Man's yesterday may ne'er be like his morrow;
Naught may endure but mutability
Mutability I: Shelly
CHAPTER XI

THE PROCESS OF SOCIAL CHANGE IN INDIA

In the beginning we mentioned that the piecemeal studies of village studies and rural-urban migrations will not give a real picture of the nature of social change in India. With this intention we decided to undertake the study of Social Change in India in its wider and historical perspectives. For this purpose we have decided to utilize the structural-functional methodology to study the systemic nature of social change. The action frame of reference has been used as a theoretical model as developed by Parsons. In a word it could be said as a theory-oriented approach for the study of social change in India. With this aim in mind we put the question what is it that is changing in India? and what is the nature of social change in India?

To know what is changing we described systematically the traditional Indian social structure with its philosophical groundings and orientations. Taking *dharma* as a central concept we related it to the four-fold system of castes, with definite hierarchy and functional significance, and their interdependence and boundary-maintenance. From the nature of constitution of universe to the normative order of caste system we have shown the continuity of *dharma* concept, at its institutional and personality level
significances. From the nature of pre-occupation of
a Hindu toward moksha or salvation, it is often said that
the Hindu social structure is rigid and its central aim
is individual salvation. But by evidence we found that
even if it were to be said that Hindu social system’s
central ethos seems to be preoccupation of salvation,
nevertheless, there were systems of philosophy who opposed
the concept of moksha and who established materialistic
interpretation of society. From this we gained ground to
show that Hindu social system was never stable or un-
changing but it has been changing all through the history--
in different phases and at different rates. To know this
continuity we explored the changes from historical times
to the modern times. From this we found that Hindu social
system has not only been changing but also provided the
basic concept of dharma to absorb changes and to initiate
changes depending upon the circumstances. Two factors
seemed to have decided this course! One is that of the
threat of external aggression and domination and the
second is that of keeping the social order loose so that
it could absorb changes without undergoing fundamental
changes in the central ethos. This has been strengthened
by two institutions, viz., the village and panchayat
systems. The village as a unit of community action has
helped to define the conduct of behaviour for the community as a whole, placing the emphasis on inter-caste behaviour. The castes are left to themselves internally. The caste panchayat has administered the justice according to the norms of its own group. Thus village organization and panchayats have worked as bulwarks against foreign invasions and dominations.

With the advent of British the Indian social system began to change in myriad ways. Firstly the economic structure has been affected by the import of British goods. Secondly machinery was also imported—thus driving out the native artisan out of his livelihood. A system of central government has been foisted and the laws have been centrally enacted. The rumblings of nationalistic spirit began to develop in towns due to the discrimination practised by the British in terms of recruitment for jobs, etc. With the advent of machinery and industry there developed a town-based middle class along with the proletariat. For the first time in history, classes emerged as distinct from castes. The development of nationalism and the onset of Second World War finally helped to wrest freedom from the British colonial rule.

When the country attained freedom, the international
social systems were divided into two camps opposed to each other in a deadly combat. The western philosophical thought has broadly influenced the middle class who lead the liberation movements. This liberal philosophy which was inherited from the West made the Indian leaders to rethink over their social structure. This re-evaluation of the cultural heredity led them on to the path of economic development and industrialization. This preoccupation for economic regeneration helped to arrive at a foreign policy of neutrality as far as trans-systemic relations are concerned. With the description of foreign policy of India, we completed the general framework of the range and breadth of social change one has to study to have a clear picture, i.e., the proper placing of Indian social change in its trans-systemic milieu. After giving the coordinates of the range of factors involved in the study, we turned our attention to the nature of social change in India.

The Indian state has adopted secularism and welfarism as cornerstones of Indian Constitution. By these concepts an attempt was made to change the social system from one pattern of caste society to another pattern of secular and welfare society. What are the processes involved in this pattern change?
Planning and economic development have been used as processes to affect the changes in the social structure. When planning was adopted as a method of bringing about changes, it was also understood that planning is a comprehensive process, and that amongst alternative methods, democratic planning has been selected. In this broad framework of change, industrialization and urbanization have been employed as initiators of change of populations and technologies. It is also realized that economic development is not a process by itself, but it involves the entire framework of the society in all its aspects. The cultural values, the influence of tradition, the nature of import of technologies and ideologies from the West, the international climate, the nature of enforcing authority, the influence of tradition, the nature of raw materials and resources, etc. all have had their say.

