

BENGALI VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS
IN
DELHI

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PRADIP KUMAR BOSE

Centre for the study of Social Systems
School of Social Sciences
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi

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JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY

SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF SOCIAL SYSTEMS.

DECLARATION

Certified that the material in this Dissertation has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this or any other University.

Prof. (Yogendra Singh)
Chairman

C.N. Venugopal
(C.N. Venugopal) 31-5-73
Assistant Professor
Supervisor.

New Delhi
Dated: 25.6.73

Pradip Kumar Bose
(Pradip Kumar Bose)

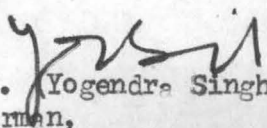
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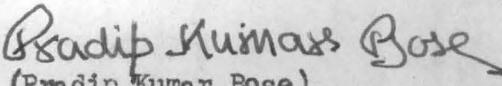
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Prof. (Yogendra Singh)
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(Pradip Kumar Bose)

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Introduction

An association is a group organized for the pursuit of one interest or of several interests in common. Associations are contrasted with involuntary groupings serving a greater variety of ends, such as kin groups, castes, etc. It is generally accepted that under more simple conditions of society the social expression of interests is mainly through caste or class groups, age groups and other organized solidarities, but as society grows more complex, with industrialization, with its division of labour and more opportunity for contacts, every interest of any proportion establishes an organization for its promotion, and different kinds of associations develop as many quite limited and selective interests are enabled to draw their scattered adherents into personal or inter-personal relations¹,

1 See R. M. McIver, "Interests", Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, New York, pp. 302-312.

and in this respect India is no exception.

This study is about voluntary associations. Though there are many studies on voluntary associations in India, very few of them are sociological in nature², that is, most of them are studied from the point of view of social work. Ours is a limited sociological study on the Bengali Voluntary Associations in Delhi. By Bengali Voluntary Associations, we mean the associations which have been (a) founded, organised and controlled by Bengalis, (b) where majority of members are Bengalis, and (c) who are relatively freely organized to pursue mutual or personal interests or to achieve common goals usually non-profitable in nature, (d) the associations have a qualifying criteria for membership and (e) offices are filled by election or selection by representatives so empowered by laws and periodic meetings frequently in regular meeting place³. So, the voluntary associations are in contrast to associations created and perpetuated through no choice of the members, such as those affected by ascription.

So the limitation of this study is two-fold, that is, we have studied the voluntary associations which are (a) in Delhi, and (b) organised by Bengalis. For the purpose of

2 See E.g. John Barnabas, Voluntary Service in India: A Study New Delhi, 1967, A.C. Sen (ed). Introducing Voluntary Agencies in India, New Delhi, 1971. S. R. Hamdey, et.al., On Getting People to Participate, New Delhi, 1971; D. Paul Chowdhury, Voluntary Social Welfare in India, New Delhi, 1971.

3 In Chapter I, we have discussed in detail on the definition of voluntary associations.

this study, we have chosen three Bengali Voluntary associations, from three different parts of the city, which have quite a long history and effective in that part of the city among the Bengali community.

In this dissertation, we have attempted to study the organizational process of these associations and the function it serves for the Bengali community in particular, or to be explicit, we have tried to find out how these associations grow, how they formalize, how during the process of formalization bureaucratic tendencies come up, how goals are displaced and succeeded, who are the members of these associations, to which social class do they belong and for which purpose do they join these associations and what is the relation between the club and the community. The study is empirical and all the data, which we have gathered are based on interviews, formal and informal, with the members and key persons in these associations.⁴ As the study is limited one, the scope of generalization is also limited to that extent.

To give a more complete picture of the facts, in the first chapter we have discussed sociological aspects of voluntary associations in general, that is, the definitional problem, how they can be classified into different types, what are their

4 See Chapter on Methods for details.

general functions. The typology, discussed in this chapter has been adopted for the classification of voluntary associations we have studied. In chapter two, we have discussed Bengalis in Delhi, their growth and population in different areas of Delhi, with a special emphasis on areas where voluntary associations that we have studied are situated. In the third chapter, which is a short one, we have discussed the methodology we have adopted for this study. The next chapter deals with the history, organizational structure, aims and objectives and general information of the voluntary associations that we have chosen for this study. The chapter on organizational process is divided into four sections where we have discussed the different aspects of the growth of the organizations, like institutionalization, minority rule and goal displacement. The next chapter deals with the composition of membership by different variables like age, income, occupation, etc., and their share of participation and in the seventh chapter we have discussed the needs fulfilled by these associations. In the last chapter, we have studied the formal and informal interaction between the club and the community. This section is more of a descriptive nature than analytical. Here we have tried to give to the readers some insight - by quoting one example and giving a descriptive account of the festivals - into the process of interaction. To bring home certain facts, we have often repeated some points in different chapters, which is not to show that the readers are less intelligent than we are, but to make our case more concrete.

CHAPTER-I

VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS: SOME SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS

In this chapter we have discussed the three different aspects of voluntary associations from sociological standpoint. These are (a) Definition, (b) Classification and (c) Functions of voluntary associations. This chapter is theoretical in essence, but the points which we have discussed here, we have adopted and elaborated in latter chapters; the purpose of this chapter is also to give a broad theoretical framework to one's empirical study.

Definition

The definition of the term "Voluntary Association" as it appear in sociological literature differs widely, but they generally contain three key elements as mentioned by Sills, that a voluntary association is an organized group of persons, (i) that is formed to further some common interest of its members, (ii) in which membership is voluntary in the sense that it is neither mandatory, nor acquired through birth; and (iii) that exists independently of the state.¹ Even this broad definition admits some exceptions, for example there are many voluntary associations that are subject to state control to the extent that they must be registered or sometimes the state agencies sponsor or create voluntary associations to serve its own ends, like some co-operative bodies in India.

1. David L. Sills, "Voluntary Associations", International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences, p. 363

In these broad definitions fall the non-state organizations like churches, private schools, universities and political parties etc. but in most of the sociological literatures - including the present dissertation - a narrower definition is used. So, the additional criteria used are: (3) the activity of these associations is not anyway connected with the business of making a living or economic activity of the members as in the case of professional associations or trade unions, (4) the volunteers or non-salaried members constitute a majority of participants - which for example is not the case in the universities or private schools, (5) They have a qualifying criteria of membership, offices filled by elections or selection by representatives empowered by laws and periodic meetings in regular meeting place; and finally the last criterion which we have taken for this specific study is (6) that they are organized by Bengalis and are established in Delhi.

Now, the theory of voluntary associations has two dimensions. The first one is that due to the growth of industrialization and urbanization, the people are 'alienated', the primary group ties are weakened, which results in the creation of emotionally starved and socially up-rooted individuals, which necessitates the formation of voluntary associations. The second aspect of the theory of voluntary association is that with the concentration of powers, in the hands of state authority, there emerges a wide gap between the people and the state, which is being filled by the voluntary associations. Since, most of the

theories are formed in the light of western experience, the definition of voluntary association is biased, in the sense that it cannot be applied cross-culturally for comparative study. As a corrective measure, the definition must take many more variables for the cross-cultural analysis, as the structure and function of the voluntary associations in society change as society itself undergoes transformation.²

As we have seen, voluntary associations are characteristics of urban societies and most urbanized areas of all societies. Why is this so? The probable explanations are (i) the population density, more the people, more there will be scope for interaction; (ii) higher socio-economic status of the urban people; (iii) more leisure of the people in higher socio-economic group. Louis Wirth cited the weakness of kinship, family and neighbourhood ties in the city as an explanation. "Being reduced to the stage of virtual impotence as an individual, the urbanite is bound to exert himself by joining with others of similar interests into organized groups to obtain his ends."³ Though the study of Little⁴ and Anderson⁵ shows that voluntary

2 T. K. Oommen, *Theory of Voluntary Association in a Cross-Culture Perspective*, Unpublished Ms. pp. 1-2.

3 Louis Wirth, "Urbanization as a Way of Life", *American Journal of Sociology*, 44, 1938, p.20.

4. Kenneth I. Little, *West African Urbanization: A Study of Voluntary Associations in Social Change*, London, 1965.

5. Robert T. Anderson & G. Anderson, "Voluntary Association and Urbanization: A Diachronic Analysis", *American Journal of Sociology*, 65, 1959, pp. 265-273.

associations are both numerous and influential in rural communities undergoing rapid urbanization. As Andersons say "a weakening of the family, the face to face community, and other insititutions, social units may well be related to the adverse effects of certain exigencies of urban assimilation but it does not necessarily follow that voluntary associations have proliferated essentially as a result of this development,⁶ and they conclude that variability in the patterning and propensities of cultures is as much a determinant of voluntary associations as the functional link between them and urbanism. So, we find the evidence of voluntary associations in certain primitive societies⁷ though we must remember that they are of a different type when compared with the voluntary associations of other societies.

6 Ibid, p. 273.

7 As Hoebel has said that "the urge to form clubs is not an exclusive trait of civilized man. Most primitives too have found the means to make lifemore intriguing, colourful and meaningful through clublife". The various types of associations described by him are: (1) Tribal secret fraternities which are the outgrowth of adolescence transition rites, (2) Non-tribal secret fraternities, (3) Secular associations which were given the furthering non-mystic ends (E.A. Hoebel, Man in the Primited World, New York, 1949, pp. 401-413). There is a broad pattern in the associations of technologically primitive group, in the sense that they tend to organize for recreation and expression of distinction of rank; in larger tribal societies they sometime exercise important governmental functions. See also Hutton Webster, Primitive Secret Societies, New York, 1932; Robert H. Lowie, Social Organization, New York, 1960; Robert Redfield, "The Folk Society", American Journal of Sociology, 52, 1947, 293-308.

Classification into Types.

There have been many classifications of voluntary associations, but they are mainly classified on the basis of either structure or function as variable. Sills⁸, for example, has classified his types on the basis of structural distinction and he calls them "Corporate Type" and "Federation Type" of organizations. Rose⁹ is concerned with the associations that are formed to achieve a condition or change in some segment of the society which he classified as "social influence" groups, while associations organized to express or satisfy the interests of their members, he calls "expressive" groups and he excludes them from any systematic consideration which reflects a bias in so far as general functions of organizations are concerned. Sherwood Fox¹⁰ has made three-fold classification upon the distinction between majoral, minoral and medial organizations. Majoral associations serve the interest of major institutions in society, like educational, scientific, business associations. Minoral associations serve the interest of significant minorities in the population; ethnic associations fall into this class, and medial associations mediate between major segments or institutions in society, e.g., parent-teacher association mediates between family and school system.

8 David. I Sills, The Volunteers, Illinois, 1957, pp. 8-12.

9 Arnold M. Rose, Theory and Method in Social Sciences, Minneapolis, 1954, p.52.

10 Sherwood Fox, Voluntary Association and Social Structure, Harvard University.

Lundberg and others¹¹ have also used three-fold designation, instrumental, mixed and leisure for classifying associations in a study.

A typology, following Rose¹², based upon one structural variable, and two functional variables has been developed by Babchuk and Gordon¹³. The structural variable is accessibility, that is, who is eligible for membership. They have divided the degree of accessibility into two parts - high accessibility and low accessibility. The functional variables are: (1) status conferring capacity, which means "capacity of an organization to bestow prestige which accrues to its members"¹⁴ and (2) Instrumental-expressive - expressive associations are those which provide the opportunity for carrying activities, such as recreation, of direct interest to participants or help to provide satisfaction of personal fellowship. Instrumental associations are related to the activities which take place outside the organization. They seek to maintain a condition or to bring about change which transcends their immediate membership¹⁵. In between predominantly instrumental and expressive associations are those associations which perform

11 G. A. Lundberg, M. Komarovsky and M. A. McNery, Leisure: A Suburban Study, Columbia, 1934, pp. 126-169.

12 Rose, op cit.

13 Nicholas Babchuk & C. Wayne Gordon, "A Typology of Voluntary Associations", American Sociological Review, 24, 1959, pp. 22-3

14 Ibid, p. 27.

15 Ibid, p. 28.

both functions self-consciously. This type has been designated as instrumental-expressive. The term 'instrumental' in sociological literature has an economic and political connotation, but here the term is used in a wider sense, in contrast to the term expressive. That is, when the activities are directed towards the benefit of non-members, we call them instrumental activities. In this dissertation, we have used the term in this wide sense, and followed the typology developed by Babchuk and Gordon for analysis.

Functions of Voluntary Associations for Individual and Society

The functions that voluntary associations are said to perform for individuals and society, can be classified into two groups; manifest, that is, those which are intended and recognized by participants and latent, that is those which are neither intended nor recognized by participants but can be observed by the social scientists. Both functions are important and each present problem of verification. Though some methods have been described by Weick¹⁵ and Zelditch and Hopkins¹⁷ for the study of social process that occurs within organizations by field or laboratory experiments, yet, problems presented by latent functions remain most challenging for the social scientists.

