Nay, but tell me, in our traces
Are we standing or advancing?
All is whirling, swimming, dancing,
Hell and forest, full of faces,
Mock at us. The wild fires, flying,
Menace in their multiplying.

Faust, Part I: Goethe:
Trns. by Philip Gayne
It has been described in the earlier chapters that social change consists in the fact that new institutional structures are built up with reference to particular cultural values. Socialist pattern of society has been adopted as a future goal of the society. In consonance with this, the structural framework is being built up at all levels. In the rural as well as urban areas, new industries are established. Through community development it has been planned to change the rural social structure in all its aspects, viz., the social, political, economic and cultural aspects. In the urban areas new industry is built up in the public sector. For this purpose the industrial activity is divided into public and private sectors. New company laws have been framed up to control the vested interests in the industrial sector. Land reforms are being implemented in the rural side to help improve the agricultural production.

In the second chapter it has been mentioned that India is changing from one pattern of particularism, affectivity, quality, diffuseness, and self to one of universalism, affective neutrality, performance,
specificity and collectivity, as a theoretical model. When it is mentioned above that India is changing from one institutional structure to the other, essentially this theoretical model was kept in view. The problem of transitional anomie is located within this theoretical framework. Enablings of transitional anomie has already been mentioned in the chapter on Vls.

Merton defines anomie "as a breakdown in the cultural structure, occurring particularly when there is an acute disjunction between the cultural norms and goals and the socially structured capacities of members of the group to act in accord with them".

With this definitional beginning, Merton identifies five types of polar action sequences such as conformity, innovation, ritualism, retreatism, and rebellion. These are individual adaptations to the pressures of the social structure. Moreover the values of any society are differentially assimilated by the actors situated in differential status-roles in the social structure. Hence there is an element of non-complementarity of internalizing the values in the

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1H. A. Merton, SOCIAL THEORY AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE; 1957, p.167.

2For an understanding of these terms see ibid., pp.139-157.
social structure. This differential internalization of values, has differential consequences to the system and hence there are found to be different degrees of anomie.

In contrast to Merton's definition of anomie, Parsons essentially derives it from action frame of reference. He defines anomie as

"The polar antithesis of full institutionalization is, however, anomie, the absence of structured complementarity of the interaction process or, what is the same thing, the complete breakdown of normative process or, what is the same thing, the complete breakdown of normative order in both senses."

The interdependence of cultural, social and personality systems bears a mark on the study of anomie. Merton identified five individual adaptations on personality level, as reaction to anomie situation. Thus the study of anomie should incorporate the impingement of social, cultural and personality systems on each other.

3Talcott Parsons, SOCIAL SYSTEM, p.39. Parsons, however mentions that there are degrees of anomie just as there are degrees of institutionalization. Likewise but differently, Mill's speak of degrees of 'oppositions' in a society and relate it to the degrees of disequilibrium present in a society. See Courfey and Anica Wilson, THE ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL CHANGE, (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1945), pp.175-157, passim.

4I am indebted to Y.B. Zamel for suggesting that the phenomenon of anomie should be investigated on all three levels, such as cultural social and personality levels, in one of the research students' seminars.
The adoption of new values viz., the socialist values have given powerful urge for the development of new institutional structures. Actually there is a pressure of the new values which has been evident in the new structures. For example the community development officers are continuously bombarded to show progress in terms of facts and figures. As a part of the anomic situation, quite often, the figures are even bloated up to catch with the policy decisions which in turn are guided by ideological overtones. Apart from this there is the impingement of parasystemic influences on the social system to catch up the lost time and energy in terms of production and change.

With the exertion of pressure on the building up of institutional structures and activating them, there develops a situation of transitional anomie. The influence of the old structures has not yet diminished, and the new structural frame is not yet internationalized or emotionally integrated. Firstly, as a result of the adoption of new value system, the aspirations of the actors in the old system rise. Consequently pressure is being exerted on the structural units. Usually when the aspirational structures rise in terms of new ideologies, the old structures cannot cope with them. In other words, they are no more in a position
to cater to the needs of the new aspirants. The conception that there is a rise in the aspirational level itself implies that there is an anticipatory socialization for change or mobility into the new structure. The movement of actors takes place into the new structure before the actor is fully socialized or has internalized the normative pattern of the new structure. Consequently there arises some pressure for the incumbent to fall back on the old structure for emotional or expressive facilities. The frustrations of the new structures are neutralized by falling back on the old structural adjustments and expressive gratifications. At the instrumental level the actor belongs to the new structure and at expressive and loyalty level he belongs to the old structure. Thus there is breakdown of complementarity in action situations.

In terms of our theoretical pattern-change model it could be explained thus. The model itself is a polar model. The concepts and consequently the social structures implied are also polar models. But empirically it is impossible to find out such polar models. The community development projects are meant to change action elements from particularism to universalism. But this is not to be found empirically. The fruits of the community development are reaped more by the landed and influential castes in the village. Likewise the industrial product is almost monopolised by the urban vested interests. It
has been said that cooperation is a process which changes from individual to a collectivity. In this range also, the structural model is based on the collectivity-orientation but in terms of reaping fruits it too is enjoyed by the landed castes. Thus the pattern-variables which are meant for the new structures are still grafted to the old structures. The presence of old and new patterns is the cause of transitional anomie. Or in the secular state it is said that a person will not be evaluated in terms of caste or birth affiliations (quality) but in actual practice the contrary could be seen in getting jobs or appointing people in different jobs. Thus the presence of quality and performance is a case for transitional anomie.

The new value spurs the actor into action but in the new structure there is a sort of constraint too against the easy transfer of the role-incumbent. Thus one can say there are structural spurs and structural-constraints which either activate or negativate action. A classification could easily be obtained by cross tabulating the presence of new values, new structures and old values and old structures. By cross-tabulation we get

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Old Structure</th>
<th>New Structure</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Old Value</td>
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<tr>
<td>Old Structure</td>
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<td>New Structure</td>
<td>( (N \cdot \cdot \cdot \times \cdot \cdot \cdot) )</td>
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Thus we find old structure and old value which may be called tradition, old structure and new value where aspirations rise with the degree of internalizing the value, new structure and old value, where one finds the vested interests as role-incumbents in the new structures, and finally when the change takes place the emergence of new pattern in terms of the model. In the case of old structure and the new value, the structure pushes out the actor from its fold because it cannot bear any more without structural change. And in the case of new structure and old values, constraints develop against the assimilation of the actor into the new one. Between the two polar types of old structure and old value (O.S. x O.V. and new value and new structure (N.S. x N.V.)) the intermediate types could be identified.

After identifying the intermediate models which cause transitional anomic, the discussion proceeds to illustrate and substantiate the arguments presented in the above. The case of rural-urban migrations is taken up to show that when new aspirations arise and when the old structure can no more bear or accommodate the actors, it gives structural spurs for the actors to leave and join the new structures. In the new structure the internalization process is not complete and hence there is the residue. This residue is on the
expressive side still clinging to the old structure i.e. the rural immigrant to the urban places finds his solace in finding company with his caste people and village and phantasies of village life and involvement. In the case of student anomie it has been shown how the values internalized in the parental generation act as sources or constraints with the students in learning or assimilating knowledge. And in turn they have to face the problem of new structure and old value situation in the urban place. And finally the recognition that there are structural blockages inhibiting the social mobility, frustration sets in and this frustration leads to violence in the university campus. The aspiration frustration balance is utilized in promoting the social movements such as linguistic and regional movements. The process is essentially the same. The aspirational structure of the rising elite is mixed up with the social movement. With the formation of the new regional elites and regional movements the system is affected due to the absence of expressive aspect i.e. loyalty toward the system. Consequently the system integration is affected.