Comparatively speaking, the Indian national income and per capita income were the lowest in the world. In order to catch up with the rest of the world, planning and central decision-making are created to bring in systematic changes. The plans have been divided into five year plans with definite targets for them to fulfill and the targets being subdivided into smaller objectives and aims within the given plan. In order to develop the national income in a period of 25 to 30 years have been taken as a minimum
referent-to double the national income. With this clear-cut objective in view, the plans are formulated.

In the nature of the case, we have described the social change in India as that of building of institutional framework at social structure level. This consisted of building community development agencies in rural life and dividing and clearly formulating the objectives of the private and public sectors in industrial sector. When this structural change in all aspects of life was called for, socialistic pattern of society as an ideology and as a goal of Indian society has been formulated as guidelines for action with the advent of the Second Plan.

In the community development projects the development of rural life in all its aspects was attempted. So land reforms, social education, opening up of communications, introduction of superior equipment for agricultural production, propaganda to adopt new values, etc., have been undertaken. New roles such as the creation of VLM is undertaken. The VLM is the last official in the hierarchy of officials. The Caste panchayats have been transformed into statutory panchayats with certain amount of planning at their disposal to effect changes in the rural social structure, under the overall plan targets as formulated at the centre. Cooperative organizations have been developed
to organise rural credit as well as the distribution of agricultural produce and equipment. If Indian social change could be described as economic development through institutional change, what are its effects on social structure?

In spite of contrary protestations, the plans are formulated from the top, even though here and there the local needs have been taken into consideration. What are the implications of this tendency in Indian planning?

The adoption of new value system such as socialistic pattern of society, has had its effect on the nature of expectations of the people. Sometimes we found that these expectations overflow as we have seen in the community development projects where the limitations of staff and the budgetary provisions were inadequate to meet the newly generated needs. Despite this, in general, it is the building up of structural framework by the Government that is setting up the pace for the change. In this we find two distinct trends, one is of building up of new framework and the other is of motivational orientations of the people who mediate in these new structural arrangements. When we delineated the two fundamental aspects of change, such as the motivations and institutional framework, we encountered the nature of effect on social structure these new development plans have made. For this we turned to the study of
social structure in its stratification aspect, especially the formation of elites and from them the formation of vested interests.

We have seen that social structure is in continuous from rural village to the urban city, from village panchayat to the Central Government at national level. This continuum has a significance for the study of the formation of the elites. We noted that the initial opposition to change had come from the traditional elites who are entrenched in places of power and backed by the theories of Karma and transmigration of souls. In order to make a distinction, we divided the elites into two parts such as, traditional elites and secular elites. After dividing them we followed the process of their formation, integration and change at different levels. The elites being the advanced elements in the social structure were in a position to absorb the fruits of change, such as carving out the power in the new panchayats, utilizing the cooperatives to their advantages, thwarting the land reforms, and reaping rich harvests from development plans and utilization of advanced methods of agriculture. Again in urban places too the industry is monopolised by certain trading castes, and classes. Side by side with the presence of traditional elite there also appears secular elites who are distinguished from the
traditional elite by their performance criteria as opposed to descriptive criteria. The educational plans, industrial development, opening up of new resources etc., have created this elite. Fundamentally this may be alluded to the changes from one of expressive to instrumental orientations. But a stage reaches where further mobility is debared due to rigidification. The rigidification is related to the formation of class. This class has been identified as middle class.

As a general problem of social structure, social mobility assumes an important place in social change. Often the involvement of family as a unit of social structure, curtails this aspect of mobility. It was also shown that the rigidification of elites were also due to the entry of family as a unit of social mobility. In the industrial sector where high performance and initiative are required it is often the family member who controls the business organization, rather than the expert who is competent enough to do that. Due to the intrusion of family into the situation of industry, it is often said the elite circulation is stopped amongst strata.

As planning is a rational method, it excludes certain action-orientations from alternatives. The elimination has some significance about the motivational orienta-
tions of the strata affected. This is to say the
gratificational aspect of certain strata is affected.
Then such frustrations were channelised into an ideology
we saw the birth of parties like Swatantra Party which is
opposed to the planning and rapid industrialization under
national management, lock, stock and barrel. What is the
result of the presence of old and new structures and old
and new values as orientations for action?