16 Karl E. Weick, "Laboratory Experiments with Organizations", pp. 194-260, in James G. March (ed) Handbook of Organizations, Chicago, 1965.

17 Morris Zelditch and T. K. Hopkins, "Laboratory Experiments with Organizations", pp. 464-478, in Amitai Etzioni (ed), Complex Organizations: A Sociological Reader, New York, 1961.

The main function which voluntary associations do for the individuals is to provide them with an opportunity to benefit from the organization programme, whether that be the satisfaction of sociability, recreation, service or political action.

Among the latent functions, two can be mentioned: (1) social integration and (2) training in organizational skills. As people interact with each other, the benefits of interaction like easing loneliness, learning norms, acquiring information, become the most frequent functions of membership for the individuals involved.¹⁸ But what requires probing is whether secondary groups, such as voluntary associations, serve the same integrative functions as primary groups and secondly do primary groups disappear? The statement of Wirth that the weakening of family and neighbourhood ties is compensated by voluntary associations may not always be valid. For instance, Sills has pointed out that "what is much more likely is that people who have satisfactory primary groups ties are much more likely to join the voluntary associations - a reversal of the direction of causality implied by integration hypothesis"¹⁹ He has shown the evidence of Jacoby²⁰ in this direction, who found that

18 Sills, *opcit.*, pp. 372-373.

19 *Ibid.*, p. 373.

20 Arthur P. Jacoby, "Some Correlates of Instrumental and Expressive Orientations to Associational Membership", Sociological Inquiry, 35, 1965, pp. 163-175.

persons with primary group ties are more likely to join expressive associations than persons living alone, again the disappearance of primary group has been doubted by many. Dotson²¹ in his study has shown that among urban working class, the family and kinship continue to play an important role in providing for the companionship and recreational needs of the persons. As he noted that, "it is significant that within such population (i.e. comparatively stable) we do not find wholesale displacement of "primary" by "secondary" groups - with consequent depersonalization of social relationship - which is implied in conventional account of urban social life."²²

Now how much social integrative functions do the voluntary associations serve in urban societies is not sufficiently measured. Same is the case with voluntary associations in transitional societies.

The second function which voluntary associations perform is to train people in organizational skills. In transitional societies such training play very important role. In 19th century Bengal, during the British rule many voluntary associations came up,²³ to serve different interests, and the voluntary associations, that colonial powers encouraged as means of spreading

21 Floyd Dotson, "Patterns of Voluntary Association among Urban Working Class Families", American Sociological Review, 16, 1951, pp. 687-693. See also Commen, op cit, pp. 6-8.

22 Ibid, p. 693.

23 See A. C. Gupta (ed) Studies in Bengal Renaissance, West Bengal, 1958.

modern values, trained people in organizational skills and became at the end effective instrument of liberation. Best example in this context is the emergence of Indian National Congress, which has developed out of the activities of voluntary associations like Indian League and Indian Association formed in Bengal in 1875 and 1876 respectively, and these associations supplied the first batch of leaders to Indian National Congress. President of debating societies or discussion groups, through this experience, became leaders of anti-colonial movement.²⁴

The functions that voluntary associations perform for society necessarily overlap the functions they perform for individuals. As for example, the training in organizational skills, is at the same time function for individuals and also a function for the society. It is interesting to note here that functions of voluntary associations that they perform for the society, as mentioned by students of voluntary associations, are all positive.

24 The same process we find in other colonial countries e.g., Africa, where functions of voluntary associations were almost same as functions described here and there also political parties often developed out of the "welfare societies" and similar bodies organized by educated Africans. For details, see, Little, op.cit, and Immanuel Wallerstein, "Voluntary Associations", pp. 318-339 in James S. Coleman and Carl G. Roseberg (ed), Political Parties and National Integration in Tropical Africa, California, 1964.

There are almost no dysfunctions mentioned, through this can be contradicted by the simple fact that in U.S.A., U.K. and in India also, there are associations which serve to uphold the interests of a few privileged sections, and thus prove to be dysfunctional to the rest of the society.

Rose²⁵ identifies three functions of voluntary associations, (1) they distribute powers over social life, this function was visualized much earlier by Tocqueville who said "among the laws that rule human society, there is one which seems to be more precise and clear than all others. If men are to remain civilized, or to become so, the art of associating together must grow and improve in the same ratio in which quality of conditions is increased."²⁶ (2) they provide a sense of satisfaction with modern democratic process, because they help the ordinary citizen to see how the process function in limited circumstances, of direct interest to himself....²⁷ (3) they provide a social mechanism for continually instituting social change, though in many countries most of the services that are now assumed to be the responsibility of government were initiated by voluntary associations like welfare service to poor, ill and orphaned, also such services as education, which leads to one question that whether this system of voluntary associations is a passing phase in a society or its existence is permanent, how much welfare activities government sponsors.

²⁵ Rose, op.cit., pp. 50-51

²⁶ Alexis de Tocqueville, Democracy in America, New York, 1961, Vol. 2. p. 118.

²⁷ Rose, op.cit, p.51.

Besides these three, some more functions which can be mentioned are: (4) Integration of sub-groups, as in plural society the voluntary associations integrate minority group into national society, many ethnic associations are formed for this express-purpose, though it is also possible - in a wider context - due to the presence of conflicting interest groups, the associations, instead of national integration may enhance divisiveness, (5) Mediation, as we have seen earlier, they mediate between primary groups and the State, (6) Voluntary associations perform some of the governmental functions in coping with the emergencies like incidences of famine, flood etc. These type of voluntary associations do not function as pressure groups. Another function mentioned by Sills is (7) affirmation of values, i.e., voluntary/sometimes ^{associations} serve legitimate locus for the affirmation and expression of values, as do patriotic societies and political parties.²⁸ While the emphasis in the foregoing section was the functions of voluntary associations in transitional societies as agency of social change, our analysis will remain incomplete, if we do not mention that the voluntary associations serve equally well as defenders of the status quo or as a preserver of a culture which has legendary past. Further, they sometimes also act as revivalist agents by looking back to the past. The "mythical golden age", and thus satisfying the urges of modern man for an enchanted life.

28 Sills, op.cit., p. 374.

CHAPTER-II

The capital city and the Bengali Population

The growth of Delhi during the last seventy years is a fascinating story of urbanization. During this period, the capital of India shifted from Calcutta to Delhi (12th December, 1911), the city underwent the great impact of immigration due to war, then exodus due to partition and simultaneously the greater immigration that accompanied the exodus. From a mere population of 4,05,819 in 1901, the population of Delhi has grown into 4,065,698 in 1971 (see table 1)

Table-1 The Population of Delhi: 1901-1971.

Years	Total Population	Bengalis	Percentage increase of Bengalis
1901	405819	-	-
1911	413851	357	-
1921	488452	2671	+648.18
1931	636246	6632	+148.30
1941	917939	-	-
1951	1744072	10315	+55.53
1961		28315	+172.77
1971	4065698	40866	+45.24

On the other hand as Ashok Mitra has said, "from a little over 2,00,000 in 1901, urban Delhi grew by slow degrees to a mere 4,50,000 in 1931, but took a sudden leap to 7,00,000 in 1941, more than doubled itself thereafter in ten years to 1.44 million in 1951, and two thirds as much again to 2.4

million in 1961¹ and in 1971 it has become 3.6 million.

The urbanization of Delhi does not fall precisely in the scope of this paper, so we have chosen a few variables to indicate growth and urbanization of Delhi (see Table 2)

Table-2 Urbanization & Growth of Delhi in terms of selected variables*

Year	No. of regd. factories	Average employment/day	No. of vehicles	No. of Hotels regd.	No. of accidents occurred.	Electricity sold (m.Kw).
1958	933	51535		77		
1959				82		
1960				83		
1961	1096	60317		83		119.446
1962			47898	87	7275	
1963			56790	93	7200	
1964			66772	100	8006	
1965			78900	103	8456	610.070
1966	1403	76261	80795	106	8347	

* Source: Ashok Mitra, op.cit, pp. 105-129

This is not within the scope of this paper to discuss in details the urbanization of Delhi, which has been discussed excellantly by Rao and Desai², and they have shown how Delhi has grown by leaps and bounds since independence, which we have indicated by a few variables.

1 Ashok Mitra, Delhi Capital City, New Delhi, p.7

2 V.K.R.V. Rao and P.B. Desai, Greater Delhi: A Study in Urbanization- 1940-1957, New Delhi, 1965

The Delhi city is divided into different zones like Shadara, City-Sadar-Paharganj, Karol Bagh-Patel Nagar, Civil Lines-Subzi Mandi, Transferred area, South Delhi, West Delhi, New Delhi, Delhi Cantonment and MCD (rural and urban). Initially, majority of population lived in City-Sadar area. But as population grew, Karol Bagh, Patel Nagar, Civil-Lines, Subzi Mandi, New Delhi and Transferred Area became inhabited by more people and each of these areas grew by more than half as much again as in 1951.

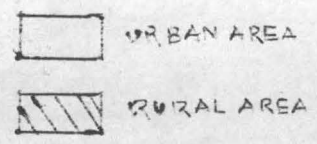
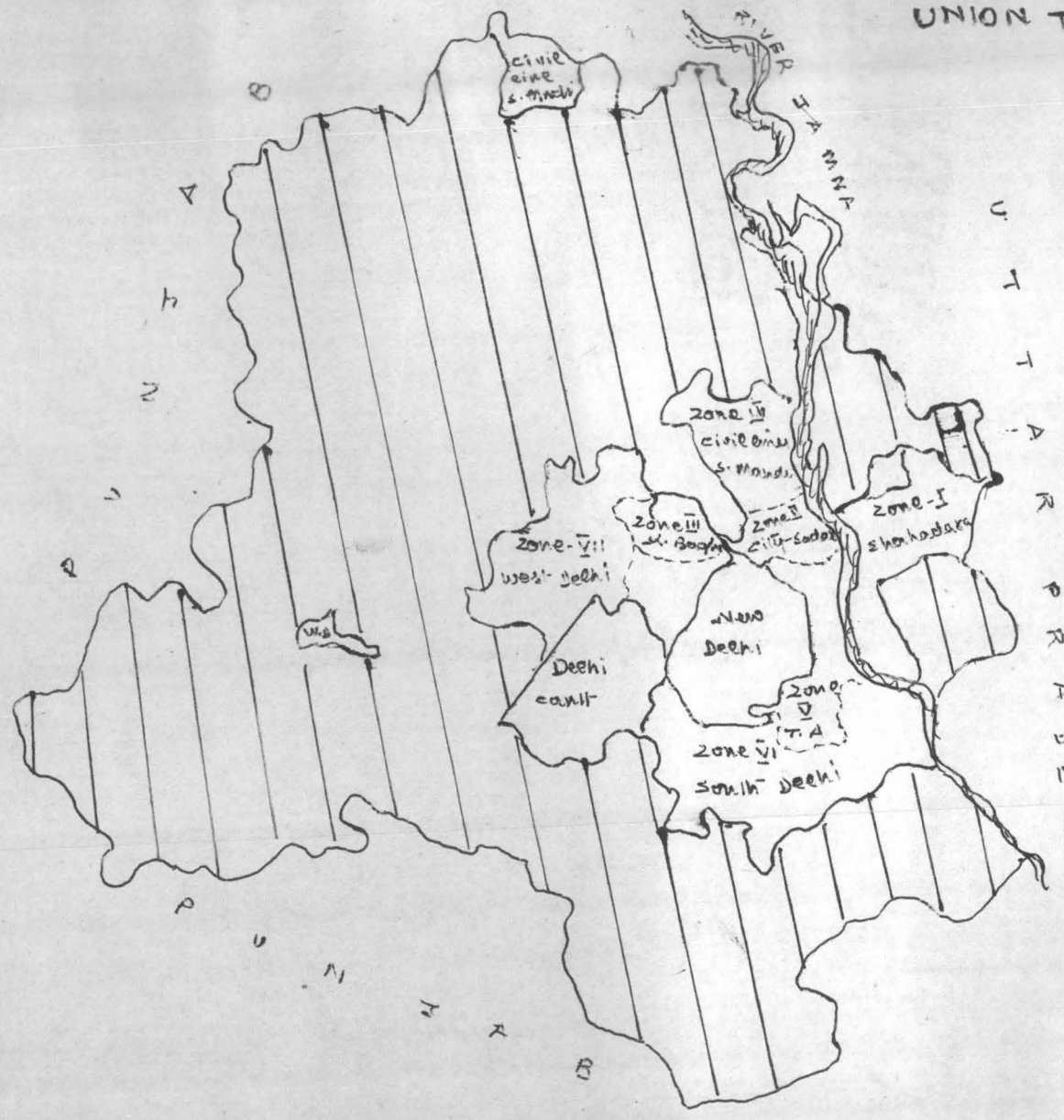
Again as Mitra has shown population division by religion in Delhi is highly segmented. For example, "Hindus are found most in City-Sadar-Paharganj, almost a quarter of them being in the city's old commercial area, followed by a long way behind by solid upper and middle class areas of civil lines-Subzi Mandi and Karol Bagh (between a seventh and eighth) New Delhi (with a little more than tenth)... Muslims are the least dispersed - four-fifths of the entire Muslim population being concentrated in City-Sadar-Paharganj, with the transferred area, Civil Lines-Subzi Mandi, South Delhi and New Delhi claiming between 2.5 and 3 per cent each!"³

This will provide a general background of the areas in which the voluntary associations that we have studied are established. Nearly one in New Delhi, the second in Karol Bagh-Patel Nagar area and the third in Civil Lines-Subzi Mandi area.

