicability of discussion, conference and consultation as methods for the solution of individual and social problems, 'self-help' as the essential base of any program of aid, etc.⁸³

These and similar orientations constitute the 'bias' for social work, condition its goals, and preclude certain types of action as inconsistent. Quite definitely, community organization is "a program which seeks to 'influence' and secure certain 'value-laden' ends. It uses the knowledge and insights provided by social science, but it is not a social science."⁸⁴

⁸²Ibid., p. 77.

⁸³Ibid., pp. 77-78.

⁸⁴Ibid., p. 78.

Community problem. It is the next area of consideration for Ross.

There are many relevant factors of characterization. (1) There is a general, dominant technological impetus for change. The tendency is toward urbanization and industrialization with little regard for the impact on the social relations. In the less developed countries, the stress is to 'catch up'; to 'move a century in a decade'. There are compelling international situations, too.

The result, throughout the world, is movement away from traditional patterns of earning a living, from the traditional farm, village or small town community, from a pattern of relatively simple social relationships, to a situation in which, as the old patterns disappear, there is confusion, uncertainty, and loss of identity.⁸⁵

(2) "The process of urbanization has almost destroyed men's 'feeling of belonging' to a community."⁸⁶ This is sufficiently indicated by the high mobility rates in industrial societies. (3) The urbanization processes have aggravated the problem of developing and maintaining shared values. "A set of common understandings" are essential to avoid chaos. (4) "The tendency for large subgroups to develop cohesion as separate entities in the community produces social tension . . ."⁸⁷ (5) Democracy - with its constituent ideas of "the value of the individual human personality, a real sense of belonging, and a basic like-mindedness. . . ."⁸⁸ - will be weakened without the encouragement and

⁸⁵Ibid., p. 79.

⁸⁶Ibid., p. 77.

⁸⁷Ibid., p. 78.

⁸⁸Ibid., p. 79 (quoted from William Blackie).

the development of supporting institutions. (6) "The barriers that prevent active participation in the direction of social change inhibit personal development."⁸⁹

Assumptions regarding methods. According to Ross, methods are conditioned by scientific validity, feasibility, possibility, reality, and consistence with ends. In a community setting many assumptions influence the methods. (1) Communities "can develop capacities to deal with their own problems,"⁹⁰ even though there may be innate or circumstantial difference in this capacity. (2) People "want and can change."⁹¹ There is a bias that people want status quo, and resist change. On the contrary, there is always a natural tendency for change. Sometimes, efforts to change are paralyzed in situations marked by apathy, indifference, and insecurity. People resist change if they are forced, if their basic securities are threatened, and if they do not understand change.⁹² (3) People should participate in making and controlling important changes in the community. It should be a voluntary participation. The implicit suppositions are that "man grows and fulfills himself as he participates in the regulation of his own life;" unless man so participates, he becomes isolated and his life becomes meaningless; and, "without such participation, democracy has no life or vitality."⁹³

⁸⁹Ibid.

⁹⁰Ibid., p. 85.

⁹¹Ibid., p. 87.

⁹²Ibid., p. 88. (Quotation from Edward H. Spencer.)

⁹³Ibid., p. 89.

Again, (4) self-determined changes are more meaningful and permanent. There is obvious danger in imposed and too rapid changes. (5) A 'holistic approach' rather than a 'fragmented approach' is more appropriate to deal with the community problems. (6) Democracy "requires cooperative participation and action in the affairs of the community," and people have to learn the needed skills in this regard.⁹⁴ There should be "active participation in a communication process which makes possible the identification of common goals and areas of collective action."⁹⁵ Such communication is not a matter of chance, but requires motivation and skill to initiate and sustain. (7) Often, communities need help in organizing to deal with their needs. This assistance may be of different kinds - financial or technical.

"These assumptions," says Ross, "condition the nature of a community organization, the methods used . . . and the principles applicable in the process."⁹⁶

Coming nearer home, the value assumptions of community development, put forth by William J. Cousins are worth the consideration.⁹⁷ Here, the emphasis is primarily on the democratic significance of community development.

. . . it is obvious that Community Development is aimed at

⁹⁴Ibid., p. 90.