As the changes proceed to take place in the given direction of the new pattern the acuteness of the transitional anomie reduces and in its turn the integration of the system is enhanced. This is essentially
due to the slow disintegration of the intermediate types of action situations. The absence of complementarity in interaction situation slowly reintegrates the systemic units, of course, the units being integrated at appropriate levels and degrees to affect systems on-going process. The location of the problem of transitional anomie helps to understand the transitional problems of the society and to pin-point the difficulties of change and stability.

With the rapid industrialization during economic development the aspirational structures of the people rise and consequently there follows a transfer of population from rural to urban social structures. This migration cannot be explained on single factor or dominant theme. With the impact of the new values on the old ones, there follows a conflict at the cultural level. This will have a telling effect on the aspirations of the actors. Secondly with the planned development new opportunities are created. The rise in the aspirational structure and the creation of new opportunity structures involve a tremendous social process of migration. The migration is generally towards urban social structures from rural social structures. Finally the adaptive facilities or resources in the given social structure would not be able to support the new aspirations of the increasing
The value assimilation and the working of the machines is a process connected with the industrialization and urbanization. People have to learn new skills and must be capable of living away from their homes. Thus a gap develops between expressive (family) and instrumental (job or adaptive) facilities. The social structure is affected by the adoption of new facilities, rewards, creation of new roles, i.e., in a word people move from rural to urban places. The new pattern of behaviour asked for in the new situation creates new strains and stresses in the personality system of the individuals and consequently in the social relationships. Invariably the power structure of the community is also affected. Theoderson explains that

"The creation of new roles, new facilities, and new rewards, and the prominence of previously unimportant resources and skills, all tend to place new individuals in positions of power. The new power structure challenges the old, and later tends to produce a new elite. Even the common factory workers may come to have more power and influence than certain previously higher classes who remain in agricultural pursuits. This gain of power and influence is even more pronounced in the case of the entrepreneurs, especially when they rise from within the society, and are not merely foreign investors and managers."5

Thus the new roles, and their strategic importance creates new imbalances in the social structure.

The predominantly agricultural and subsistence rural social structures are changing into urban specialised structures through division of labour. That is, the traditional structures have become either incapable of coping with the role players or there is a change in the value system to facilitate transition. This transition is explained by describing the process of rural-urban migration. Rural-urban migration is described in terms of "push" and "pull" factors.  

The push factors are due to the failure of rural social structure i.e., unemployment and non-availability of land to cultivate and pull factors are those which bring urban residents to metropolitan areas in search of better facilities for mobility in the social structure. To this may be added the caste stigma, lack of opportunities for education, for rise in the social structure, proximity of the city, and the fastness of the communication of ideas. The breakdown of the rural social relationships and their


7Ibid., p.205
reintegration needs time before it takes place.

The intermediate period is full of conflicts on all levels of cultural, social and personality systems.

A few points of conflict which the rural immigrants to the urban places face are shown.

When people with high expectations move to urban places, often contrary to their hopes, they find resistance to mobility in the social ladder. There is often possibility for developing tension between

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8. This cannot simply be explained in terms of "Marginal man" concept. Deshmukh treats the migrant as a marginal man. See M.B. Deshmukh, "A study of floating migration," THE SOCIO-SCIENTIFIC IMPLICATIONS OF INDUSTRIALIZATION AND URBANISATION, (UNESC), Research Centre on the Social Implications of Industrialization in Southern Asia: Calcutta: 1950, p. 1-224. See for a theoretical discussion of "marginal man" concept, K.L. Horton, SOCIAL THEORY AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE, Revised and enlarged edition pp. 265 and 266. The "marginal man" concept does not show the "squeeze" factor of the social structure or impenetration of new values, whereas in the case of migrant the squeeze of the traditional social structure is evident. And in terms of expressive and instrumental action, although he is physically present in the social structure in the adaptive dimension, his expressive action i.e., his loyalty is toward the rural social structure. This conflict is severe in the rural migrant to the urban place. As the discussion proceeds this will be shown adequately.

9. P. Chauhan, "Caste and occupation in Agra City," The Economic weekly, XII (28-30) July 23, 1960, p. 1147. For example he says: "Though the subject of this study is an urban society, there is considerable rigidity and imbalance in the industrial, occupational and livelihood structures, and particularly castes are concentrated in particular occupations and industrial classes. Even at a time when economic planning is opening up fresh opportunities and offering new facilities, the earlier economic disabilities of particular castes continue to remain." p. 1148.
castes who view with each other either for
prestige and ranking or for social status by occupation.
The resulting value struggle between the caste and
egalitarian ideals is succinctly expressed by Mukerjee as:

"The conflict between the traditional
and rural modes and conventions of social
distance and exclusion and the egalitarian
urban ways of living in the present social
transition is giving rise to many such caste
enemies and tensions after leaving indi-
viduals without any easy and effective
social guidance."

Some of the old attitudes still persist even
in the urban setting even after a considerable lapse of
time. Particularly there appears to be role-conflict
while working in the intercaste situation like a
factory. In spite of the protection of urban

10Samhakamal Mukerjee, 'Caste Proximity and Attitude
Change in the City,' INTERCASTE TENSIONS: A SURVEY
UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE UNION, (ed. K. Mukerjee and
Colleagues, Lucknow: Lucknow University Press, 1951),
p.39. Hereafter referred to as INTER CASTE TENSIONS.

11Basudeb Narayan, "Changing Caste distance in the
Urban Industrial Community," in INTER CASTE TENSIONS,
pp.88-90. He reports a case of a brahmin who was
working as a mechanic lamenting that he was going
against the norms of his caste. He further states:
"It is no doubt that wherever a particular caste
group is preponderant in numbers in relation to the
upper caste people, the social disabilities are on
the decline." p.90

I.e. Compare the above case of brahmin with that
of 'marginal man' concept.
anonymity, there are still dangers of tensions to develop.

As soon as the rural migrant arrives in the town he has to face a hostile impersonal world (neutrality) due to lack of accommodation and lack of expressive facilities. Quite often than not the migrant has to live away from his caste, kith and kin and family. This forces him to seek expressive gratifications from his own caste people. Thus he finds his surroundings among his own caste groupings. There is a sort of caste clustering in the cities. By this new re-equilibration almost the new effects of coming to city and getting absorbed in the city-way of life is obliterated. Nevertheless the castes which have very low-ranking have begun to develop a social awareness.

The migrants come to the city with different

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12 See Y.B. Jamie, THE NATURE OF INDUSTRIALIZATION AND URBANIZATION IN INDIA, Unpublished MSc, Deccan College 1964, for an understanding of caste clustering in Bombay City.

13 Reporting on the social conditions of Kanpur city Majumdar summarises the conflicting trends and the development of "social awareness" the proximity of people in hospital and municipal water-tap situations helped toward this trend. B.N. Majumdar, et al., SOCIAL CHANGES OF AN INDUSTRIAL CITY, (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1960); pp. 218-219.
cultural background, different family and social
groups and have generally different ambitions, aspir-
rations and expectations. These migrants need
considerable adaptive capacities and skills to get
along in urban areas. Even after staying for a long
time in the city they still hold views of going back
and sticking up to the hereditary agricultural occu-
plations. Their satisfactions/dissatisfactions level
is closely connected with this ambition. This
entanglement with his village social structure makes
him a dissatisfied man in the urban setting. He has
to keep contact with the villagers, family, kith and
kin, attend ceremonies, save money for the festivals,
to repay debts, and a whole lot of village obligations
he has to discharge inspite of his being away in the
city and eking his livelihood there. In spite of
considerable leeway of adaptability in the city life,
the migrant faces the problems in social-emotional

14 P.N. Prabhu, "A Study on Social Effects of Urbaniza-
tion on Industrial workers migrating from Rural
areas to the City of Bombay," SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF
INDUSTRIALIZATION AND URBANIZATION, (Calcutta: UNESCO
Research Centre on the Social Implications of
Industrialization Southern Asia, 1956), p.54.