We conceived the concept of transitional anomie,
referring to that aspect of social change wherein the
presence of old and new structures and, old and new values
are present. With the presence of alternative values and
structures, they create problems to the action orienta-
tions of the actor. This period is a period of transition
for old and new in terms of structures and values. In
this period the actors' motivations are neither completely
changed towards the new structures nor the motivations of
yore completely left. We described the rural-urban move-
ment of populations, the generation of conflicting motiva-
tions and aspirations in the family under the influence of
rural and urban social structures, the effect on the
socializers, especially the students and their anomie, the
presence of new empty institutions with motivations of the
old structures, the development of social movements
relating to the aspirations of the minority groups and vested interest groups, the formation of regional loyalties, the casteization of politics, structural constraints against rising aspirations, etc., in terms of the concept of transitional anomie. Finally, the problem of system integration is also discussed under the purview of this concept.

The charismatic movements stand as special cases in the processes of social change. In India, the charismatic movement of land gifts has imbibed the symbolic meanings of the tradition and effectively used it to awaken the Hindu social system. Although the movement has failed in terms of its earthly objectives of donating the land in a given period, nevertheless, its impact could be seen in the realm of latent functions to the larger social change. They are: charismatic movement has acted as a Hindu Renaissance movement making the Hindu social structure amenable to an extent for change by altering the symbolic level meaning of tradition; it has successfully focused the attention of the importance of land reforms during the period of social change; on the whole it aimed at the need for social change to improve the lot of the underdog. By its value orientations it has synthesized the western values and the eastern values. This is a contribution to the change.

In order to describe the myriad aspects of change,
we adopt the functional model of A, C, I, L as a referent. The cells are related to the economy, polity, social structure, and value-orientations respectively. The very nature of planning led to the systemic relation of these four factors has been made clear. It is understood that changes in one system always produce changes which are corresponding in other systems also. To begin with, our methodological posture itself has posited the systemic nature of society and consequently the nature of social change. It is not simply affecting or bringing in changes in the structure of economy by administrative fiat, but the new arrangements require a new orientation in ways of life, behaviour and values, and consequently the family, and the entire web of social relationships are affected. This very systemic nature of things have prompted us to find out the social change in all its aspects. With this theoretical postulate, when we begin our enquiry, we found that the changes are not smooth in all the aspects of the model. For example it was found that in industry the output could be raised and consequently the national income and investment per capita ratio could be increased considerably. The same cannot be said of the social structure. The social structure remained as it was more or less without significant alterations in its stratification aspects. But the same cannot be said of the polity or the decision-making cell.
The castes have polarized in the politics en masse to gain their respective economic interests with the help of political activity. Such an activity has been described as the development of dominant caste in terms of political and economic status. Again in the urban setup, the control of industry has been described in terms of private interest. Because of the central importance of the decision-making the rush towards this seems to be natural by all elements. The often destructive criticism directed by the opposition party could be seen in this direction. By winning the seats in the Government running, one could plan things according to one's own or group's interest. The development of conservative political party opposing planned change is a significant case in point. The value structure is little changed in view of the above. But one thing is certain! The theories of Karma have been discarded to explain the failure in this life but it is actively associated with or alluded to the vested interests who dominated the scene. As far as this value orientation is concerned there seems to be a complete re-orientation since the lower castes effectively used their newly-won adult franchise to wrest concessions and advantages from the dominant castes. The formation, on caste lines to wrest political control, have had a salutary effect on the value-orientations. That is, the awareness to improve one's lot within one's own lifetime only rather than in the succeeding births.
From the nature of our employing of theoretical framework and the methodological orientations, it could be stated understandably that what is happening in India in the name of social change is building up of new institutional structures along with the old structures. This building of new structures is referred to here as "structural accretion." This has consequences for the motivational problem of order which is core order for the social system to survive as a distinct body.

From the nature of theoretical model we utilized above, we could trace the problems of change, overlapping, and other incidental location of variables was possible. If changes are initiated in one structure and there is likelihood of changes in other structures correspondingly. We know from this model if the changes do not occur in social structure corresponding to the changes in economy and polity, then there is the development of vested interests who utilize the new developments for their own benefit. Where structural changes are initiated and where there are no corresponding motivations then there is transitional anomie which is a continuous process till new institutional norms are internalized. We also know from the model that how in agriculture the improvement was thwarted due to the
social-structural features, i.e., the emphasis of quality rather than performance. In industry where performance is generally stressed rather than quality, it was found the industrial output had risen to new heights. This is a difference between planning with rational methods, and irrational utilization of land and resources in the agricultural setup. The model, from the nature of Indian social change, suggests the nature of transitional anomie referring to the presence of old and new values, and old and new structures.