⁹⁵Ibid., p. 91.

⁹⁶Ibid., pp. 91-92.

⁹⁷William J. Cousins, "Community Development - Some Notes on the Why and the How," Community Development Review, 7:24-30, December 1957.

democratic development in its fundamental sense. It assumes that people in communities any where can and should work together cooperatively to improve their patterns and levels of living. It assumes that these people can be convinced of their ability to solve many of their problems. It emphasizes selfhelp, self-reliance and the intelligent participation in community life. Further, the making of decisions will be through democratic discussion in which the whole community will be involved. . . .

. . . We must remember always that our aim is not simply the solution of existing problems, but as the Indian Minister for Community Projects has put it, this programme is "Destination: Man." Our aim is to help create those attitudes of independence, self-confidence and cooperativeness in people and those conditions in their environment which make possible the creative fulfillment of each person. In this work of community development the means and the ends are identical.⁹⁸

S. Radhakrishnan, in his foreword to "Approaches to Community Development," observes:

Whatever differences there may be between the industrially developed countries of the West and the under developed countries of the East, the Community scheme attempts to raise the welfare of the common people without imperiling the dignity and the liberty of the individual. If it succeeds, as it is very likely, then it will be a great victory to democracy.⁹⁹

Tying together the main strands of the chapter, it is seen that community development in its spirit and practice was not unfamiliar to the past generations. Through centuries it has been functioning in many forms, in varying situations, with different intensities. However, community development in its new dimensions, in its magnitude of application, and in its methods of operation is of recent origin. The history of the term does not run far back into the past. The concept

⁹⁸Ibid., p. 29.

⁹⁹S. Radhakrishnan, "Foreward" Approaches to Community Development (The Hague: W. Van Hoeve Ltd., 1953), pp. vii-viii.

is traceable to programs of economic development and community organization and their progenitors, and to mass education in some areas.

Community development is recognized as a social process. Largely because this concept is new, and because it is employed under such dissimilar conditions in such widely dispersed areas of the world, a well-rounded definition has not yet emerged into a universal acceptance. But, there is a considerable amount of agreement as to what constitutes community development and as to what its distinguishing characteristics are. A high degree of uniform stress is there on the local community, its initiative, its growth in the ability to effectively face the problems it encounters, and its integration. A wide recognition is also there of the need and propriety of associating the agencies external to the community in this process. Greater unanimity, however, is yet to grow as to the extent, the manner, and the appropriate stage of such external assistance.

Community development is a value-laden process. It is rich in democratic ideals and considerations, as well as other human values.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY

Even though it is a relatively new concept, community development is gaining increasing significance as a method of large scale and speedy improvement of rural life in the under-developed countries of the world. In practice it comprises of many activities designed to promote the welfare of the local communities on the basis of self-help coupled with some external assistance. While its immediate aim is to provide the basic requirements of life in terms of food, clothing, shelter and other social amenities, its ultimate purpose is the human development - better citizens, experienced leaders, and more cohesive and capable communities.

Nearly two-thirds of the global population lives in the under-developed countries under conditions of poverty, illiteracy, and ill-health. There is obviously an urgent need for the efforts to improve this situation. The local governments in these countries are waking up to this need. They are actively engaged in stimulating the rural communities to embark on assisted self-help endeavors leading to their own betterment. There is also a growing awareness of the need for such efforts at the international level. These attempts in the remote corners of the world have important implications for the rest of the world, as well.

Despite its importance, community development has not attracted much attention from the sociological theoreticians. Partly because of

its modern origin, the concept is considered to be still in the formative process. Yet the need for its study has been widely expressed. On the operational side, on the one hand, vast and valuable experience is giving rise to a body of 'administrative theory' of community development. But, on the other hand, in the theoretical realms of sociology, progress in this behalf has not been very rapid. The facts that come to light in this regard are: (1) that at the international level there is regional variation in the understanding and expression of the concept; (2) that at the national levels, it is discernible that the concept does not mean the very same to the leaders, planners, and administrators; (3) that within the same national organization variation in interpretation of the concept is to be found between administrators and field functionaries; (4) that there is a need of bridging the gap between the gathering field experience and the formulation of theory; and (5) that there is scope for inter-disciplinary communication in respect of this concept.