3 Mitra, op.cit, pp.18-19.

UNION TERRITORY OF DELHI

ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS



Now Bengalis started coming to Delhi in bulk after the capital shifted to Delhi.... Previously when in 1865 Belliyal College was established in Delhi, some Bengali teachers came to Delhi, but it was after 1911, when controllers General Office, Government of India Press and other offices shifted to Delhi that Bengali population grew. As it is evident from the table-1, that while Bengali population in 1911 was only 357, within ten years, it grew by 648.18 per cent and became 2671 it trebled itself in 1931 and amounted to 6632 showing increase by 148.30 % and in 1971 it has become 40866. From the figures of 1961 we find that out of 28136 Bengalis in Delhi, only 57 live in rural areas while rest of 28079 live in urban Delhi.

From the 1961 Census, the area wise division of Bengalis is shown in Table 3.

Table 3. (sex ratio = Female per 1000 males)

Area	Male	Female	Sex ratio
Zone I Shadra	228	184	807
Zone II City-Sadar-Pahar-ganj	1752	1194	682
Zone III Karol Bagh-Patel Nagar	2175	1869	859
Zone IV Civil Lines-Subzi Mandi	1045	908	869
Zone V Transferred area	2685	2295	855
Zone VI South Delhi	611	585	957
Zone VII West Delhi	369	340	921
New Delhi	5998	5015	836
Delhi Cant.	493	333	675



From the Table-3, we see that the maximum numbers of Bengalis live in New Delhi i.e. 11,013. The area in which one of the voluntary associations, we have chosen is situated. The Karol Bagh - Patel Nagar ranks third (4,044) where another voluntary association that we have studied is situated. The third one is situated in Kashmere Gate, which draws Bengali both from Civil-Lines - Subzimidandi zone and city-Sadar zone. One of the consequence of the increase in Bengali population in Delhi is the growth of Bengali voluntary associations in Delhi. As V. Rao and Desai⁴ has shown that in Delhi in-migrants show higher rate of participation in the voluntary associations than residents, except membership in the political parties, and Bengalis are the largest single community in Delhi (nearly most of them have migrated from West-Bengal) after Punjabi, Urdu and Hindi speaking people. So the growth of Bengali voluntary associations in Delhi has increased. While in 1925 there was only one association, now it has increased to nearly 35, all of these are registered associations beside these there are nearly 45 unregistered clubs organised by Bengalis of Delhi. Now as Delhi is growing fast, so due to the rapid growth of outer Delhi and due to the lack of effective transport system distance has imposed a effective barrier to the participation in association based on central city.⁵ So people there have started establishing new voluntary associations, though it must be mentioned that all these voluntary associations are

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4. V.K.R.V. Rao and P.B. Desai, opcit p. 339

5. The problem of membership rate in fringe and central city has been studied by Basie C. Zimmer and Amos H. Hewly, "The significance of Membership in Association", American Journal of Sociology, 65, (Sept. 1959) 196-201.

of expressive type. The growth of the Bengalis in outer Delhi will be clear from the table-4

TABLE-4

Duration of Residence of Bengalis in place of Enumeration in years

Area	Less than 1 year	1-5 yrs.	6-10 yrs.	11-15 yrs.	16+
Delhi	2,244	5,690	2,733	2,075	2,437
M.C.D. (urban)	1,613	3,686	1,833	1,243	1,487
Zone I Shadara	76	193	191	48	19
Zone II City-Sadar- Pahargunj	237	660	469	359	646
Zone III Karolbagh - Patel Nagar	353	991	469	274	328
Zone IV Civil Line - Sabzi Mandi	214	464	243	188	161
Zone V Transferred Area	458	880	417	302	286
Zone VI South Delhi	151	257	85	41	34
Zone VII West Delhi	124	241	59	31	13
New Delhi	489	1,783	926	823	943
Delhi Cantt.	142	221	24	9	7

From the table we can see, that in the places like Shadara, South Delhi, West Delhi, Delhi Cantt. where sixteen years ago total population was only 73, it has increased many times since then. It also shows why some of the old associations are situated in New Delhi, Karolbagh and old Delhi area.

The migration of Bengalis to Delhi is continuously increasing, while declines have occurred to the languages of Malayalam (by more than 5% from 9800 in 1951 to 9500 in 1961)

Marathi (by more than 62% from 20,000 in 1951 to 7,000 in 1961) Gujarati (by more than 53% from 14,000 in 1951 to 6,600 in 1961) and Telegu (by 46% from 9,700 in 1951 to 5,200 in 1961), as Mitra has said "the two most intractable mother tongues appear to be Bengali and Tamil because the percentage, as well as absolute increase in each, reflects almost exactly the number returned as having immigrated over the decade from West-Bengal and Madras" again also "migrants from Andhra Pradesh, Maharashtra and Mysore are of comparatively recent origin, registers 20% for less than one year, rapidly rise to a peak of 48% or more for duration of one to five years and rapidly taper off until they are around 5% for duration above 16 years. Assam and Kerala exhibit similar trends. Persons born in West-Bengal, as distinguished from a sizeable Bengali speaking population resident in Delhi show fairly high level for durations of less than one year (15%) and one to five years (37%) and continue to maintain a high level thereafter (a plateau of 18% for six to ten years through to 16% for duration of 16 years and more). Thus giving lie to the popular notion of the homesick Bengali anxious to take first train back to Calcutta"⁶

Most of the Bengalis in Delhi are white collar employees either in the civil services or in technical or scientific positions in business, commercial and industrial houses. There are few blue collar Bengali employees in Delhi. So most of the Bengalis are found "in the white collar middle income settlements of New Delhi, with progressively smaller population in Transferred Area, Karol Bagh - Patel Nagar and City - Sadar Paharganj"⁷. So

6. Mitra, opcit, pp 19-20, 24.

7. ibid p.22

the Bengalis in Delhi comprise of a large middle class, some upper class and a few lower class of the poor or near poor. Occupationwise, majority of them are in government service, then come those who are working in private industrial houses; teachers, businessmen, shopkeepers, and workers (blue collared) account for less than 10% of Bengali population. It was middle class populars, who after coming to Delhi started forming associations. Associations which they formed were mainly of expressive type and its purpose was mainly to keep the cultural identity. So the voluntary associations of today, which are main source Bengali cultural festivals of Delhi, have remained isolated from the finer trails of Hindi and Urdu culture. All its cultural activities are still slavishly dependent upon that of Bengal. But as we have seen many voluntary associations in Bengal from 19th century onward had political overtones; and political consciousness has become part of middle class consciousness in Bengal, which is strikingly absent in Delhi. Political consciousness as reflected by voluntary associations is almost nothing. Almost all the Bengali voluntary associations in Delhi are politically neutral. One of the reasons for this is that most of the people are either in government service or in private service. On the otherhand they could not assimilate culturally because they did not come to Delhi to stay. Due to this transitoriness the roots of Bengalis are not deep, though eventually they have become a stable community. Another factor which accounts for the lack of political consciousness and indifference to other cultures is that the economic and social status of Bengalis have declined in Delhi since independence. Previously

Bengalis were in elite positions due to their official status
the position which they have lost after the end of colonial
era.

CHAPTER III

Methodology

We have selected three voluntary associations from the three different zones of Delhi, which play an important part among Bengali community. These associations are organised by Bengalis and majority of the members of these associations are also Bengalis. These three associations are :-

- 1) Bengali Club, Kashmere Gate
- 2) Bengali Club, New Delhi and
- 3) Bengiya Samsad, Karol Bagh.

The organisational histories of these associations were constructed from the documentary material taken from the file of the organisation i.e. pamphlets, publications, minutes of the board and committee meetings, brochures, by laws annual reports, club magazines, letters and informal interviews with active key persons past and present. In gathering data for the case histories an attempt was made to record as completely as possible all the successive changes in the manifest social structure of the association such as formal membership criteria. The changes in the constitution, the changes in the board or committee structures, specific functional position of the officers, increase in physical properties, records of income and expenditure and the like. Again, beside taking informal interviews with key persons, ten percent of total members were randomly selected and supplied with a structured questionnaire (see Appendix 1) to gather data on different aspects of the membership and their functions, which we have discussed in detail. The clubs, we have selected on the basis of selective sampling i.e. the clubs which are more than ten years old,

which are effective in that part of the city, representative of other clubs in the community and established in different localities, on the otherhand the members we have selected randomly on the basis of a random number table.

CHAPTER - IV

History

In this section we will discuss the histories of the three associations that we have selected and we also give some information about functions of these associations.

Bengali Club, Kashmere Gate: In the last decade of 19th century there were some associations of Bengalis. The important among which was one Bengali literary Association, established in 1894 which was a meeting place for local Bengalis. The other place where Bengalis could meet was Kali temple. Initially the main activities of the Bengalis consisted in organizing Pujas, but as number of Bengalis increased, they felt that there was a need for a more frequent, more continuous communion with a more comprehensive purpose. So in 1925 this club was established. A majority of original membership consisted of clerks, there were some officers and there was a sizeable portion of school and college teachers. The office of the club was established in Kashmere Gate and the Bengali literary Association was merged with the club. The main sections of the clubs were 1) A literary section "to encourage literary pursuits by maintaining a literary and reading room; and to organise debates, literary meetings, competition and discussion groups". 2) An Arts Section "to stimulate interest in fine arts". 3) A games and physical culture section, "to provide facilities for sports, indoors games and physical culture". Physical culture section was formed in 1944. 4) A social service section "for the alleviation of human sufferings and to provide a band of trained workers whose services may be needed in emergencies"¹.

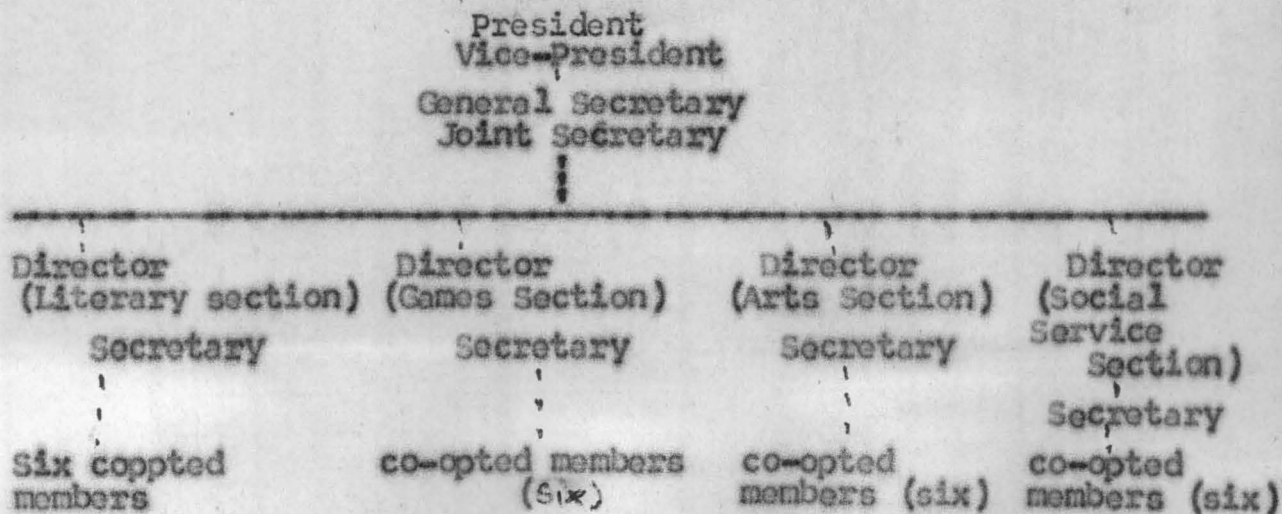
1. Bengali Club, Memorandum of Association and Rules and Regulations, Delhi, 1953, pp. 3 - 4.