15 Ibid., pp.59-69.
area due to absence of family life, communication of sentiment etc. He lives alone in quite a number of cases and the noisy time-guided actions in the city make him run for solace with his village people. The ideas of secularism, egalitarianism and equal opportunities are all vain words before the urban migrant. Under the name of 'casual labour' industrial concerns exploit their illiteracy, innocence and with the help of market forces keep them at subsistence level of wages. In addition to this vested interests use them in boot-legging\textsuperscript{16}.

With the entanglement in the city and the continued relationship with the village social structure makes him quite often fatalistic with uncongenial surroundings around him. The conflict is not resolved for this or that side, viz., the village or the city\textsuperscript{17}. On the system level in spite of the urban improvement plans the situation in the city could not control the rural immigrant to the urban places and even minimum sanitary conditions and housing became difficult. As a part of the general re-equilibration the rural immigrant to the urban places finds his accommodation with


\textsuperscript{17}\textit{Ibid.}, 214.
his own caste people coming from the same village, tehsil or district\(^\text{18}\).

The interaction pattern of rural-urban life is leading to a new sort of synthesis. The old cities are extending in zig-zag directions and the sprawling urban populations are facing many acute problems of housing, transport, recreation and lack of amenities of family life. But a synthesis is developing i.e. "suburbanization," bringing together the life of the rural and urban aspects. In fact it has become new vista for the social scientists to explore. Rajagopalan describes the suburbanization process as

"Much of the lure of suburban life consists in the fact that it is characterised by rural and urban features alike. Left to itself, the process of suburbanization may wipe out the rural aspects and transform the suburban environment into an urban area\(^\text{19}\)."

\(^{18}\) Ibid., p.167. Cf. Islam too mentions the caste clustering in the city, op.Cit.

All through, the problems faced by the rural immigrants in the established metropolitan cities have been dealt with equally there is another aspect to the same problem. India's economic development of new steel towns. Although old cities may be excused for lack of planning and irregularities, new places of construction too face similar problems. The enormous labour force required for the construction of these gigantic projects, is supplied by the rural immigrant.

'Rapid industrialization due to the growth of steel towns has attracted 120,000 contractors' labourers from different parts of country. It is not unlikely that most of them came from rural areas. After the construction phase, when this labour force is disbanded, formidable problems will arise for the workmen.'

It is found that there is a difference in the adjustment pattern of the rural immigrant between the old towns and new towns. Due to the slow rate of growth, rural immigrant is able to adjust himself in the old cities better than in the new towns. Acute problems relating to their adjustment appear in the form of group tensions and the like.

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21 Ibid., p.347.
The rural-urban migration is governed by the failure of the rural social structures in terms of the new aspirations, and equally the failure of the city to accommodate the rural immigrant properly in its social structure. Industrialization as a value has no time to consider the problems of the immigrants who supply the enormous labour force. Even the little planning for housing and sanitation facilities are not sufficient to integrate the migrants. Thus we find the structural 'spurs' on one hand and on the other hand, structural constraints which govern the transitional anomie of the rural migrant. All the plans and policies are formulated to alleviate this transitional anomie of the rural urban migration.

After analysing the structural spurs (deriving from the structural constraints, the 'spurs' activate the actors to action, such as ideologies, opportunities, educational facilities, achievement in occupational skills, knowledge of availability of facilities and resources etc.) for action and their impact on the rural immigrant, now the discussion will turn to how the socialization process works in a period of transitional anomie. In fact the process of socialization of student is treated as an aspect
of transitional anomic situation. The value system for learning, the transmission of cultural values and frustrations of the new generation, the availability of educational facilities, and finally the opportunities to absorb these role-incumbents in the larger social structure are all factors influencing socialization. All the socialization process is, primarily, anticipatory in character. The family, caste, village, neighbourhood, the frustrations of the parents, and a host of other factors work as structural spurs for the student to launch on a programme of learning. In the meanwhile he has to face the educational mores, prejudices and pitfalls. Added to this he has to live in the urban environment for higher education if the parents could support him. He has to live in urban hostile world. Although the structural spurs have been described as action-oriented they act as inhibitory forces for the student to get on well in urban places. Moreover the trainee is trained for urban jobs and he cannot re-enter into rural social structure. The frustrations that he experiences in terms of getting assimilated into the larger social structure, makes the student more despondent and a considerable destructive force is built up, to be utilized by any demagogue. The frustrated aspirations of the student life are fully utilized by the political parties. The aspiration-
frustration balance is the outcome of the so many disturbances in university campus.

As a generator of motivations towards the new value system and technologies, how far Indian family is oriented toward this direction? Doubts have been expressed about the usefulness of the Indian joint family. It is said quite often that joint family kills initiative in the individual which is an important aspect in orienting toward the industrial society, subordinating him to the interests of the group. On the other hand certain protagonists of Indian family claim that it is a greatest Indian asset which towards the individual selfishness and a craze for private property. Although these opinions express polar situations, the importance of the Indian family lies somewhere between the two.

In the nature of the Indian joint family it is not quite uncommon that a father creates in his son aspirations which he himself has failed to reach in his life-time. Grannies, auntsies and uncles inspire their wards and nephews with stories of success-oriented persons. It is not unusual for a granny to say that her grand-son should do this or that.22

22 Though a granny doesn't know what is B.T. or Engineering she wishes that her grandson should pass this examination like so and so. 'Hobby, you should pass B.T. like so and so.' is not an uncommon thing. Cf. Merton calls this as 'projection of parental ambitions,' p.Cit.p.159
or in the villages where factions are rampant, the father may even encourage his son to study law and even sometimes the community or caste elders may also encourage a promising lad to do this or that which will be beneficial to their day to day affairs of involvement in the village.

What these benignant elders and fathers do not understand or not able to cope up is that their wards should indulge in changing the community structure. The authority of the father, the hold of the village panchayat, the omniscient village elders, the ubiquitous nature of the caste and in a word the status-structure are affected. They want to pour the achievement-oriented wards into the ascribed structural vats which cannot hold them forever. The community projects have already created that structural imbalance between the father and the son, family and community. The generational wisdom by age is under strain. And the increasingly rural-urban movement of populations

23 UNITED NATIONS, REPORT OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT EVALUATION MISSION IN INDIA, 23 November 1958--3rd April 1959, (Issued by Ministry of Community Development and Cooperation, 1959), records that youth had definite ideas about future and not the stereotype ones which their elders had lived. They expressed certain shyness in expressing them before their elders. See p. 32.
aids this process of loosening the ties of the tradition. Apart from this, another equally interesting point is that by enhancing the status of an individual in the family (see chapter on Vested Interests) the status of the family is enhanced. The joint resources of the family helps the incumbent to achieve new status. Consequently the family shares the prestige attained by the incumbent. There is another snag to this almost smooth process. The resources once they are spilled out cannot be replenished so easily and the entire family may have to lean on the incumbent for its sustenance. At this stage it is quite possible that the incumbent is put to a lot of strain and further mobility is debared since the fruits of his achievement cannot be enjoyed by himself alone, --but others too share it. These conflicting trends are signs of the changing social structure. A slight scrutiny will give a clear picture of the contradicting trends of the above vague generalizations.