The purpose of the present study is mainly the consideration of some of the relevant sociological theories which could be meaningfully assembled behind the concept of community development. The focus is on what gives rise to and supports the concept of community development rather than the concept itself.

Such a study throws some light on the theoretical background of the concept; it demonstrates the relatedness of certain of the sociological theories and the operational aspects of community development; and, as far as the practitioners are concerned, it promotes a comprehensive understanding of the concept.

The study is comprised of a review of the relevant literature. It includes the consideration of the concept of rural community, the theories of social change and social control, the theories of controlled change and social planning, and the concept of community development.

Communities have been the subject of sociological study for a long time, even though the concept of rural community is not very old. There is considerable diversity of view as to what community is. However, there is agreement that it comprises of a body of people, that it has spacial dimensions, that it has common services and institutions, and that it has a varying degree of cohesiveness arising out of the psychological identification. In recent decades, methods and techniques of empirical delineation of communities have been devised and refined.

Currently, most sociologists are inclined to look upon the community as a social system with inter-related and interdependent parts, and with certain static and dynamic aspects. Irwin T. Sanders has described several setting factors of the community.

Every community has its geographical base which is a contributory element that promotes and limits the growth of the community. It has its cultural heritage which provides it with its folkways and mores, customs and traditions, institutions and value systems. A community has its population content which is always varying in its size and composition. Also, it has, as a setting unit, the personality factor which imparts its characteristic quality. Finally, there is the time element which builds up its past and through which every community

persists.

Sanders also identifies several components of the community. They include the person, the social relationships, the social groups, the social groupings, the subsystems, the major systems, and the social class.

A community is also looked upon as an arena of interaction. In its different aspects it could be analyzed into interaction and communication, interactions as process, function of interaction, and interaction in social dynamics.

In its dynamic aspects, a community is considered as an operating unit. It continuously recruits new members, it serves as a medium of communication, it gives rise to differentiation and status allocation, it allocates goods and services, it provides socialization, it exerts social control, it allocates prestige, it permits social mobility, and it promotes integration.

A community is also considered as a changing social system, the sources of stimulation for this being located either internally or externally.

Social change is a universal phenomenon the study of which is often termed as 'socio cultural dynamics'. The concept of dynamics arises when the element of change is added to social interaction. Alvin Boskoff has defined social change as an "intelligible process in which we can discover significant alterations in structure and functioning of determinable social systems."

The earlier theories of social process and social evolution with their belief in linear trends have given place to the theories of

rhythms and cycles of the later decades. The sociologists are in favor of using the term social change in place of social process or social evolution.

The causative factors of social change may be geographic, biological, or cultural. The origin may be internal or external to the social system or the culture complex. The sources of deviation may be identified as role conflicts, blockage of need patterns, crises, or problems of cultural integration.

These deviations manifest themselves as innovations, which undergo the appraisal process in the social system. As a result of this an innovation may be accepted or rejected. The important elements in this process are the innovation, the innovator, the agents of diffusion, and the appraiser. Every innovation is supposed to undergo a transitional stage comprising of experimental and decision-making phases. At the same time, every accepted innovation may be considered to undergo the two stages of legitimation and integration. However, there never arises in a community a complete state of integration.

Social change may also be regarded as adjustment to some shifts and alterations that have occurred. Sanders discusses the processes of regimentation, mechanization, urbanization, industrialization, commercialization, and secularization as typical of these adaptations. These adjustments may be viewed as the efforts on the part of the community as a social system to maintain its equilibrium.

Considering the cultural aspects of social change it may be recognized that a cultural base is essential for all innovations, whether

deriving from the inventions from within the system or borrowings from without. The inventions are associated with the factors of the cultural base, the inventive genius, the prevailing social attitudes, and the run of attention. Cultural borrowings always occur when two cultural entities are in contact with each other. The process of transmission is characterized as diffusion, acculturation, and assimilation.