1 This section was added after independence. It must be mentioned here that the function of this social service section is almost nothing except helping one or two poor students. The physical culture section has stopped functioning. The art section deals with only Dramas performed by the members of the club. In sum, club provides recreational facilities to the members and is predominantly an expressive association.

The aims and objectives of the club are as follows:-

- 1) To study, cultivate and propagate the Bengali language and literature.
 - 2) To maintain and develop an interest in the arts and culture of Bengal.
 - 3) To encourage social intercourse and develop points of cultural contact with sister communities
 - 4) To promote physical culture and provide facilities for sports, games, excursions etc.
 - 5) To foster a spirit of social and national service.
- It is also mentioned in the preamble that members "pledge to endeavour to provide for our community in general and our younger generation in particular, a suitable cultural base worthy of the traditions of people"².

The organisation structure of this club can be represented as follows:-



In addition, there are two other office bearers : a treasurer and an assistant treasurer. The affairs of the club are under the control and management of Executive Council, which consist of a maximum of 17 and a minimum of 12 members who are elected by the secret ballot. Except the President, who is also elected by secret ballot, all the other office bearers are elected by executive council.

The main financial sources of the club are three. 1) Private donations 2) Subscription and 3) Entertainment benefits.

During the course of years, the club has taken into its fold; the younger groups, who had formed their own clubs. In 1950, Bhatari Sancha, an younger group was merged with the club, in 1959 Saighar, in 1965 Kheali and in 1970 Mitalis were merged with this club. All these groups were younger than the former groups. In this process the club has solved the problem of enthusiastic and young volunteers, who are able to work for the club.

Bengali club, New Delhi

The Bengali club was founded in August 1933. Prior to August 1933, there were two principal associations of the Bengali residents of New Delhi for their socio-cultural activities. "with a view to mobilise the growing talents who were struggling for eminence and for recognition in their divided camps, some of the leading personalities who wielded influence in the social life of the community initiated move for the merger of these two organisations"³ and an amalgam of the two associations was actually achieved in the year 1933. A move

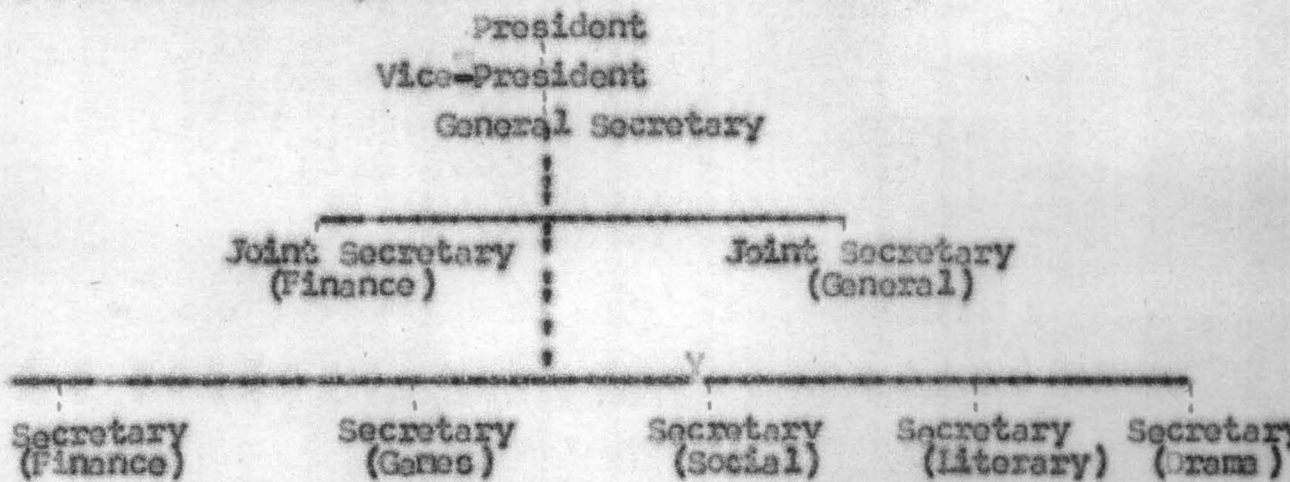
³ The club Brochure, p 1969, New Delhi p. 16

was initiated in July 1951 to have a centralised club and a centralised library in the Kalibari premises. As a result of negotiations between the New Delhi Bengali club and other sister institutions on the one hand and New Delhi Kalibari on the other, the New Delhi Bengali club and Terun-Sangha, another association of young Bengalis, were amalgamated into the present "Bengali club". The new organisation was housed in Kali bari premises in July 1952, and continues there ever since. The main activities of the club are :- 1) Games 2) Literary discourses. 3) Music and cultural functions 4) Drama.

The aims and objectives of the club are as follows:

- 1) "To provide means of recreation, both mental and ~~fastax~~ physical, to its members.
- 2) To create and foster a sense of fraternity and esprit decorps among its members and also to establish bonds of friendship and cordiality with the members of other communities
- 3) To arrange social, literary and cultural functions for the benefit and entertainment of the members of the club and for the Bengali community in general.
- 4) To provide a forum for exchange of thoughts on cultural affairs between the members of the various organisations and communities with a view to removing seclaxarism and promoting the cause of national integration.
- 5) to organise relief operations in times of natural and other calamities befalling the people.
- 6) To establish and maintain charitable centres for medical relief. (which the club has not established till now)
- 7) to render assistance both financial and physical to indigent and distressed persons.

4 "To provide a forum of exchange of thoughts on cultural affairs between the members of the various organisations and communities". The club organises, two drama competitions on all India level. The first one One Act Bengali Drama competition, and the second one, All India Drama competition, in which on an average, groups from eight different states in eight different languages perform their plays. The organisational structure of the club can be represented as:-



The affairs of the club is conducted by the managing committee elected from amongst its members, and comprises of above mentioned office bearers and one treasurer and fifteen ordinary members. The main sources of support of the club are: 1) Private donations 2) Subscription 3) Entertainment benefits. 4) Help from governmental agencies. The club which have merged with this club since 1951 are Saathi in 1961, Sabui Snagha in 1968 and Boys union club in 1971.

Bangiya Sansad: Karolbagh:

Bangiya Sansad was founded in 1958 by the Bengalis of Karol bagh. Though this club is quite young as compared to other two, but its activities are more widespread than others.

The Samsad was started in the year 1958 with a handful of members and one carrom Board very soon, the membership strength swelled up to 50 and it got registered in 1959. It has now 600 members on its list, and housed in four rented buildings and the total rental bill amounts to Rs. 3,000/- per month for its various activities.

The main activities of the club are:-

- 1) The Samsad library and reading room, which are used by about 300 members and on an average 50 new books of current and topical interest are added to the stock every month. The library has facilities for home delivery service for the benefit of members residing in adjoining areas of Rajinder Nagar, Patel Nagar and Dev Nagar.
- 2) A nursery and kindergarten school is run by samsad, which is now seven years old and about 100 students are on its roll.
- 3) Regular organisation of cultural functions debates and symposium, dramatic performances. The Samsad Mela held in February every year for three days provides the platform for the projection of the Bengali art and culture in the capital.
- 4) The samsad provides indoor games facilities to its members and organises Delhi Table Tennis, Cards and Carrom tournaments.
- 5) The social service unit of the samsad which provides free medical aid to the low income group people (income less than Rs 150/- per month) was started in 1970. The numbers of patients attended by the unit are as follows:-

	1972-73	1971-72	1970-71
New Card patients	6,979	6,550	8,797
Old Card patients	11,290	12,410	13,133
Pathological investigations	10,313	8,099	9,160
Bio-chemistry investigations	1,554	1,650	470

6) The Samsad Sadan or the guest house, where the outstation members of the Sansad and their guests can have temporary stay at a very nominal charge. The management of the samsad is vested in an Executive Committee which consists of 21 members of whom 18 including the President are elected annually by the General Body, while the other three are coopted by the members in their first meeting by majority of votes. The Executive Committee includes the President, one Vice-President, one general secretary, one Joint secretary, one Treasurer, one Librarian, one Cultural Secretary and one Games Secretary. The President is elected by the General Body, while the other office bearers are elected by the members of the Executive Committee.

The financial resources of the club are -

- 1) Subscriptions
- 2) Publications
- 3) Entertainment benefits.
- 4) Private donations.
- 5) Help from Governmental agencies.

The club is now only fourteen years old, so they have not felt it necessary to recruit younger groups en block as, we have seen, has happened with other two clubs. Though the control of the organisation has shifted from the original members, still founder members play an important roll in the organisation.

Now some general information of the three clubs.

All the three clubs are registered under the Societies Registration Act of 1860, under which any seven persons could get together and request the Registrar of Societies to register them as society, irrespective of the fact whether the seven persons belong to the same family or community.⁶

6. For the limitations of this act in the context of voluntary associations, see: D. Paul Chowdhuri, Voluntary social welfare

While the membership of Bengali Club, New Delhi (hereafter BCND) is open to only Bengalis over the age of 21, the membership of Bengali club, Kashmere Gate (hereafter BCKG) and Bangiya Samsad (hereafter BS), according to the constitution are open to persons, who are "sympathetic to the aims and objects of the club" or who are "interested in Bengali language and Bengali culture" but the recruitment process is such that in effect only Bengalis can become members of these clubs, because in all the three clubs, every candidate for admission for membership has to be proposed and seconded by any two members of the club, which keeps an effective control on recruitment of non-Bengali members; and control of the organisations also is on the hands of the Bengalis.

Of the three, two clubs, sometime or the other have taken into their fold, one or more younger clubs of the same locality and the older clubs have taken more number of younger clubs than the club which is comparatively of recent origin. This can be explained by the fact, that as the club grows old it loses some of the active volunteers due to old age, death, transfer etc., the vacuum created by this loss, is filled by recruitment of younger members. Secondly, as revealed by the interviews, many old members feel that it is their responsibility, to see that younger generation do not go astray without any guidance, and to provide them with acceptable role, with a sense of purpose. As it is written in the preamble of a club, that members pledge 'to provide for our younger generation in particular a suitable cultural base worthy of the traditions of our people'. On the other hand, from the point of

view of the younger members of the community as these clubs do not admit students, they organize themselves into small clubs, with limited fund and resources, limited recreational facilities. But as they grow old, they aspire for more social prestige which membership of the three clubs provide, these clubs also provide more recreational facilities and more scope for organisational work. So, when these younger members come out of their college life and enter into jobs, their enthusiasm for running their own club become less and less due to the troubles usually connected with small clubs, they become eligible for membership in the bigger clubs, which provide them more facilities and less responsibility for the tedious jobs like fund raising, etc. So, ultimately, they join these bigger clubs and merge with them, due to the converging interests, though there are instances, where the younger clubs have not merged with the bigger clubs and retained their independence due to the completely different orientations and interest, but in the majority of the cases, the facts mentioned above are true.

All the three clubs are politically neutral. So much so that in the memorandum of BS, it is written in bold letters that "The Samsad shall not take part in any political activities". The main reason for this we have said earlier that majority of membership belong to government service, the next comes the

category of white colour workers in private firms. As membership is open to person over the age 21, so there are no students, and there are very few people who are of independent professions like writers private practitioners, journalists etc.

Due to this class composition of membership, the ranking of the individuals in these clubs depend upon one's occupational status, sphere of influence and wealth. A member of the club occupies a high rank, if he happens to be high official with influential contacts in government and elsewhere. Now if we divide the status conferring capacity into high, medium and low, then the organisations can be classified as follows⁸:-

TABLE -5
Classification of three Clubs

Club	Function	Status conferring capacity	Accessibility
B C K G	Exp-ressive	low	Low
B C N D	Instrumental-Expressive	Medium	Low
B S	Instrumental-Expressive	Medium	Low

8. For ranking of the organisations in lieu of general organisational ranking system, see C.C. North and Paul K. Hatt, "Jobs and occupation: A Popular system", p.p.464-474, in Logan Wilson and William L. Kolbe (Ed), Sociological Analysis, New York, 1949.

Accessibility in all these clubs are low because only Bengalis can be members of these clubs. Due to some instrumental functions of BCND and BS, status conferring capacity of these two clubs are higher than BCKG, which has predominantly expressive functions.

CHAPTER -V

Organizational Process:

Since voluntary associations are a type of formal associations, they exhibit some of the social process and social pathologies as other organisations do. Sills has described four processes which are fundamental to voluntary associations, namely, (a) Institutionalisation, (b) Minority rule (c) Goal displacement and (d) Goal ^csu^hcession. In this section we shall describe these four processes in the context of voluntary associations that we have chosen.