The continuity of the tradition is maintained by the custom and code. What then is the cause in the present to change? Panikkar offers an explanation which is interesting:

"In India, the system of the joint family not only persisted but grew in strength as a
result of the absence of these two processes [non-limitation of family size and absence of community awareness]. Besides the non-existence of a unified central authority be it of a king or of a church, to adjust legislation to social needs tended to crystallise customs and strengthen institutions which had the blessings of old law-givers. It should be remembered that Hindu kings had no legislative authority. They did not promulgate codes, or modify laws. Nor have the Hindus had at any time a supreme religious authority—a sovereign pontiff or a church council entitled to change the smritis [ancient-law-books].

The very forces which have resulted in age-long stability have been attacked by an organized authority i.e., Government through legislation. Again Panikkar observes that Hindu society is facing challenge which it never faced. "A legislating state and a static society cannot exist side by side." In addition to this the economic development taking place in the country has consequences on the society which would be far-reaching in future.

The legislating authority of the state and

24 K.K. Panikkar, HINDU SOCIETY AT CROSS ROADS, (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1955), p.20. The entire thesis of Panikkar may be summed up as that of i) hindu social organization is the result of an unregulated growth, ii) fragmentation of society based on joint-family and caste, iii) disjointed religion and social institutions and iv) "being based on law and custom they require continuous re-examination and modification through legislation" p.3.

the will to change are, no doubt, the pushing factors behind the changes in the Hindu social structure. The same factors are working behind the changes in the Hindu social structure. The same factors do affect family too. The egalitarian approach of the Government, the changing pattern of occupational structures, the movement of populations and the developing communications impinge on the very core of the family structure.

The rural family is no more an isolated unit living in its own shell and perpetuating its tradition. The new forces such as modern social ideals and urban industrialism are making inroads into traditional pattern of family. The neighbouring villages of a town or a city are first affected by the flow of ideas and communications.

The traditional authority structure is being


21Dule suggests a new factor in the communication of ideas into villages such as 'functionally significant ones' which are more useful to the villagers—no matter whatever may be the distance from the town. See Y.S.Dule, COMMUNICATIONS OF MODERN IDEAS IN INDIAN VILLAGES, (Cambridge: MIT, 1956), pp.1-22.
weakened by the impact of western education and learning of urban ways of life which infuse a new enthusiasm into the rural folk. The changing influences on the family are differential depending upon the type of education, economic prosperity, proximity to the city and placement of the group in the social structure.

The break-up of the jajmani and balidari systems had an increasing effect on the weakening of the groups in the lower rung of the ladder. This weakening is also precipitated by the rural development projects such as Community Development and the National Extension schemes. The impact of the new

78 George Kurian, The Indian Family in Transition: A Case Study of Kerala Syrian Christians, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1961), p.130. Kurian remarks that "the weakening of authority of husbands, parents and elders, is leading to more egalitarian ways of life. Education, especially English education with the urban influence, is transforming the life of people in the city as well as in the rural areas. The degree of the pace of changes varies from area to area and from group to group. These variations are due to influence of different levels of education, economic prosperity, and also of urban influences. Those who are educated and economically well-off, are the most susceptible to new ways of life, even among the less fortunate in education & prosperity, proximity to an urban area itself influences their lives." Ibid.

29 Beverley and Thomas observe: 'The structure of hierarchic authority within the joint-family is being affected by the Community Development programmes new ideas are being infused into the villages and the young as in all groups are more
ideas into the joint family has had its repercussions on the size of the family and consequently the division and mobility of the family towards urban centres.\textsuperscript{30}

when once the traditional structure of the family is under questioning the freedom to the constituting members of the family too is enhanced. For example in the selection of the mate in marriages,\textsuperscript{31} also, is affected. The age at marriage and the selection of the mate from the distant non-relations shows a significant trend in the change of family life. The selection does not end with marrying alone. It means new contacts and new ideas and new relationships.

\textsuperscript{30}Ramdive reports the division of the family due to i) western education, ii) types of occupation, iii) physical mobility facilitated by new transport facilities, iv) new occupational possibilities and v) esteemed social surroundings in urban places. See J. Ramdive, \textit{FAMILY IN URBAN AND RURAL AREAS}, (Unpublished doctoral thesis, Deccan College, 1961), p.19. Further he suggests that the lowest castes and the tribes are the first to leave the village, p.1085. These observations support the contention that new values are taken by the low-castes for a change in the status which would be possible by migrating to the urban areas.

\textsuperscript{31}Devanandan and Thomas, \textit{Op.Cit.}, p.60.
All the authors have subscribed to the view that Indian family is changing and more especially due to the increasing monetization of the economy and new economic opportunities are playing their roles in changing the rural family. The attention is invariably drawn to the increasing industrialization and urbanization.

Although the changes are uneven from place to place and region to region, nevertheless the trend towards this new acceptance is distinctly visible. When compared with the similar period of western countries the changes that come in India appear to be more rapid.

There appears to be two-way effect of the factors involved. Industrialization and urbanization

32 Ibid., p. 55.

33 Indians moving into cities, "Ross reflects, "from the rural areas of India now meet much more modern urban way of life than did rural westerners when the great rural-urban trek began in their countries: that is, when the proportion of urbanization in their countries were similar to that of India today. This means that Indians will be faced with a much more drastic and dramatic adjustment than their western counterparts." Aileen J. Ross, THE HINDU FAMILY IN ITS URBAN SETTING, (Canada: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 50. Continuing further Ross suggests that the "former village structure and the rural ideology which it supported, will gradually give way to the more impersonal, secular life of the city." p. 21.
affect the educational levels, occupational categories, status-prestige rankings, status of the family members, the sibling placements, mobility of family, choice of the mate and the increasing fission. The individual initiative and the urban nuclear family support as the demands of the industrial relations and the rigours therein. The initiative in the younger generation partly generated in the family and partly due to the failure of the traditional occupational structure and the diffusion of democratic ideals—have had their say. A class has begun to develop between the younger and the older generation in their aspirational structures. Is the joint-family really an obstruction to industrialization and urbanization? Often the objections are stated as: lack of initiative, narrowed loyalties, nepotism and corruption. The

\[34\] For example Ross observes, "Higher education is more easily obtained in cities, and one important outcome of the move to obtain is that children develop ambitions which their parents do not share. They also tend to see life in a new perspective, and the relative freedom of the city makes them reluctant to return to the tutelage of their elders. Thus the influences of city life tend to separate children and parents in interests and outlook. If the children remain in city, the problems of building up a business or professional career are so great that little time is left over to spend on thoughts of those at home." Ibid., p.75. Emphasis added.
Initiative problem has already been met with.
The Community Development projects are infusing a
new idealism and aspirations in the rural folk.
Not only the younger generation but to an extent
even the older generation have acquired a new system
of aspirations. As a net-balance of their
frustrations, it is transferred as a cultural item to
the younger generation. Sometimes this transfer is
so vigorous that the incumbents are unable to cope
with 35.

The transition from authoritarian joint-
family to the nuclear family is facilitated by
transferring some of the urban influences through
community development in the villages. The attack
is two-pronged. The validity of the joint-family

35 Nimmoff relates that the personality trait of
'passivity' which is characteristic of the joint-
family and the consequent lack of 'ambition and
activity' might from obstacles in the way of transition. See N.W. Nimmoff, 'Is the Joint-Family an
obstacle to Industrialization?' International
Journal of Comparative Sociology, III, March 1960,
p.114. But as stated above if the authority itself
changes and asks for new orientation of ambition,
then there would be no problem in developing ini-
tiative. As far as corruption and nepotism are
concerned he cites the example of U.S.A. and Brazil
where family members are appointed to the highest
executive posts in industry and trade. There it did
not form a handicap, p.113. In fact the formation
of elite is facilitated in the beginning by parti-
cularistic-ascriptive combination (see chapter on
Vested interests).
ubama is indirectly questioned. Not only that, the physical impossibilities in maintaining the joint-family is also a weakening factor. Moreover serious strains were introduced through the development organs. And at city level the transition is smothered by the anonymity and universalistic-achievement patterns.