Culture transmission is facilitated by the attitude of the receiving group, the motive of self-gain, the collective representation or symbolization of the innovation, and the conscious control of the process. It is retarded by the presence of extreme cultural dissimilarities and prejudices of the dominant group.

Whenever change occurs in a social system, it is supposed to take place at unequal rates in the several phases of the cultural complex. This basis of thinking has given rise to the 'cultural lag' theory. Speaking of the rates of social change, Hornell Hart enunciates two laws, namely, the law of cultural acceleration and the law of logistic surges.

Charles P. Loomis and J. Allen Beegle, considering the general trend of social change, are inclined to think that rural societies are moving from the Gemeinschaft-like to the Gesellschaft-like systems.

Social control is inherent in and essential to the social system. Regularity and order lend a sense of security to the members. Thus, security is an associated factor of consensus in the community. The four processes of social control put forth by Sanders include the socialization of the individual, suggestion, persuasion and coercion. In the primary groups the folkways and mores through socialization and

otherwise play an important role. Social control operates both at the conscious and unconscious levels.

Attempts to influence social change and social control by the application of human intelligence and experience are as old as human communities. With the scientific and technological advancement, a greater area of social life is being gradually brought under human deliberation and design.

The several forms of social movements are but the manifestations of such efforts. Social welfare work is another form familiar to the community. This is based on the belief that socially pathological situations are curable, and that the individual and group risks in the community are to be shared by all or a larger proportion of the community. The early social welfare work focused more on the symptoms of social maladies rather than on their causes.

In recent decades social planning is attracting the attention of the social scientists, social reformists, and political leaders. Here, the scientific methods and techniques are sought to be applied in the organized process of achieving the betterment of large groups of people.

Joseph S. Himes defines social planning as a "conscious inter-actional process combining investigation, discussion, agreement, and action in order to achieve those conditions, relationships and values that are recognized as desirable."

In the area of community improvement there are three important categories, according to Murray G. Ross. 'Community relations' denotes

the relationship of the functional community with the geographical community, and consists of public relations, community services, and community participation.

'Community organization' is a process of initiating and maintaining a more effective adjustment between the social welfare resources and social welfare needs of a social system. It may have a specific objective, general objective, or 'process' objective. The emphasis is on promoting the integration of the community with problem-solving as the means as well as the end.

'Community development' designates the efforts to provide for the rapid and all-round advancement of the less-developed communities. Here also the development of a specific project of improvement is less important than the ability of the community to develop a project.

At least two theories are there with regard to the origin of the term community development. One is that it is more or less directly related to the mass education programs in colonial Africa; and the other, more general, that it is derived from the community organization and the economic development programs. The concept of community development is both old and new. It is old in the sense that some aspects of its principles and practices are to be found in the social welfare activities down the ages. It is new in the sense that, as a tool in the large scale social planning it is quite recent in origin.

There are several definitions of community development. They stress the different aspects of the concept. A widely used one is that offered by the International Cooperation Administration, Washington.

Here, it is recognized as a social process in which the people in the community organize themselves for planning and action, define their individual and common problems, make plans to solve them, and put these plans into effect with reliance on the local resources, supplementing them with external assistance. It is to be noted that community development aims at the development of the people; it is a process and not an event; it requires organization; it has a problem-solving approach; and it has an educational objective.

In most cases, community development is initiated and promoted by an external agency - a religious mission or the local government. Thus, local communities form the client system, and the external agency the change agent, in the process of planned change.

Ideally, the objective of community development is the development of the community, rather than by or for the community. It should result in the cooperative and collaborative attitudes and practices among the members of the community. Emphasis is on the stimulation of local initiative, development of local leadership, and fuller utilization of local resources; also, on self help and self-reliance, and sustained interest and cooperation.

In the process of community development two levels of problems are recognized - the initiation of change in chosen areas of community life, and the necessary resultant adaptation to these changes. Both are equally important.

The phases of community development are variously identified. Carl C. Taylor speaks of four - the systematic discussion of common

needs by the members of the community, systematic planning of the selected undertaking, harnessing the physical, economic, and social resources of the community, and creation of new aspirations for further improvements.

Community development is a value oriented process. It is guided, controlled, and is heavily laden with democratic ideals and the associated human values.



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