Institutionalization:

Institutionalization is a process. It is something that happens to an organization overtime, reflecting the organization's own distinctive history, the people who have been in it, the groups it embodies, and the vested interests they have created and the way it has adapted to its environment; during this process patterns of behaviour and expectations of behaviour on the parts of other become established.

This can be studied by examining the process through which voluntary associations become established as the institutional expression of social movements. King¹ for example has identified three phases in the "life cycle" of social movements. 1) Incipient phase - when a handful of believers work toward a goal around one or more charismatic personality.

1. Wendell King, Social Movements in United States, 1956, New York.

2) Organisational phase - in which the voluntary associations are established. 3) Stable phase - in which voluntary associations (if they survive) become increasingly professionalized bureaucratic and conservative.

In this study, to quantify the data, we have followed Trouderos,² and selected four variables, which are important in understanding the process of formalization,³ and organisational growth. The variables are 1) total annual income. 2) Total annual expenditure (see Appendix -2). 3) Value of the property from year to year. 4) Annual membership figures. These figures are collected over a period of time. To study the successive values of these strategic institutional variables over a period of time and for establishing "law of change", we have applied the statistical method of fitting a logistic curve to a time series.⁴ In this context institutionalization is linked with bureaucratization. Bureaucratic tendencies, usually identified with political institutions, are also present in all other social institutions and beginning of formalization process can be seen in the voluntary associations that we have studied.

2. John E. Trouderos, "Organisational change in terms of a series of selected variables", American Journal of Sociology Vol. 20, 1935, pp 206-210.

3. The process of formalisation is defined by Trouderos as "Sequential, stage by stage development of organisational activity over time; a standardisation of social relationship and finally as an increasing bureaucratization of the organisation". *ibid*, p 206.

4. S.A. Rice, Methods in Social Science, Chicago, 1931 pp 307-52

The whole process can be described, as a group of citizens meets informally to consider some problem or need. After a few conferences a chairman is selected. As problem under discussion is broken down into its elements, various committees are appointed. As the work of the new organisation grows in volume it is systematized by establishing membership requirements and dues. A constitution and by laws are adopted at some stage of its development for example in the case of BEKG constitution was adopted after 33 years, in case of BCNE after 21 years and in BS after one year. Meanwhile the organisation finds more office space necessary. Supplies of stationery and postage, a telephone and other items are acquired. Office equipment is increased by additional type writers, chairs desks, filing cabinets and other equipments. Additional workers are needed, and as we have seen this problem is solved by recruiting new groups, who can volunteer themselves for work. But at some stage this may necessitate to hire full time workers. The growth of which will give rise to vested interests, expansion of staff hierarchy, concern with the perpetuation of job and guarding the "rights" than in function and purpose of organisation, problem of communication between different status levels etc. All these tendencies are signs that point to the formalization of the organisation which was originally quite innocent of bureaucratic trends and characteristics.⁵

5. F. Stuart Chapin, "The growth of Bureaucracy: An Hypothesis" American Sociological Review, 16, Dec. 1951 pp 835- 836.

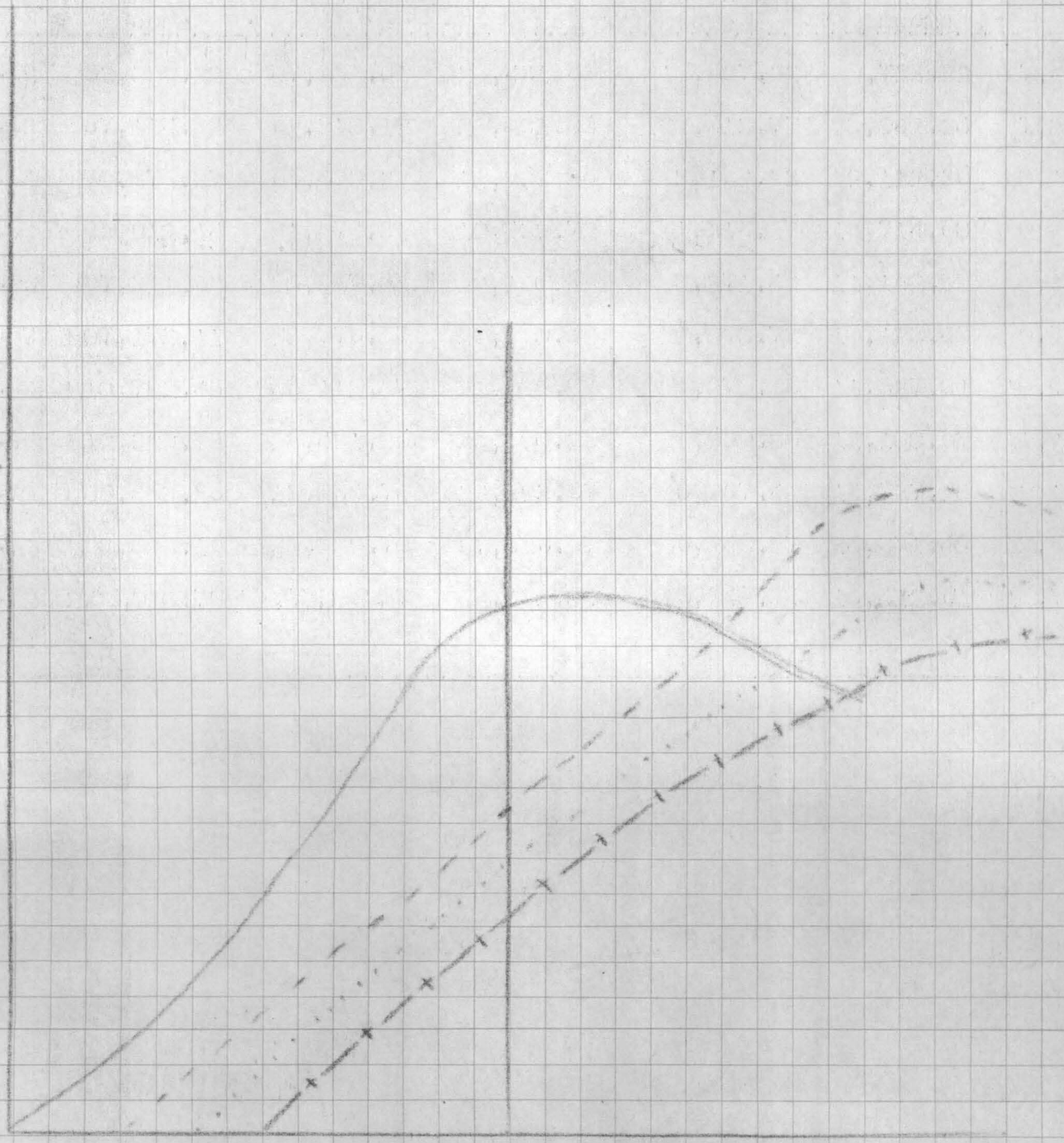
In the voluntary associations that we have studied we have found a functional relationship between the growth of membership of an association and other variables such as income, administrative expenditures, property etc., that is when one of the variables is modified in time the other undergoes a corresponding modification. Our findings have confirmed the findings of Tsouderos and others,⁶ that the relationship between growth of membership and growth of income is positive ($r = +.43$) but not continuous, that is decline in membership in the associations, does not produce decline in income, and there is a positive relationship between growth of income and the growth of administrative expenditure ($r = +.70$), which is continuous, though administrative expenditures have a lower rate of growth at first but increases rapidly, when the peak of total income has passed.

The number of members and their continued growth are the result of both the success of an organisation in coping with internal functional problems posed by an expanding membership and with total adjustment of the association with its social environment. Now the questions arise; what is the functional relationship between growth of membership and growth of income, administrative expenditures, property etc. and why does membership decline or remain constant after certain period of time and why with the decline of membership there is no decline income. As our study shows, the membership has increased in

6. Tsouderos, *opcit.*, p. 207 see also F. Stuart Chapin and John E. Tsouderos, "The Formalization Process in Voluntary Associations". Social Forces, 34 1956, pp 342-344

_____ Membership
 - - - - - Income
 Expenditure
 - - - - - Prosperity

Incre-
 mental
 units



Units in time
 Graphic Representation of Relationship between Organizational
 Variables.

comparatively recent club (i.e. BS), but it has declined in the two older clubs (i.e. BCKG and BCNE) in last ten years. This can be broadly explained by two factors; one external, the other internal. The external factor we have said earlier that in a growing city, the membership declines due to transfer of residence and lack of proper communication facilities. The internal factors are as Tsouderos has pointed out "The less specialized and segmental the role, the member's play in the association, the more pronounced is the tendency to regard participation in the association as an end in itself. This leads to greater solidarity of the group and lessens the possibility of a decline in membership"⁷. Initially the role that members played in these two associations were not specialized as the numbers were few, but as the activities increased, that required the services of specialized members, consequently the roles were segmented, and were abstracted from concrete persons and codified by symbol, which shows the formalization of club to certain extent. As a result of this, the clubs attain greater stability, but greater number of members turn passive. The percentage of active members in these associations are: BCNE - 12%, BCKG - 15% and BS 21%. Due to this gap between passive members and highly formalized segment of the club, many members desert the club. On the other hand the club achieves greater efficiency in mobilizing resources, and carrying financial drives, so with the decline of membership, there is no decline in income. The other reasons for the decrease in

7. *ibid* p. 209

membership are with the increasing need of service rendered by these clubs. There is a corresponding increase in the membership, and with the fulfilment of such a service there is a corresponding decrease in membership. This can be best illustrated at the time of emergency, as for example, at the time of famine in Bihar in 1966 or flood in Jalpaiguri in 1966 or war with Pakistan, membership in these clubs increased, as at that time the clubs were providing financial and material help to needy persons. But after fulfilment of these services membership declined. The other reasons for declining of membership are competing associations with similar functions, for example most of the original members of BS prior to 1938 were members of BCND, but left it when a club was formed in their own locality; conflict within associations resulting from heterogeneity of the group members; "a relative decrease in the need of a function or functions rendered by the association to its members or to the community and the extent to which the association is able to coordinate its formal and informal relationships".⁷ On the other hand the expenditures are increased, to improve the organisational prestige. For example the BCND spends a substantial amount of its income in advertisements in different news papers and periodicals of India, for the Drama competition it organises though it can provide opportunity only to seven groups to stage their plays. The paradoxical situation is best described by Tsouderos, that "formalization and contraction of the social group constitute a "vicious circle". In order to cope with its financial problems, the association streamlines its structure and

7. *ibid* p 209.

procedures according to modern organisational principles by introducing higher membership dues professional help and other means. These new organisational features alienate portions of the membership which had joined the association at an earlier and more informal stage and lead to secession en masse. This mass separation creates even greater problems with which association attempts to cope by formalizing its organisation even more"8.

8. *ibid* p 209.

Minority Rule:

All the clubs that we have studied, we have found that the management of the clubs is governed by a minority. Though all the clubs have constitutions and bylaws, which provide for the participation of all the members and there is an expectation that members will take an active part in the affairs of the club and that democratic procedures will govern its conduct yet this expectation is not met, on the other hand we have found an oligarchical pattern in the clubs, which implies self-perpetuation by a coterie of members who manage to get elected repeatedly. From the documents of these clubs, we have found that the key positions are in the hands of a minority for approximately last ten years. For example in BCKG, it is the same persons who are holding the key positions for the last ten years, same is the case with BD and BCND, the changes during the course of years are minor, for example the person who was joint secretary (Finance) has become Joint Secretary (Games) and again returned to the previous position or the person who was general Secretary for some years, has become Treasurer; that is, the control of the organisations has remained in the hands of a minority with minor deviations. What Michels said about organisation is relevant in this context, that "Organisation implies the tendency to oligarchy. In every organisation, whether it be a political party, a professional union or any other association of the kind, the aristocratic tendencies manifest themselves very clearly. The Mechanism of the organisation while conferring solidarity of structure, induces serious

changes in the organised mass, completely inverting the respective position of the leaders and the led. As a result of organisation, every party or professional union becomes divided into a minority of directors and majority of directed"⁹.

The main factors responsible for this phenomenon are, firstly the large numbers of members. All the three clubs initially started with a hand-ful of members. The membership strength varied from ten to twenty. But now the membership of BS is 600 of BCID, 253 after decline and of BCKG is 317 after decline.