From the method of transmitting plans from top to the bottom, it was found that there was communication breakdown between the elites and the rest of the populations. The breakdown of communication is also an aspect of transitional anomie.

Theoretical Implications and Perspectives: The process of change has already been explained in terms of the theoretical model with fourfold constituent structures. These structures are related to the value-orientations, social structure, polity and economy. With the help of the theoretical model the interaction of these structures has been analysed. The process of social change in India is referred to here as institutional change which is directed
by the government. From the nature of the social change in India (specifically institutional change), what are its implications for the theory and the perspectives which we could utilize for the onward development of the rigorous theoretical framework? A few points are suggested here strictly within the framework of the study and the variables which are taken into consideration.

The changes are attempted through democratic and orderly development which is distinct from a revolutionary or totalitarian situation. By the planned development, new structures are created, innovations and new objects—physical, social and cultural—are introduced into the already existing situation. That is new institutional structures are built side by side with the old institutional framework. Although the value-orientations of the old structures are questioned with the new values, fundamentally there is no redefinition or reallocation of the objects, such as possessions, rights, ownerships to facilities and rewards, etc. The facilities and reward systems, rights and possessions are nothing but the aspects of social stratification which is a part of the social structure. By change in the value system we meant that there is a change in the orientations without
rearranging the stratification system according to the new definitions. That means there is change in the orientations of the situation and not the situation itself per se. From this point of view, the distinction between democratic setup and a totalitarian setup is evident. Generally we find in totalitarian or revolutionary situations, the complete reorientations of the stratification systems are attempted. Whereas in the democratic setup orientations for new action are suggested without completely reorganizing the situation i.e., the stratification system. Nevertheless, one point must be borne in mind. That is, the stratification system is not altogether left in its stable equilibrium but new legislative measures will try to restrict the acquisition and disposal of objects which are either physical or social, which in turn produce strains and stresses.

In the actor-situation complex the planned development attempts to introduce new objects, facilities, ideologies etc. What are the actor's orientations to the new structures created by the planned development? Since the alteration has not been fully redefined, it would open up two alternatives, such as either to opt for the new or to stick to the existing framework. If there is orientation toward the structure, it creates the problems of reorienting the symbolic level meaning of the objects which is
rather difficult in the presence of the old structure. Also, act-based mediation is possible in the new structure without involving in the expressive actions for the new structures. This eliminates the internalization of the new values with the need-dispositions of the personality. This in its turn is dependent upon the nature of the mechanisms in the form of social education, the intensity of the changes, the nature of the group structure and its authority patterns, the nature of the alienation in the group situation and the dissipation of new values, industrialization and urbanization and so on. The intensity of these mechanisms impinges on the actor's orientational aspect and this, in turn, defines the nature and direction of change.

What is the nature of the "motivational problem of order" in this situation? This is defined as the commitment of sufficient number of actors toward the system-goals for a system to be a system. From the nature of the creation of the new structures, the actor's orientations are split mainly into two directions, either to opt for this or that. Thus the actor's motivational orientations are affected. Cognitively he may perceive the new structures but cathetically he may not wish to commit himself because of his evaluative commitment to the old structure. The proliferation of the actor's motivational orientations has repercussions for the system.
In India changes are planned at the system level and are pushed downward to the unit level, in terms of targets and objectives. Moreover systemic priorities have decided the goals and directions of change. As the system goals are transmitted to the unit level in terms of targets, the actor is oriented toward fulfilling the target as a disparate act or will not at all comprehend it emotionally. This is exactly the reason why there is a breakdown of the communication between the system goal and the unit goal. The VLM is specifically entrusted with the task of keeping alive the system goal in terms of the unit goal as a target. The failure in part is due to absence of the system as an object in the actor-situation complex. Not only that, but it is also due to the stratification which is unchanged, consequently blocking the symbol formation as far as the system is concerned.

For a theoretical analysis of the type of social change in India, it appears, there is a necessity for the postulation of a "supersystem" consisting of all the subsystems given in a system. In the absence of better term it is conceived as "supersystem" as a logical necessity like "class of classes" which includes the entire nation or national system.