Thus transitional anomie has an influence on the structure, size, pattern of relationships and finally the motivational pattern of the incumbents of the joint family.

In the whole the motivational structures of the joint family members are affected, to reorient themselves toward achievement through education and social mobility. In the process of motivational change for achievement, the traditional hierarchical adjustments in the family are severely brought under stress. The sibling relationship, the mother-father complex and the son-daughter grouping have been affected. Certain weakening of authority of the father is observable from the empirical and field studies. More than this, the development programmes are bringing communication lines nearer through the school and peer group circles. This adds a new dimension for the changes in the family. The joint-
family resources are useful for achieving incumbent and this may also act as a constraint after he has reached certain end-goal.

The period of transitional anomie is a period of new social problems created in the wake of industrialization. It is not the question of how an industry is built by fair or foul means but it is the question of skillfully overcoming the obstacles to reach the desired goal. On one hand Government have to encourage the industrialists to build industry by its own capital and on the other hand the undesirable influences of the capital and dishonest methods should be curbed. In this process both the parties are at their wits' end. Private sector wants easy profits and the Government want to see that the profits are normal and legitimate. The zig-saw-puzzle is a hot-bed of intrigue, corruption, nepotism and favouritism. The licensing authority has been systematically bullied to get industrial licenses. If there are competitors, one has to overcome them by subtle means. Fighting against the Government against favouritism, and through underhand means, business organizes its own lobbies in the Government and in the bureaucracy.

Even the public sector is also demoralized
with a vengeance. The very argument of private sector is that Government should only take up those lines of activity which private industrialists cannot do or perform. This means that heavy industry whose fruits could be had only after a long waiting should be built by Government so that the private sector can undertake easy ventures for quick buck. The mushrooming of industries in the non-productive or luxury goods sectors is a case in point. The cheating of the general public is on a large scale. The goods too are supplied at a substandard level with labels of quality.

The medium of advertisement too plays a role in persuading the too susceptible urban elite or status-seekers to buy goods of exotic qualities. Besides there is a demand for goods of quality or imported ones particularly when there are restrictions on particular types of goods. As the demand goes up there develops a specialized agency which help supply these goods. Whole communities are engaged in smuggled goods trade which could be sold like hot cakes. A sort of demand and supply symbiosis is developing.

The causes may be attributed to the rising elites, and goods-crazy middle class in the urban
places. It is said that "corruption is the result of a wide divergence between the attitudes, aims and methods of the Government of a country and those of the society in which they operate." 36.

The alternative structures and arrangements which develop under the aegis of corruption are sometimes more efficient than the ones prescribed by the official structures. Speaking of corruption one could have a look at the corrupting influence of the prohibition policy of the Government. The Government are interested, under the influence of Gandhism, to curb the drink habit by legislative measures. In practice it is most evidently known that prohibition


Of. Merchant discusses the problems of black-marketing as a social process, at value and normative level although, explicitly he does not spell out in these lines. He describes it as an essential social process with demand and supply aspects, quite often related with conspicuous consumption of the rich. He clearly differentiates between 'needs' and 'conspicuous consumption' of the rich, thus delineating the consequences of black-marketing on differential strata. See A.T. Merchant, 'Sociology of Blackmarketing,' Sociological Bulletin, II(1), March 1953, pp.1-17. Less connected but functionally more important is the problem of 'discontent' in the newly developing countries. See "Our Present Discontent and Frustration," a symposium in Sociological Bulletin, II(?), September 1953, pp. 81-102 for different interpretations and angles of discontent and frustration by different people such as an intelligent citizen, a businessman, a psychologist and a political scientist.
policy is an utter failure and through it there is corruption in law and order organization. It has become a prestige issue for the Government to uphold their ideals. But the nature of the failure of the policy is an indication of the success of the underworld and even to an extent the knowledge of Chemistry which these elements possess. Reference is here made to the rise of consumption of French Polish. For all practical intents French Polish is a polishing medium for wood and other materials. The pigment is dissolved in alcohol of high purity and percentage. One can buy this French Polish openly because it is lawful and legal. Only thing is the pigment is to be filtered out from the mixture for human consumption. The seller supplies the buyer with cotton wool and a filtering mechanism so that the process becomes easier. This type of inroads is made into medicines, drugs and tonics. Many of the tonics have very good percentage of alcohol and so the sale of these products have gone high. The indigenous knowledge of Chemistry is so improved that people started adding aspirin tablets to a certain brand of aerated waters to get the "kick" of the alcohol. Thus corruptive influences are the result of the disjointed structures and motivations.

The political parties too joined the fray of corruption against which they beat their breasts to
criticise the ruling party. As had been mentioned in the chapter on Vested Interests, their Lordships pleaded inability to stop the companies paying into the coffers of the political parties in order to influence them in their favour. The political parties in their turn uphold interests of their clients whatever may be its result or consequences on the rest of the society. One finds political parties fighting odd battles quite often contradictory. The opposition to rationalization in textile industry is a case in point. The same political party fights in the Parliament for rapid industrialization and the building of heavy industry. It is the question of availability of a stick to beat the ruling party and not the moral or value involved or its consequences to the social system.

In spite of the Government laudable aims of socialistic pattern of society its shortcomings in relation to labour are the same as in the case of private industry. In the public sector the same type of exploitation is carried on. Thus we find exploitation, and lock-outs even in the industry owned and explicitly run by the Government. Intimidations, threats, victimisation, favouring of rival trade union organisations, black-mailing, extraordinary
disciplinary measures, court-proceedings, appealing against the awards of the industrial tribunals and tripartite agreements are but some of the ailments of the public sector industries. This may due to the development of sort of monopoly in the state-owned industries.

The development of corruption as a mechanism during the period of transitional anomic is phenomenal. As a social problem it cannot be rooted out by pious wishes of the sponsors of anti-corruption committees. The operation of corruption at innumerable levels seems well-nigh impossible to root it out. Yet a beginning could be made. In the normative confusion of transition the intensity of corruption is great and it could only be minimised. The more controls and regulations on industry, trade and commerce are imposed there is more likelihood of its enhancement in multiple forms. As the transition eases out by establishing new equilibria or quasi-equilibria there may be an easing out of corruption.

In the post-independent India the linguistic agitation was the most fissiparous of all the agitations that have taken place during this period. A sentiment for the rallying of forces around language as a symbol of communion and integration has been whipped up. Consequently the political demagogue and
the regional caste elites joined hands to gain supremacy in what is known as the slogan of the "children of the soil." This trend could have been averted had the party in power and the Government been vigorous in allocating the resources and planning methods more efficiently and on regional coordination basis. The very idea of linguistic states had developed about 50 years ago, with the demand for the formation of Andhra Pradesh, based on language.