The influence of the mere size of groups has been studied by many. Bales¹⁰ found that centralizing tendencies increased in a systematic manner as the size of the group increased. A large portion of activity is addressed to the top man as size increases and smaller and smaller portion of activity to other members. Stephen and Mishler¹¹ found that there is decrease in the rate of participation

9. Robert Michels, Political Parties, New York, 1959, p. 32.

10. Bales, Laboratory of Social Relations, Report for the five years 1946 - 1951, Cambridge, Mass, Harvard Univ. Laboratory of Social Relation, see also B.S. Old, "On Mathematics of Committees, Boards and Panels", Scientific Monthly, 1946, pp 129 - 134.

11. F.F. Stephen and E.G. Mishler, "The Distribution of Participation in small groups; an exponential Approximation". American Sociological Review, 17, 1952, pp. 598 - 608, see also, Michels, op.cit, p. 26.

from the group leaders to the highest ranking members as small groups increase in size. Again "with an increased membership, there is a corresponding increase in the heterogeneity of the group in terms of sentiments, interests, dedication to the cause etc., and a corresponding decline in a feeling of intimacy and frequency of interaction. More specifically there is a decline of membership in meetings and volunteer work"¹² As a result of this membership become extremely passive and removed from the leadership. Another ill effect of this is that group tends to lose its primary character which does not necessarily mean that primary group disappears. Subgroups appear, which retain their primary character previously extending over whole membership. In all the three clubs, with the passage of time, subgroups have come, in BS, BCND and BCKG, there are at present, three, four and three subgroups respectively, which we could detect. These subgroup are formed mainly by older members, who have lost their previous position and at present removed from the leadership or by the members who could not communicate effectively with the leadership, and have become passive and formed a subgroup within themselves. The first type ^{of} subgroup behaves like an 'opposition party' and more vocal than the second type of subgroup, which is more or less self-contained. "These subgroup cluster are integrated into the manifest social structure and the membership is organized into membership units. At the same time need for control arises out of the fact that some of these membership units tend to become

12. Tsouderos, op. cit, p. 209.

relatively autonomous from the rest of the organization. In varying degrees the loyalty of the members is diverted from the association to the membership units, so that the basis for a conflict with the organization has been laid.¹³ To avoid the conflict rules and regulations are revised, stricter measures are taken, which again gives rise to latent powers structure and oligarchic rule.

The second factor is the functional specialization of the leadership. As the organization grows in size, the activities become differentiated and specialized, and the leaders consequently is detached from the members. "At the outset leaders arise SPONTANEOUSLY; their functions are ACCESSORY and GRATUITOUS. Soon however they become PROFESSIONAL leaders, and in this second stage of development they are STABLE AND IRREMOVABLE."¹⁴

The third factor contributing to membership inactivity and minority rule is segmental participation by members. The majority of members in the three clubs have a partial commitment to the activities of the clubs, in which they have limited interest and which don't affect them deeply. In our study we have found, the members who come regularly accounts for only 16% in BCKG, 13% in BS and 15% in BCND. In answer to the question 'what is your share of participation in the activities of this club?'

13. Ibid, p. 209.

14. Michels, op. cit, pp.400-401.

We have found the following figures (See Table-6)

TABLE - 6

Share of Participation of the Members. (percent.fig.)

Club	Participate in all activities	Participate in some activities	Do not Participate	
BS	14.3	59.6	26.1	100.0
BCND	16.7	62.4	20.9	100.0
BCKG	15.3	51.5	33.2	100.0

which shows that it is a minority, which participate in all the activities. The members who do not participate, at all, we can call their membership as membership of 'paper' variety, and it is these members, with the members who have segmental participation, are easily manipulated by a small core of leaders and their supporting cliques. A more significant meaning of segmental participation invites attention to its quality. Participation is segmental when individuals interact not as whole personalities, but according to the roles they play in the situation at hand, and this is inevitable as the organization formalizes, as we have seen earlier. And these clubs which have attained formalization to some extent encourage this sort of segmental participation, because it helps free manipulation of members.

The fourth factor is the disparity between joining the organization and the organizational activities. When the gap between the two is wide, the membership for whom the disparity holds, return to inactivity. In answer to the question.

"Do you have in your mind some thing which you think this club should do and which it is not doing at present?" A good

percentage of the members have described their preference for other activities and for more facilities and scope for the activities which the club pursues. (see Table-7)

TABLE - 7
Activities Preferred by Members. (per cent fig.)

Club	No. Activities	Cultural	Educational	Recreational	Social Welfare	Political	
B S	62.3	6.4	3.7	7.3	14.1	7.2	100.0
BCND	51.1	7.0	16.2	9.3	12.3	3.7	100.0
BCKG	57.8	2.4	21.5	3.2	10.2	4.9	100.0

Only THE FIRST PREFERENCE IS TAKEN.

The table shows, on an average, 40% of the membership have different preferences for organizational activities, which for them are 'important' functions, which their club should perform, the absence of these activities makes them feel removed from any concrete tasks, which ultimately transforms in to inactivity and this inactivity, as we have argued earlier, gives rise to the minority rule.

Goal displacement and goal succession:

Since voluntary associations are formed to realize some ends, they initially start with some goals, it is to be admitted that though the organizations state their goals explicitly in their charter or memorandum, there is no guarantee that these would be pursued to their end. In fact sometime the procedures themselves prevent the achievement of goals. As Sills has pointed out, "in order to accomplish their goals, organizations establish a set of procedures or means. In the course of following these procedures, however, the subordinates or members to whom authority and functions have been delegated

often come to regard them as ends in themselves, rather than as means toward the achievement of organisational goals. As a result of this process, the actual activities of the organisation become central around the proper functioning of organisational procedures, rather than upon the achievement of the initial goals.¹⁵ The reasons provided for goal displacement are: 1) The desire to retain^a high status position by active participants. 2) Strict enforcement of organisational rules and procedures. 3) The presence of informal structure within the organisation.¹⁶ But as we have seen, in spite of all these tendencies, the clubs, that we have studied still survive, and the reason is provided by Blau, who has challenged this concept of goal displacement, and observed that, organisations do not behave in strict "bureaucratic fashion when their goals are achieved or become irrelevant, instead they transform into new goals, which he calls the "succession of goals", and described it as follows: "The attainment of organisational objectives generates a strain toward finding new objectives. To provide incentive for its members and to justify its existence, an organisation has to adopt new goals as its old ones are re-alised."¹⁷ In the associations under

15. David L. Sills. The Volunteers: Means and Ends in a National Organisation, Glencol, 1957, p 62.

16 F. Rothlisberger and W.J. Dickson, Management and the workers An Account of Research Programs conducted by the Western Electric Company, Hawthorne Works, Chicago, 1961.

17. Peter M. Blau, The Dynamics of Bureaucracy: A study of Interpersonal Relations in Two Governmental Agencies, Chicago, 1963, p. 243.

study. We have found that, new goals were added, or altered, in different situations or due to environmental changes requiring adaptation (see Table-8). From the table it is evident that BS and BCND adapted to new situations by adding new goals and increased the size of the organisation and enhanced its prestige, on the other hand BCKG, could not add new goals and has remained static.

In this context it must be mentioned, that informal structure, which can displace the goals, can also, modify, elaborate or add new goals, and as every organisation creates an informal structure the process of modification is effected through it.¹⁸ So, the role of informal structure, should not be minimized in this respect.

In this respect subgroups also play an important part. As we have mentioned earlier, the subgroups, which behave like an opposition 'party', have this positive aspect of changing the goals as a result of interaction between them and the leadership. The subgroups which we have mentioned are of enduring type, beside this, small cliques or subgroups are formed at special circumstances e.g. at the time of general election which act for a short time but also play an effective role, regarding aims and objectives goals and decision - making process of the club. The pattern of operation of these cliques, vis-a-vis leadership is same as between the two or more organisations, that is, sometimes to achieve a specific goal they form coalition, which are usually unstable; again sometimes leadership co-opt some of the members

18. Philip Selznick, "An approach to a theory of Bureaucracy" American Sociological Review, 1943, 8, p. 47.

TABLE - B
Goal succession in three different clubs*

	<u>B S</u>	<u>B C N D</u>	<u>B C K G</u>
<u>Initial goal</u>	To provide means of recreation to Bengalis	To arrange social literary and cultural function for the benefit and entertainment of members and for Bengali Community	To study cultivate and propagate Bengali language and literature and other cultural activities
<u>Additional or Secondary goal</u>	To provide reading facilities by establishing a literary and school	To spread a feeling of motherhood between different communities.	To give physical education to young Bengali members
<u>Characteristics of original Membership</u>	Middle class upper middle classes Bengalis	Middle class Bengalis	Middle class Bengalis
<u>Environmental Changes requiring adaptation</u>	Growth of slums and poverty in the neighbouring area	India attained independence and Bengali population in Delhi increased.	India attained independence and Bengali population in Delhi increased
<u>New or added goals</u>	To open a social service section and to give free medical facilities to the needy.	To give more recreational facilities by organizing different competitions where more people can participate	No new goals added
<u>Consequence for the organization</u>	Increased size and influence	Increased influence	No change, it has remained static.

* The variables we have taken from , Sills, op. cit. p 374.

of the subgroups. When its existence is threatened, that is though a minority perpetuates its rule in these clubs, situation is not disparate, in the sense, that these subgroups play an effective part in deciding goals.

CHAPTERS VI

Membership in the Associations:

Specifically the problem addressed in this section is the determination of the relation between variations in sex, age, education, occupation, marital status, family status, nativity, residence and social status to variations in degree to which persons participate in the voluntary associations under study.

Age & Sex: For the most part the data in this study agrees with most others reports. In the present analysis affiliation in the age group (30-39) is more than those who are younger (20-29) or older, which shows persons in the middle years are more likely to be affiliated than persons younger or older. It has also been found that men are more likely to be members of associations than women.(see table-9)

TABLE-9

Distribution of Membership by Age and sex. (percent fig.)

Age	BS	BCND	BCKG
20-29	30.1	27.1	24.2
30.39	40.5	37.7	32.8
40.49	24.0	26.6	29.4
50.59	4.2	5.3	9.2
60 abd abive	1.2	3.3	4.4
sex			
Male	87.5	92.7	85.2
Female	12.5	7.3	14.2

The difference between participation of men and women in these three clubs, is a significant difference.

Nativity Status: Members who have been born in Delhi are termed as native residents and the members who have been outside Delhi are termed as immigrants. In this respect we have found that the percentage native members in the older associations, (i.e. BCND and BCKG) is more than in the association which is comparatively new (i.e. BS). Most of the immigrants are from West-Bengal.

TABLE -10

Nativity status of the Members. (percent. fig.)

Nativity status	BS	BCND	BCKG
Resident	19.2	36.3	41.2
Immigrant	80.8	63.7	58.8
	100.0	100.0	100.0

One of the reasons for comparatively more immigrants in BS, is that the Karolbagh area, where it is situated, developed recently compared to Kashmerigate or New-Delhi, where most of Bengalis who came first or second decade of this century resided.

Education: It is the educated people who are mostly the members of these clubs. Persons with college education have more membership than persons with school education.

TABLE - 11

Distribution of Membership According to Educational qualifications
(percent fig.)

Educational Qualifications	BS	BCND	BCKG
Matriculate, Hr. Secondary	10.2	16.2	12.3
Graduate	49.4	41.5	50.3
Post-graduate	39.4	41.1	36.5
Doctorate	1.0	1.2	0.9
	100.0	100.0	100.0

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It is to be noted there are absolutely no illeterate persons, who are members of these clubs.

Occupation: Membership in voluntary associations is related with one's occupation. Investigations indicate that higher the person's Occupational status, the greater is his participation in voluntary associations. In our study we have found no blue collar workers who are members of these clubs. One of the reasons is that people in higher occupational groups get more leisure than the workers.

TABLE - 12

Distribution of Membership by occupation (percent. fig.)

<u>Occupation</u>	<u>BS</u>	<u>BCND</u>	<u>BCKG</u>
Professionals	15.8	10.1	11.2
Mgrs. Officials	26.2	9.0	21.2
Buisnessmen	2.1.	1.2	6.3
Clerical and Sales	30.2	34.2	36.2
Service	21.5	25.3	15.9
Retired Persons	4.3	10.2	9.2

In these clubs, the persons who are, in service, clerical or sales job or officials, account for the magority of members. Due to this occupational status most of the members are politically neutral since among them a majority are in government service or other white collar jobs.

Income: What we have said about occupation, can be said about income, that people in high income group tend to participate more in voluntary associations than the people in low income group.