In the thick of independence movement the Congress Party lent its official support for the formation of linguistic states in India. The intervening period was one of mutual suspicion, recriminations and wild agitations. It has started with real, functional problems such as lack of employment to the elites of the region of Andhra in the composite state of Madras. Even before the Simon Commission the then Madras Government had confessed that there was a certain bias against recruiting Andhras, in employment opportunities.37

With the formation of Andhra Pradesh on

37See Marshall Windmiller, LINGUISTIC REGIONALISM IN INDIA, Reprinted from Pacific Affairs, XXVII(4), December 1954, pp.791-318; for a Historical survey of linguistic states' idea from pre-partition days of Bengal to the appointment of States' Reorganisation Commission, with special reference to the formation of Andhra, as a pivotal point.
linguistic basis in 1953, Government of India had appointed a Commission to go into the question of linguistic states' problem in India. Language as a factor of cultural symbol has been transformed into a symbol of emotional goddess to rally round the disparate caste groups in a given region. The instrumental character of communication element has given place to the expressive value of symbol. This advancement also helped due to the certain facility in identifying the regions with different language groups. Thus regionalism as a basis of identification has developed.

38 See Government of India, States Reorganisation Act, (New Delhi: Government of India, 1955) pp. 1-767. This report was expected to go into the general nature of the problem such as economic viability, and so on, and not minute details.

39 Subba Rao suggests that physical regions become identified with cultural regions. See R. Subbarao, "Regions and Regionalism in India," The Economic Weekly, 1(38) September 1958, pp. 1215-1220; with identification of regions with languages and consequently the emotional feelings, there developed a comparison of one region to the other, and one language to the other in terms of superiority and inferiority. Joshi explains such mentality weakens the national feeling in a country where one caste is against other and one language group is against another, C.N. Joshi, "Nationalism and Regionalism in Democratic Society," Poona University Teachers Social Science Seminar, 1957 pp. 1-8, mimeographed. Hereafter referred to as Poona University Seminar; certain regionalism is essential and is not fact functional for the functioning of the larger system. An individual cannot be expected to have loyalty to the larger system of which he is a part for all the
As has been pointed earlier the aspirations of the rising middle class are tied down to the linguistic agitation in India. This could be seen from the fact that the linguistic regions have become springboards for gaining concessions from the Federal Government. The Federal Government too, could not withstand the regional pressures and quite often they had to yield for such local pressures. It is not the question of meaningful distribution of natural resources and industries and employment opportunities, but it is the question of who can bring more pressure on the Central Government, and what concessions it could obtain. The stronger the region the more concessions it could gain from the Centre.

time and for all the situations. See "Regionalism in India," Poona University Seminar, 1957 pp.1-5 unsigned. Thus a strong plea was advocated for the formation of Maharashtra State, dividing the bilingual state of Bombay. See N.A.T. Iyengar, "Regionalism and Maharashtra," Poona University Seminar, 1957 pp.1-11; also see Rohit Tave, "Regionalism in Maharashtra," Poona University Seminar, 1957 pp.1-9. Thus with the formation of linguistic states, the power also shifted to the regions and it has become a bargaining point with the Central Government in terms of allocation of resources, industries and employment opportunities. For this set of problems see Naresh Chandra Roy, "Linguistic State and Indian Unity," FEDERALISM AND LINGUISTIC STATES, (Calcutta: Firma K... Mukhopadhyay, 1962), pp.761-775. This book serves as an excellent source for the comparison of Federal and linguistic states problem in U.S.A., Canada, U.K., and Switzerland.
Apart from this, the idea that by group and caste action one can gain in terms of political, economic and regional advantages, firmly entrenched in the minds of agitators for linguistic states. In the same vein, the Hindi-English controversy as to what should be the union language of India has developed. In the Constitution it has been written down that by 1965 Hindi in Devanagari script shall displace English as official language of India. In the prevailing atmosphere of fighting between regional elites for the supremacy this has come as a threat to the regions which are supposedly identified with its interest of continuing English as the official language of India. Equally is the emphasis laid down in the Hindi region that Hindi and Hindi alone should be the official language of India. The 'children of the soil' slogan has borne its supporters and opponents equally well on both sides.40

40The contention of Hindi opponents is that Hindi region would dominate in future in India. If 14 languages are claimed as national languages of India, Hindi cannot claim a status of supremacy amongst them. See U. Narve, "Hindi vs. English," The Economic Weekly, X(97), March 1958, pp.371-375; as a compromise formula Kan suggests three languages, viz., English, Hindi, Urdu as official languages of India. See H.C. Sen, "The Official Language of the Union," The Economic Weekly, XII(42), October 1957, pp.1359-1367; the same author says that English would be neutral when compared to all the national languages of India, but, whereas Hindi cannot be like that and it has to grow at the expense of other languages, and finally English would serve as a bridge between the different languages, "The Second Official Language," The Economic Weekly, XII(71), July 1963, pp.691-693.
To the Hindi supporters the language has become a new symbol with emotional overtones, and the opposers of Hindi the replacement of English has become a symbol-loss which is equally difficult for them to adjust. The fear that the new elites of the Hindi region would dominate rallied the forces for the retention of English. In its turn the linguistic chauvinism has taken extraordinary strides in dispelling the employees of other states and raising effective barriers for recruitment of people from all parts of India. The official language controversy was the worst controversy which reigned in free India, and which has undermined the unity of India.\textsuperscript{41}

Thus different formulas have been suggested to cross over the language impasse.\textsuperscript{42}

\textsuperscript{41}The religious organizations too joined the fray to reap rich harvest in language turmoil. In fact the castist approach in the linguistic agitation has already been mentioned. Nehru called the entrance of \textit{Arya Samaj} into Hindi controversy as "religious fanaticism." \textit{See The Times of India}, (Bombay Edition), dated 24--6-1957. To this \textit{Arya Samaj} retorted that "Save Hindi Agitation" is cultural movement, \textit{see The Times of India}, (Bombay Edition), dated 20-6-1957. Nehru reiterated his stand that this movement is a rather narrowly communal-minded agitation, \textit{see The Times of India}, (Bombay Edition), dated 17--8-1957. The communal organizations such as Jan Sangh (a party dedicated for the re-establishment of Hindu hegemony in India, bitterly opposed to secularism and the continued stay of Muslim population in India), has joined the fray.

\textsuperscript{42}The Praja Socialist Party has suggested that the Constitution should be so amended to accommodate the
The development of language has a certain emotional overtones in utilizing the resulting situation for instrumental purposes. By the effective manipulation of language symbol one can effectively manipulate the socio-economic factors for his own advantage. This acquiring of advantage intensified the linguistic agitations. In this situation, the question of system-subsystem relationships have come to the fore. If every state can exert pressure on the Centre to gain advantage over the other, the resulting situation is one of lowering of loyalty to the system, that is, nation and country. Exactly the fissiparous tendencies of communalism, casteism, and linguism contributed to this trend of dis-unity.

43 Feelings of the non-Hindi speakers, to give sufficient time to them so that they would be able to cope up with it. See *The Times of India* (Bombay Edition), dated 20-1-1958. H. Jagopalachari advocates the study of three languages, English, Hindi and one regional language to break the language impasse, see *The Times of India* (Bombay Edition), dated 8-1-1958. Inroads were made into the educational system also. The suggestion that Hindi should replace University education medium raised strong opposition. The educational leaders felt that educational standards would fall and through banning of English "window of the world" would be closed. See *The Times of India* (Bombay Edition), dated 31-12-1958. With this language and linguistic controversy the problem of national unity has come to the fore. If English is removed it is suggested that national unity would be jeopardised. See *The Times of India* (Bombay Edition), dated 30-4-1959.