TABLE - 13

Distribution of Members by Income, (percent, Fin)

Income (in Rs.)	BS	BCND	BCKG
300 - 499	18.2	13.4	16.2
500 - 699	18.3	28.3	30.2
700 - 899	20.3	15.7	18.3
900 - 1099	16.3	20.4	14.2
1100 - 1299	20.5	15.0	13.1
1300 and above	16.4	7.2	8.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0

A good percentage (more than 70%) of members of BS belong to high income group, (i.e. above Rs.700), on the other hand more than 40% of the members of BCKG, fall below Rs.700, it is one of the indicators that why BCKG is an expressive association, while BS is instrumentally expressive association, as Rose has stated, "in general there is a connection between one's income level and one's membership in "Social reforms" (instrumental) association; poor people usually belong to none and rich people tend to belong to many", ¹ and we can add people with middle income belong to expressive association.

Marital Status and Family size Our results have shown that it is the married people who appears to be more likely to be members of voluntary associations than single persons. No significant relations have been found between on the size of the family and membership in voluntary associations, but in general it can be said that most of the members have a family consisting of on an average five members.

1. Rose, Op.cit p.64

TABLE - 14

Distribution of Members by Marital Status and family size (percent fig.)

<u>Marital Status</u>	<u>BS</u>	<u>BCND</u>	<u>BCKG</u>
Married	87.8	90.5	89.5
Un-married	12.2	9.5	10.5
<u>Family size</u>			
1-2	14.4	17.0	9.8
3-4	26.3	18.7	14.5
5-6	34.2	41.2	44.6
7-8	16.9	17.7	21.4
9-10	8.2	5.4	9.7

Participation

As we have said earlier that persons with high income, education and occupation, have higher rate of participation in voluntary association than persons at the lower level. In table-15 we have shown the distribution and it will be evident that people in the higher social class participate in more voluntary associations than people in the lower social class.

TABLE - 15

Distribution by Income, Occupation, and Education of number of memberships held.(percent fig.)

<u>Income</u>	<u>One</u>	<u>Two</u>	<u>Three</u>	<u>Four</u>	
300-499	46.9	32.3	13.2	7.6	100.0
500-699	40.4	37.2	14.3	8.1	100.0
700-899	38.2	41.5	14.9	5.4	100.0
900-1099	36.2	40.4	16.2	7.2	100.0
1100-1299	39.0	32.7	18.9	9.4	100.0
1300 and above	36.2	31.4	19.2	13.2	100.0

TABLE 15 (Continued)

OCCUPATION

Professional, Mgns Officials	28.7	35.2	18.7	17.4	100.0
Other non-manual salaried occup	42.2	31.4	17.9	8.5	100.0
Manual Occup.	59.6	27.7	9.5	3.2	100.0

EDUCATION

Matriculate, Hr. Sec.	49.2	38.7	10.9	1.2	100.0
Graduate	41.2	39.4	14.7	4.7	100.0
Post-Graduate	34.1	42.4	17.2	6.3	100.0
Doctorate	20.7	48.7	19.4	11.2	100.0

Participation of members in the club studied is given the table -16. The people who come regularly account for only 13.1% of the members in BS, 15.4% of the members in BCND and 16.2% of the members in BCKG. It is expected that people who are members of more than one association, their participation will be distributed proportionally.

TABLE - 16

Frequency of Attendance by the Members (percent. fig.)

No. of days in a month	BS	BCND	BCKG
30	13.1	15.4	16.2
20 - 29	20.2	23.4	21.2
10 - 19	26.9	34.2	30.1
1 - 9	40.7	20.2	4.5
Less than 1 day	9.1	6.8	4.5

It must be mentioned that those who come regularly, nearly all of them are either office bearers or influential member of the club. From the table - 17, we get a picture of how many days, the members who are office bearers spend vic-a-vis members who are not office bearers.

TABLE - 17

Frequency of Attendance by office bearers and non-office bearers
(percent. fig.)

Type of Members	30 days	(20-29) days	(10-19) days	(1-9) days	Less than 1 day
Office bearers	97.4	2.6	—	—	—
Non-Office bearers	12.2	24.2	31.7	28.4	3.5

Average number of hours the members spend, if they come to the club, is from three to hour.

The participation of the member's family in the activities of the club, is quite common, when the clubs organize some culture functions, excursion or symposium, but family members also becoming the members of the club is not a common phenomenon. we can summarize our findings as follows:

1. Affiliation is directly related to social class
2. Married persons appears to be more likely to be members of clubs than single persons.
3. Men are more likely to be members of clubs than women.
4. Persons with college education have more membership than those with school education
5. Membership varies with level of income and occupation
6. Office bearers participate more in the activities of the club than ordinary members.
7. Membership of family members is not a common feature of these clubs, though family members participate in special programmes organized by the clubs.
8. In case of ordinary members, though we have seen earlier that a handful of members participate in all activities, and majority of members participate in some activities, but participation of members

is increased, when these clubs organize cultural and literary activities, but the extent to which the participation increases, ~~we could not assess~~, since in these activities, non-members also participate, as these functions are open to all.

9. Lastly, it must again be mentioned that participation in these clubs depends upon the locus of residence, since in Delhi distance often imposes and becomes an effective barrier to participation.
-

NEED SATISFACTIONS

One of the most important functions of these three clubs are the satisfaction of needs of the members. Many results of research has revealed the central importance of need satisfactions provided by group life. While the relationship of basic social institutions to human need fulfilment in terms of food and clothing (the economic institution), to shelter (the family) etc. has long been recognized, the human organism of today has more than mere creature wants to satisfy. Personality needs of psychosocial kind are both aroused by and satisfied in group life or in voluntary associations. What are these subtler psychological needs of personality and what needs these voluntary associations satisfy?

Broadly we can mention four needs: for security, for recognition, for response, the "need to feel needed" by someone; and for new experience. The need for security is for a stable position, one with a status that persists and supports the individual's morale and self-confidence. In answers to the question 'what are the things that you will miss, if you stop coming to this club?' One person replied, 'I will feel as if I am ex-communicated', which shows how the need for security is served by the association or the friendship structure within the association. French¹ reports that the position of a person in the friendship structure of the group depended primarily on his ability to satisfy the personal needs of other members. The second need is for recognition of self as a person, with special abilities or talents or qualities and the prestige of one's position (as superior to some others in the group).

1. T.R.P. French, "Group Productivity" in H. Gutzkow (ed) Groups, Leadership and Men, Pittsburg, 1951, pp-54

Getzels and Guba² found that the intensity of involvement in role conflict varied with certain individual and attitudinal characteristics, which he expects a particular social group to satisfy, whether it be a large and formal group, an informal group, or a mere pair-group, and that the role the actor will choose is that role which permits the expression of his specific needs. The function to satisfy the need for recognition of persons with talent, ability is mentioned in the official history of BCND, that "with view of to mobilize the growing talents who were struggling for eminence and for recognition,...." a move was taken to form the club.

The third need is for response of inmates, for close and warm understanding, the "need to feel needed" and for reciprocities found in sociability, and these play an important part in group life. The need for new experience in meeting persons and in seeing new scenes is often an alternative to mechanized monotony Urban industrial life. Now all these needs are partially, if not fully, fulfilled by the clubs. To tap these needs we asked three questions. 1) What according to you is the main attraction of this club? 2) What is the thing that draws you to this club? and 3) What are the things that you will miss, if you stop coming to this club? The results are summarized in Table - 18.

2. T.W. Getzels and E.G. Guba, "Role, Role conflict and Effectiveness", American Sociological Review, 19, 1954, pp 165-175.

TABLE - 18

Needs Fulfilled by the Three Clubs (percent fig.)

Needs	BS	BCND	BCKG
New Experience	20.5	23.6	11.2
Contact with friends	49.3	51.2	55.3
Recreational	22.8	15.8	29.3
Security	2.4	7.3	4.2
Instrumental Act	5.0	2.1	—
	100.0	100.0	100.0

It is evident from the table - 18 that, though functions of BS and BCND are also instrumental, yet few members have given importance to those instrumental functions. On the otherhand, no one from BCKG has said that he will lose the opportunity of instrumental activities, which proves that it is an expressive association. Most of the members in these three clubs, have stressed upon, friendship structure, association, getting new experience, and recreational activities.

Another function (latent) of voluntary association, as we have said earlier, that it trains people in organizational activities and democratic procedure, but it is limited to the members who hold different offices and are active participants. But they are minority. On the other hand majority of the members reflected the same attitude (i.e of need satisfaction), when asked 'Do you think you have been benefited some way or the others by becoming a member of this club?' The answers given are not very precise, but we have categorized them, though there are some overlapping, to show that it is the need which is satisfied. (see Table 19).

TABLE - 19

Benefits the Members get from the clubs (percent fig.)

	BS	BCND	BCKG
Meeting and knowing people	62.3	30.2	51.2
Getting new knowledge	20.4	40.7	26.1
Mental satisfaction	3.2	2.5	5.2
Development of self and personality	12.5	19.4	14.6
Training in Org. skills	1.6	7.2	2.9
	100.0	100.0	100.0

The table shows, the majority of members have benefited by coming in contact with new people, by acquiring knowledge and experience through the discussion with friends and people. Substantial percentage of members have said, the membership helped them to develop their personality. It is to be noted that members who have said that they have been trained in organizational activities, nearly all of them are office bearers for some years in the respective organizations. As we have argued earlier the status conferring capacity of these clubs is not high and people do not join these organizations to improve their status or for the improvement of their career. When asked, 'Do you think that membership of this club can some way benefit career?', majority of the members replied in the negative (see table 20)

TABLE - 20

Do you think membership of this club can some way benefit your career? (percent fig.)

	BS	BCND	BCKG
NO	95.6	97.5	96.3
Yes	4.4	2.5	3.7
	100.0	100.0	100.0

The reasons provided for the negative replies are 1) The activities of the club are in no way connected with one's role in his profession, that is, function of the clubs for them are merely expressive. 2) These are some members from BS and BCND (whose functions are instrumental also) replied that they are volunteers and they do not want to take advantage of their role in the club for their personal well being. Those who replied in the affirmative, are the people who are connected with sales or public relation type of jobs. They said that their membership might provide contact with influential people and it is possible that they can improve their career.

The instrumental functions, which they clubs perform, we have discussed earlier (see History), but here it must be mentioned that, these instrumental activities are performed by a handful of members, majority of the members joined these associations for the satisfaction of their needs.

CHAPTERS → VIII

Community and Clubs: A Study of Formal and Informal Interaction.

In the previous chapters, we have discussed one important function the clubs perform for the membership, and in section on history, we have discussed the instrumental functions of the clubs. In this section we will discuss how Bengali Community in general responds to the activity of the club and how do they interact.

It is these clubs, who are the organizer of cultural activities of the Bengalis, it is these clubs, who invite celebrated musicians, dramagroups, speakers etc. from Delhi and West-Bengal, to perform in their premises and provide Bengalis an opportunity for a get together and to spend some time in cultural activities. Besides routine cultural activities, like observing Bengali New Year Day, Birth Anniversary of Tagore.

Vijaya Sammelan (i.e. a get together after Dusshera), a programme of songs during rainy season (Varsha Mנגal), Netaji's Birthday etc., the clubs also organize, seminars, discussions, cinemashows, and special cultural activities in special circumstances. The programmes are advertised in daily newspapers of Delhi, and people are also informed through invitation cards and through individual channels.

These festivals are open to all, and the Bengalis in the community participate in numbers, though the participation is dependent upon the type of functions organized. For example, in a seminar or debate, it is mostly the men, who participate, but in the festival of songs, and dramas, women and children also participate in equal numbers. It is not the case that all the Bengalis join these festivals to listen to songs or to see drama, but there are many, who come in these festivals to meet their friends or acquaintances. It is an usual scene in these festivals, that some people are sitting, facing the stage and listening to the performance. While there are many others scattered in small

groups, at the back of the ground, exchanging niceties or involved in a friendly conversation. That is, these clubs by organizing these festivals, not only provide an opportunity for participation in cultural activities but also provide an opportunity and place for people to meet in an informal gathering and to contact their friends or acquaintances. Usually these festivals are staged in a nearby park or ground, which is surrounded by Shamianas and people usually sit on the ground as no chairs are provided. This sort arrangement creates an atmosphere of informality which is not possible in an auditorium. So some of the audiences listen to the programmes, some of them go out to meet their friends, some sit into the ground and do not show any interest into the programmes, but are interested in their discussion, some ladies exchange family matters, and children play around, this is a representative picture of the audience in these festivals, and general pattern of interaction during cultural activities. During these cultural activities, the informal leadership emerges in the club, which are generally of a temporary nature. This informal leadership is also dependent upon the type of activities pursued, as for example, during the seminars and discussions, the person with good academic qualifications and some organizational abilities, takes the leadership, or during the activities concerning sports, it is the younger members who take the leadership. During these cultural activities, the 'contact man', that is the person who brings together different artists and performers usually takes the leadership. The formal leadership usually encourages this kind of temporary informal leadership, as during these activities formal leadership remains busy with administrative and financial side of the activity, whereas the informal leadership looks into the 'performing' side of the activity. That is, formal leadership makes a temporary alliance with the informal leadership - which

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ultimately helps them to run the function successfully.

The implications of the community club axis are many, because of the patron-client relationship between community and club and vice versa. The community gets benefit from the club in two ways: The first, we have already discussed, that due the cultural activities of the club, the community gets an opportunity spend the leisure time. The second, the community gets benefit from the other social activities of the club, like charitable hospital, library etc. On the otherhand during the fund raising activities it is the club which is being benefited from the community. BS, for example, has combined these two aspects of patron-client relationship in to a single activity. Every years BS organizes one Mela, which it calls as Samsad Mela (a fair by the club) for three days, where the members of the club sell home made sweets, foods and articles, and sales proceedings goes to the club. The club also arranges for cultural activities in the evening, lucky draws, Tambolla games and other forms of gambling, to attract the people and to raise money. In 1973 mela, the club collected, nearly 20,000 rupees by this method, which also shows the extent to which community participates. For these days the club provides for an excellent source of entertainment and not only Bengalis of the locality participate but the Bengalis of other areas also take share in the activities. Similarly BCND organizes, every year a competition of one act Bengali plays for seven days. Here admission is by tickets and for all the seven days, house is packed, which is also a testimony for the communities pursuit of culture. The atmosphere in these occasions or is gay, and festive and the Bengalis participate fully, either by giving cheers to the organizers or by criticisms, when the function is bad or not acceptable to them. In fact, it is in this way the club has helped Bengali to maintain his cultural identity in Delhi.

Other benefits which community gets from the clubs are medical aid, library facilities and nursery schools established by these clubs. The medical aid provided by BS is for the poor people and many poor people in the community have benefited from it. During our visit to the social service unit of BS, we met one person, whose monthly salary ^{was} below 150 rupees. His son was critically ill, as he told us, "When my son fell ill, I did not know what to do. As I am not a government servant. I cannot avail the help of C.G.H.S. after some days, I called one doctor and he told me his (son's) cure will involve lot of money. I was helpless I desperately searched for money but could not get much; during this time when I went to one of my friends for some money he told me about this charitable dispensary and I brought my son here. Here I had to fill up certain forms and pay a nominal charge, and now they (doctors) are taking care of my son". It must be mentioned here that this medical aid facility is not for the Bengalis only but also for other people below a certain income level, but Bengalis get some privilege that is, they are first among equals.

The library facilities is the others important help which the clubs render to the community. In every month these libraries (all the three clubs have libraries) acquire new Bengali books, and journals, and these books are heavily in demand. Through this library, the clubs draw many new members. For example, a Bengali has come to Delhi he has no friends, no body to talk to in the evening; to spend his time he comes to the library, gradually he makes friends with local people and more often than not he becomes a member of the club. These libraries are the main source of books to the elderly ladies and old people in the community. Though it is true that many young people are also members of the library, but most of them take at least one book for the elderly members of their family.

Lastly the question arises, what is the reality of these clubs in the community, and why have these clubs lingered in this community? As we have said earlier, that these clubs are main sources of cultural activities of Bengalis in Delhi, and every now and then they manage to organize some cultural activity or the other, so in this respect they are very much 'real' in the community. In answer to second question, it can be said, that these clubs cater to all sorts of tastes. For the young, they organize games, for the intellectuals - seminars, for common people songs, dramas and cinema shows. So nobody is unhappy about these clubs. Secondly, as these clubs are politically neutral so no one is afraid to join and participate in the activities of the clubs, on the otherhand due to its political neutrality the clubs also get benefits in terms of money from the sources, which an organization with definite political orientation won't get. It is only politically conscious section of the community, who treat the activities of the clubs rather scornfully. But they are very few in number.

Conclusion

In conclusion we may say that though the voluntary association that we have studied are organized by Bengalis there is nothing, 'Bengali' in the organizational process and growth of these association. In the process of institutionalization and growth, it behaves like any other bureaucratic organizations, and show all the characteristics of large organizations, like minority rule or what Michels said 'iron law of oligarchy' and goal succession. In these respects the behaviour of these associations is not very much different from the results of the studies by Michels,¹ Chapin², Teonderos³, Blau⁴, Bendix⁵, and others. Again we have found that most of the members come from middle and upper and upper middle class, and they are from middle and higher income groups, which also confirms the findings of others who have studied different voluntary associations.⁶

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1. Michels, 1959, *Opcit*;
 2. Chapin, 1951, *Opcit*, pp 835-36,
 3. Teonderos, 1955, *Opcit*, pp 206-210.
 4. Blau 1963, *Opcit*, pp 243.
 5. Bendix, 1947, pp 493-507.
 6. See W.C. Mather, "Income and social participation", American Sociological Review, 6, 1941, 380-384, Frederick. Bushee, "Social organization in a small city", American Journal of Sociology, 51, 1945, 217-226, Missa Komorovsky, "The voluntary Associations of Urban Dwellers", American Sociological Review, 11, 1946, 686-698, Floyd Dotson, "Patterns of voluntary Association among Urban working class Families" American Sociological Review, 16, 1951, 687-693. T.B. Bottomore Social Stratification in voluntary organization "in social mobility in Britain by D.V. Glass (ed), London, pp 349-406.

It has been revealed by these studies that people of lower income group are more likely to be attached to a trade union, and to a informal and fairly stable friendship group, (including in-groups) rather than these types of voluntary associations. Again the others characteristics of membership, like marital status, family status, the educational level, sex etc. and their relationship with the joining (in) voluntary association, is in no way peculiar to Bengalis, but is similar to the membership pattern in other countries also⁷. It must be mentioned here, that the conclusions we have drawn are based on the study of the members of voluntary association, so the scope of generalization is limited in this context as we have not studied the Bengali population in general in Delhi.

Now coming to others aspects of the members, we have shown most of the Bengalis join these associations for need satisfaction and most of the members are politically neutral, that is neithers do they have any party membership nor do they subscribe to any political ideology. The same attitude is reflected through the functions of these association. That is, as we have, shown earlier, though a handful of members participate in instrumental activities, but functions of these association are limited to the help during famine and other natural catastrophes by giving food and clothings. (BS also runs a charitable hospital for the poor) to needy but as one U.N. report⁸ says that these sort of associations were wrong if they thought Relief and charity was development.

7. See for example N. Babchuk and A. Booth, "Voluntary Association Membership: a longitudinal analysis" American Sociological Review, 34, 1969, 31-45.

8. "Action for Human Need", report presented by executive director of AFPRO at UN in June 1971, quoted in Time of India, 31st October, 1972, P-6.

Development implied a continuation but much more than that it implied an attempt to get have not on their own feet and to survive without props, on a sound socio-economic footing. In other words that was required was action which would create an environment to enable the needy to live in freedom from hunger and want. But these type of actions, require certain change of attitude and outlook on the part of these voluntary association. The outlook which is suprisingly absent at present in these associations. Suprisingly absent because, as we have shown that the voluntary association, which founded in Bengal used to function as pressure groups and for the realization of the goals which would give rise to more enlightened masses and better socio-economic conditions, and one of major political parties of today and its leaders evolved out of the actions of these voluntary associations. And this political consciousness has become part of the total outlook of life of the Bengalis, but this we have found neither in the members, nor in functions of these associations. More so, they deliberately avoid, any such function. The reasons of this phenomenon we have stated earlier which is due to the occupations and social status of Bengalis in Delhi who are mostly in government service or in other white colour job in private firms. As a result of this, though these associations, which we have studied, are functioning for quite a long time, they have not been able to produce a single leader of some status, though many people in these association have a long experience, though these clubs have a long history, They have done nothing in terms of engineering a social change. In this respect the members are different from the members of voluntary, associations in other countries. For example, as Hsu¹ has said of Americans, that "they form and join voluntary associations for their need satisfaction but they also form and join associations for solving specific problems or as an expression of interest in public affairs, but in the case of Bengalis,

most of the members join only for need satisfaction and the clubs do not aim at achieving something concrete, though in a democratic country like India, with Delhi as its political centre, scope exists for these clubs functioning as pressure groups or as a vehicle for social change. The function which makes the members aware of how processes function in their society. They learn how things are done in a limited sphere in which they operate. Which make them understand some of the complex mechanisms of the society. As societies grow more and more complex, The devious controls within it become less and less intelligible to people in general now if these clubs do not participate in activities involving social change they ultimately close at least one avenue for their members for understanding some of the controls, the mechanism of the power structure of the society and debar them from something definite to work toward, and leave them with a vague feeling that something is wrong somewhere which is out of control, so spend the time in recreational and merry making activities.

APPENDIX-I.

QUESTIONNAIRE ON THE ROLE OF VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS

1. Name:
2. Age:
3. Sex:
4. Occupation:
5. Monthly Income:
6. Educational Qualifications:
7. Marital Status:
8. For how long you are staying in Delhi?
9. For how many years you are a member of this Association/
Club?
10. How did you come to know about this Association/Club?
11. How frequently do you visit this Association/Club?.... days
in a month.
12. How many hours do you spend in this Association/Club?
13. What according to you is the main attraction of this
Association/Club?
14. What is the thing that draws you to this Association/Club?
15. How do you spend your time here?
16. Are you a member of any other Associations/Clubs? Yes/No.
If Yes,
 - 16.1. Which Association/Club?
 - 1.
 - 2.
 - 3.
 - 4.
 - 16.2. What are the main attractions of these Associations/Clubs?
 - 1.
 - 2.
 - 3.
 - 4.

17. What is your share of participation in the activities of this Association/Club?

1. Participates in all activities.
2. Participates in some.
3. Do not participate.

If 3,

17.1 Why?

17.2 Do the members of your family participate in the activities of this Club?

Yes/No.

18. Do you think that you have been benefitted somehow or the other by becoming member of this Club?

Yes/No.

18.1 If yes,
How?

18.2 If No,
Why?

19. Do you think that membership of this Club can somehow benefit your career?

Yes/No

19.1 If yes,
How?

19.2 If No,
Why?

20. Do you have in your mind some thing which you think this Association/Club should do and which it is not doing at present?

Yes/No.

20.1 If Yes,
What?

(In order of preference)

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.

20.2 What do you think are the main obstacles in carrying forward the above mentioned activities?

21. Are you holding any office membership in this Club?

Yes/No.

21.1 If yes,
What?

21.2 How many office bearerships have you held so far?

22. What is the size of your family?

22.1 Number of dependents?

23. Do you have in your family any one who is also a member
of this Association/Club?

Yes/No.

23.1 If yes,
Who?

24. What are the things that you will miss, if you stop coming
to this Association/Club? (in order of preference)

1.

2.

3.

4.

25. Your best friends belong to this Association/Club or they
are other people who are not members of this Club?

1. Belong to this Association/Club.

2. Do not belong to this Association/Club.

3. Any other.

If 1,

25.1 Did you know them earlier or you have come to know them
after becoming members of this Club?

1. Know them earlier.

2. Known them after becoming member of
this Club.

3. Any other.

26. Are you a member of any political party? Yes/No.

26.1 If yes,
Which party?

26.2 If No,
Do you subscribe to any political ideology? Yes/No.

- 26.21 If yes,
Which ideology?
27. Where have you lived before you came to Delhi?
28. Any other relevant information you want to provide?

APPENDIX-II

Total Income and Expenditure of the three Clubs
from 1961-62 to 1971-72. (in Rs.)

	BS		BCND		BCKG	
	Income	Expendi- ture	Income	Expendi- ture	Income	Expendi- ture
1961-62	52,339.22	47,831.61	20,431.43	19,537.32	8,723.32	7,451.14
1962-63	67,114.82	62,318.19	22,831.33	22,013.77	8,942.24	7,823.77
1963-64	70,871.37	65,423.32	11,223.86	8,169.53	9,112.36	8,176.19
1964-65	85,912.14	81,274.81	12,439.72	11,014.37	10,714.68	9,261.42
1965-66	97,311.63	90,017.44	10,100.35	8,271.43	11,142.55	10,175.29
1966-67	1,07,172.11	98,776.57	23,470.33	21,093.72	10,123.40	9,767.64
1967-68	1,10,792.45	1,06,112.37	23,589.22	21,372.56	11,537.81	10,722.17
1968-69	1,12,325.72	1,08,431.25	23,790.95	22,599.80	12,100.57	11,112.34
1969-70	1,30,458.36	1,13,864.74	28,593.67	26,397.41	14,237.28	12,159.37
1970-71	1,58,085.16	1,27,389.70	37,526.57	36,243.57	14,371.49	13,014.24
1971-72	2,05,980.79	1,73,291.57	48,332.84	46,848.84	15,412.61	14,775.16

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