43 The Governor of Bombay appealed against the disruptive tendencies and asked for the maintenance of unity, see *The Times of India* (Bombay Edition), dated 12-11-1958; the interlocking of the aspirations and frustrations of the students with that of the
Thus the integration of the system has been jeopardized with the rise of the forces of disruption. These disruptive forces are disruptive only on the system level. Otherwise they could be treated as action-oriented in terms of the region and the group it involved. The loyalty to the total all-comprehending system is reduced to the minimum and with that the social-distance between the constituting units. Even in the case of improving the national unity also there was no complementarity of interactive pattern. The religious approach stresses the need for moral education and against the rise of technical skills, and rationality. The basic problem is identified: that lack of economic opportunities builds discontent and this discontent is built into social movements help to alleviate the disadvantages. In this process the latent functions come to the fore by reducing the loyalty to the system. If economic rivalry is reduced it is possible to reduce linguistic rivalry too, and the regional loyalties would be replaced by national loyalty or system loyalty. Past history, the problems

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regions and regional loyalties added a new dimension to the linguistic agitation. To avert this Prime Minister exhorted the students that India needs Scientists, Engineers and technical people, and they should concentrate themselves on the studies rather than on parochial movements. See The Times of India, (Bombay Edition), 24-8-1957.
of mobility in social leader, the implementation
of the socialistic pattern of society, the importance
of achievement over ascriptive attitudes, the develop-
ment of rationality, regional balancing of resources
and industries would certainly develop national
loyalty.  

During the period of transitional anomie, the
impingement of two value systems, i.e. one of tradi-
tion and the other of new values bring about a certain
breakdown of normative pattern, causing intensive
disjunction of the structural units. Moreover the
fading and emerging institutional structures cause a
powerful pull on the actors to choose between the
alternatives. These alternatives are related to the
aspirations in terms of the new one and frustrations
in that achievement are brought into systematic
configuration in the form of a social movement. The

4 See for this set of problems of national unity vs.
regionalism C.R. Lashmukhi, "Presidential Address",
REPORT OF SEMINAR ON NATIONAL INTEGRATION, April
16-17, 1958, (New Delhi: University Grants Commiss-
ion, 1961), pp. 3-7. Hereafter referred to as
INTEGRATION SEMINAR; P.R. N. Devanand, "Religious
Aspect of the Problem of Indian Unity," INTEGRATION
Seminar, pp. 32-38; Humayun Kabir, "Problems relat-
ing to Indian Unity: Inaugural Address,"
INTEGRATION SEMINAR, pp. 8-16; Mityanand Kanungo,
"The Problem of Indian Unity: With reference to
Linguistic and Regional Differences," INTEGRATION
SEMINAR, pp. 39-46; for a sociological analysis of
the problem in the larger context of social change
in India, see M. A. Mudgal, "The Nature of the
problem of Indian Unity (Working Paper)," INTE-
GRATION SEMINAR, pp. 20-31.
rise of the social movement causes enormous gaps between expressive sentiments and instrumental actions. If expressive sentiments develop on the regional and parochial scale, it strengthens the regional social structure in instrumental aspects. But at the same time it has its impingement on the larger system, the loyalty which is an expressive action dwindles causing anomie in the normative structure. This inhibits free mobility of actor-units in the system causing hindrances at every level of action. The old or fading structures too influence the course of action. In fact the social movements are the result of rallying round the symbol which is both familiar and well-tried. But this does not stop there. A new symbol may also rise to accentuate the aspirations of that region to intensify the social movement. The enthusiasm of the Hindi-lovers in a case in point. The entire aspirations of the middle class in the Hindi region is inter-twined with the rise of Hindi to official language status. Likewise the fear of loss of symbol rallied round the middle classes of the South to retain English. Thus there is a conflict between the system-subsystem relationships. The balance that exists between these dimensions is lost or disrupted during the transitional anomie period, with action spurs and action constraints. The system weakens as long as this trend continues.
Trends in Traditional Anomie: The Linguistic
movements in Free India are manifestations of the
aspirations and privations of the middle class.
Unknowingly, when a college undergraduate is asking
the Labour Minister, "Why not give all jobs of Bombay
City to the people of the State?" he had by now
understood, or already participated in the dynamics
of the linguistic agitation.

To the aspirations of the educated middle
class, the linguistic movement appeared as a boon
for their ascendancy in the social structure. To
achieve this language sentiment should be whipped up
so that candidates coming from other states could be
eliminated. When once this is accomplished the
struggle begins to develop between the elites of the
same state. In advertisements for posts, the Govern-
ments too fell for the pressure. It is not one of
knowing the language of another state for prospective
employment but the incumbent should also know to read,
write and fluently speak the language. Then only the
possibility for consideration of employment is taken
up. This is an effective bar for people of other

45A few years ago, when the then Bombay Labour
Minister visited a college for an informal get-
together, an undergraduate suggested this, as a
solution to the problem of unemployment.
states to seek employment in a different state, other than their own. The mulki non-mulki movement in Andhra Pradesh for a time was a case in point. Those who lived in the former Nizam districts of Andhra Pradesh (mulki refers to citizenship by birth and not by domicile) get their mulki or birth certificates automatically, at the time of applying for posts. But when Andhra state was formed there was a flood of job-seekers from coastal districts of Andhra Pradesh to the former Nizam districts (the present capital of Andhra Pradesh is situated in one of these districts, viz., Hyderabad). There ensued a bitter fight between the local elites and the intruders. It almost ended in a blood-bath. Thus when once an effective disengagement is achieved from other states, there is a struggle for ascendancy between the regional elites of the same linguistic groups.

The fight of regional elites do not stop there. It truly entered the domain of education. Where there are two or three universities in a particular state the mobility of students and teachers is derailed by effectively raising the regional loyalties. And the Central Government level the same thing...
carried out a much more sophisticated manner. Recruitment of jobs is conducted on the relative strength of the state elites in the Central Government cadres.

Students are asked questions why they seek seats in a University of a different linguistic region. The same trend is evident in the opponents and supporters of Hindi and non-Hindi controversy. Concomitantly with these problems rise a set of stereotypes and myths to support their viewpoints.

46 It is almost a known fact in private circles, in a particular Central Government department, that the recruitment to jobs is done on linguistic basis. This department is known for the dominance of particular linguistic group at the higher echelons. The modus vivendi of recruitment in this is that candidates are advised what seats are going to be vacant in the next five years and what qualifications are required to fill them and accordingly advised to train themselves in a fashion of anticipatory socialization. Let in other instances the dominant linguistic groups write to their kith and kin to apply for the posts which are going to be vacant in their departments and when once the applications are received they would look into the matter and finalize their entry into the department. Examples are galore in this connection. It is a quite common experience, that qualifications required for a post is of minor importance, than for the person concerned (importance of quality over performance). Consequently, the post is not advertised if a "group-member" is not available and if available, his qualifications are asked for in the advertisement for the posts and not the job requirements. In the interviews other efficient candidates are eliminated by silliest of reasons.
Apart from the North and South differences in stereotypes\textsuperscript{47}, even in the same state these are being used to sustain legality of their pre-eminence on in a region. Even now, coastal people are referred to as Madrasis in the Telangana region of Andhra Pradesh\textsuperscript{48}. The superiority of one language over another language is only one aspect of the middle-class pride, often ending in a note of north-south differences, and even in terms of colour and stature. Whenever inter-state bickerings developed it were the middle-classes who were in the background.

\textsuperscript{47}Typical of one of the stereotypes used by an undergraduate student in a social work camp for DDT spraying in villages is,

\begin{verbatim}
    Why, all the way, Madrasi tramp Joined our beautiful .... camp?
\end{verbatim}

in one of the camp functions. The dotted portion represents the linguistic region of the parodist.

\textsuperscript{48}Each linguistic region has its own set of stereotypes not only on different linguistic regions but also on the constituting castes of the same region. They abound in number. See some of the stereotypes given by Bube:

\begin{itemize}
    \item \textbf{Brahmin}: "pious from outside, but not so at heart" "tricky and calculating"
    \item \textbf{Koti} : (Trading caste): "born coward, but, a shrewd business man." "Gods don't penalise Koti for telling lies, he is born to do that".
    \item \textbf{Kapu} : (Agricultural caste): "They are hard working people faithfully attached to the soil."
\end{itemize}

The linguistic schisms developed with lack of employment in educated middle class youths, and also the domination of other elites over local elites in urban centres. But its manifestations and ramifications in other parts of social structure are evident. The development of linguistic stereotypes is a case in point. This helps effectively barring the other linguistic groups. On the other side of the coin there is western impact of ideas, ideologies, technologies and fashions and fads on the middle class. They were the recipients since they were the most educated when compared with the rest of the backward classes. Especially the urban centres could not but fall easily to the invigorating influences of the western culture. The impact is total, and the consequent anomie is gigantic. The gap of the rural-urban dimensions is still widening. The disjointed clusters are visible and the total situation is wisely annotated as

Our personalities are also caricatures. This man represents an obscure British left-wing diplomat while that man represents in his person the self-righteous usurer still at large in the Indian countryside. That writer imitates Burrel while this one has only got on to Hemingway. The cinema is one of the biggest caricatures—of Hollywood, of all places. Our own film stars, painfully trying to be mistaken

49 See FIRST FIVE YEAR PLAN, pp.30-31.
50 Free Thinking (Editorial), Shankar's Weekly, IV(16), 2nd September 1967, p.3.
for Cary Grant or Marlon Brando, and our actresses constantly in jeans and shirtwaists looking for all the world like Shirley MacLaine gone to pot, have an extraordinarily crummy effect. Our sports stars, true to tradition, allow one gold medal to go to their heads and mark the loss of the hockey championship with floods of self-piteous tears. The Universities are perhaps the worst parodists of all because here the parody takes grotesque forms and, being leavened with respectability, erodes sense and sensibility. The professors who pretend to be dons are only frustrated men living on a pittance and envying everybody else. The students, if they are rich, will kid themselves into believing that they are American students of the movies, and dress and act with the proper abulient inanity. The girls, perr and mincing, are all Audrey Hepburns and are burning with a romantic intensity which dies instantly when they are about to get married off by the family. Even our unconventional types are parodies. The long-haired poet is not projecting an attitude but merely advertising that he has not been able to touch anyone for a hair-cut. We can have no Rimbauds running off from school and reciting poetry to sips of absinthe because what we learn in school is not enough to provide guts to run away and our absinthe is in all probability illicit hooch. The thoughtful painter is not wondering about his next master-piece but how to go on a scholarship abroad."

The long and extraordinary passage represents the cross-currents and teething problems of the pace-setting urban-elites, who are in turn members of the middle-class. The culprit is not only the western culture but to an extent the industrial set-up of the country also. Goods are produced more for the whims of the urban people and high pressure selling tactics are employed through advertisements. Soaps, clothes and a variety of goods are forced on these folks who
their way into urban middle-classes. Even a moment of rest is not allowed for those folks, especially vulnerable and susceptible middle-class wives. These seething and never resting folks are the models for the status-seekers. Thus a "good-owning" and "goods-crazy" urban middle-class is in the offing.

In this milieu of transitional anomie, viz., the failure of old structures and the absence of competent and viable new structures what is happening to the values of Karma as fatalism. From the rural-urban migration it has been found that the rural immigrant to urban life is living in filthy and sprawling chawls where even minimum sanitary conditions are absent, the immigrant is becoming more despondent and fatalistic. Apart from this situation, from the overall point of view, the theory of Karma is on the decline. When the Panchayati Board president is a man from the high caste, rich and influential person, the low castes do not treat him that he has a birth right, with charisma in him to rule the village politics. The under-dog surely is attributing this to the clear manipulation and foul-play of the vested interests. He knows clearly well that the vested interests utilized the new norms and institutions for their own advantage and they cannot.
claim God-ordained right to rule and exploit them. Or when a middle class man is utilizing the kingly influences to get a job or to rise in the social ladder, he does not base his judgement on the nature of the nature of his birth or past actions, but effectively basing his value on achievement, he utilizes kin relations cunningly to rise in the social ladder. And when the vested interests are questioned that how they have occupied the new institutions, they too would not take solace of their supremacy of birth or charisma or past actions but they would at least ritualistically emphasize the role of education, democracy and universal franchise. Thus we find the apparent paradoxical situations such as where institutionally universalism and performance are stressed but actually particularism and quality variables are utilized. In these situations of transitional anomie, the underdog or the ruler do not make recourse to tradition but utilize effectively the mobility channels of his caste, political awareness, and economic factors. Thus a sort of secular and rational explanations have been coming into vogue, either to defend the already held positions or positions which are to be acquired in future. If upper classes utilize rational factors such as education, political power and economic factors to help
consolidate their position, the low-classes too utilize at least their political solidarity (through adult universal franchise) to effect changes in their mobility channels. In this connection caste solidarity helps to maintain a modicum of unity to effect action. This itself shows that no more than karma as the result of past actions is considered. They attribute their failure or success to earthy actions which are happening just now. Thus we hear the explanations how a particular man attained wealth, or political power through what underhand means, or through what type of corruption. This is an awareness of first magnitude of the differential results of transitional anomie.

Resume: During the period of rapid social change the cultural structure of cultural values exert pressure on social structure. This acts as structural spur for actors to change rapidly from one structure to the other. The period of structural change from one structure to another is designated as a period of transitional anomie. The influence of old structure is not yet gone and the values of the new structures are not yet internalized for action continuation. The pressures of this change from one structure to the other are manifold. In one it may act as action spur and in another it may act as action-constraint.
In this structural change, the aspirations of the rising elite are tied to the social movements which develop in this period. The problem of linguistic and language controversy is a case in point. As the social movement ascends the regional elites assert themselves for grabbing the products of the new system. This realignment of forces on regional and parochial basis, reduces the system integration or loyalty to the system. Hence the mobility is barred for the role incumbents due to the presence of innumerable boundaries at every level. Although one structural unit stresses 'achievement' as an aspect of mobility, in practice it may be utilized as an ascriptive aspect for the mobility of elite. The frustrations of the younger generation are linked with the problems of the society at large. The aspiration-frustration balance is aligned with the social movements of the day. The process of socialization is itself as an aspect of transitional anomie. The understanding that there are structural blocks for ascendancy in the society, produces blockage and tension in the socializee. This tension builds up at a faster rate with every incidental failure, which could be utilized by any political demagogue who can manipulate symbols at emotional level.

The influence of corruption and graft as mechanisms of social mobility has already been mentioned.
These mechanisms help to pay lip-sympathy to institutional norms by getting acceptance through under-hand means. The pattern variables which have been mentioned earlier help to understand the action orientations of the actors in this situation. One knows nominally there are public and private sectors which are distinguishable from the point of view of normative orientations. But in action one could easily see that it is quite possible that public sector works as a handmaid of private sector to earn profits. The heavy industry or capital goods industry is in the hands of the Government. These goods are supplied to the private industry at the expense of the public exchequer, thus helping the private sector to earn easy profits. This tendency may not be completely unavoidable during the period of transition and mixed economy situations. Nevertheless the possibility of public sector being a handmaid of the private sector could not be ruled out. From the nature of the vested interests it has been found out that when once they enter the field and entrench themselves in the positions of commanding it would well- neigh be impossible to remove them. The trend has an effect on long range problems. Thus institutional involvement alone cannot get an adequate clue how an actor's motivation works or how and what mechanisms have been utilized in order to reach the structural position.