Parsons has used the concept of system extensively
at many levels of which "ego-integrative," "system integrative," "territoriality," "force," and "larger social system" are but some of them. From the nature of the social change that is taking place in India, it appears, there is a necessity to have a concept which could engulf all the systems or subsystems in a larger system. This system is conceived here as "supersystem," which includes the entire nation, since the changes that are planned are on the national scale. As we have said earlier, the failure of communication is due to the absence of such an element in actor-situation complex. If the communication is complete and full, it should be surmised that the national goals has become part and parcel of the actor-situation complex at the minimal level. This may be done on a symbolic level such as commitment to the system as a value by itself. In religion not only God is conceived as an independent entity which is above all everything, but also it has been put into the actor's situation as an element for normative orientations. Such a concept is also necessary for the developing nations to bring in effective changes. This concept automatically becomes a part of actor's situation in times of revolution, crisis, war, pestilence etc. The presence of such an object in the actor-situation accounts for the intensity of the communication and the integration of the system goal and the
unit goal which is very important in changing national systems.

The charismatic movement has had its own 'super-system' concept. If the changes are rapid it creates its own ethos or supersystem gathering the receding tradition on symbolic level. Its supersystem elements require it to transfer all the actions and orientations towards God. But by the very nature of the reality of the causal relationships of the objects in terms of stratification, it makes compromises synthesizing the old and the new. Although this might establish new quasi-equilibrium, this change might not be permanent because of its symbolic association with the past. To cite an example, one could refer to the nature of the charismatic movement in India. This movement defines that the castes are not made in a hierarchy and in the eyes of God all castes are equal. So far so good. This is also equivalent to the conception of the socialistic pattern of society, which calls all human beings as equal. This rational principle is an outcome of the postulate that all stratification is man-made. But in the case of the charismatic movement it accepts the principle that God has created the castes, and the hierarchy as man-made. Because of this symbolic association to the traditional explanation, it cannot effectively change the
stratification principle, whatever may be the intensity of the appeal or condemnation. Even in the case of land, although it accepted that all land belongs to the God and consequently no one can own it, it faced the similar situation as in the case of stratification. The presence of a charismatic movement during social change presents an alternative focus of supersystem. This whittles down the social changes planned through rational methods.

However, the importance of the charismatic movement cannot be ignored, in the larger context of the changing social system, which always brings synthesis. Another opposing viewpoint ordinarily developed by the charismatic movement is "tradition." A situation develops where tradition becomes everything in warding off the new changes.

With the presence of alternative structures and institutions what would be the nature of the actor's orientations? We know the conceptual tool of pattern-variables always suggests the actor's orientations. Given alternative structures what would happen to the actor's orientations to action. By the very nature of their conceptual postulations, they could be operated at several levels. Again to borrow back our minimal unit of actor-situation complex, we could say that an actor may not choose only one set of the pattern-variables as his guide.
for action. There may be several levels at which he could evaluate to choose. Suppose there is a social object in the given situation. He could (to say hypothetically) choose universalism, affectivity, quality, and diffuseness. Likewise he may decide his action-orientations for each object in a given situation. It is not done in such a simplified and logical manner as is often supposed to be, in the study of models. In the case of the presence of multiple structures this is all the more complicated and the incongruities in the selection of these dilemmas constitute a case of anomies—either acute or otherwise. The differential criteria for choosing the dilemma in a situation may be christened as "levels of leverage," meaning the levels one can put to use of the pattern-variables.

What is the nature of social change in the presence of alternative structures and divided motivations of the actors? From the nature of social change one could conclude, that there is a "structural accretion," as a first step toward structural differentiation. As the changes are introduced through new structures rather than the outcome of the changes in the old structures, roughly it could be suggested that social change in India is the reversal of the process of the sequence of change as given by Smelser. Simply Smelser's seven steps are reversed in the case of
institutional change. Smelser begins with the idea of strain in the given social structure and methodically traces the sequences wherein the new values are internalized, and, institutionalized at the society level, as a last or seventh step. But in the case of the Indian social change, firstly the institutional framework is supplied by the state and other mechanisms are utilized to build this change into the actor-situation complex. Through ideally it is suggested that Smelser's steps are inverted in India, nevertheless, there is an awareness of the dissatisfactions in the actor-situation complex while formulating the institutional framework. Thus it appears that "structural-accretion," is also a form of social change, comparable to the first step of Smelser's toward structural change. If this were to be accepted, one could say that Smelser's problem is one of building up of institutional framework and whereas in the case of "structural-accretion," it is the question of activating the motivations of the actors towards the new institutional framework. Thus we find in structural-accretion side by side, cooperative farming and private farming, public sector and private sector, old stratification in terms of ascription and new stratification in terms of achieved status by factors such as education, political affinities, and economic
status, socialistic ideologies and karma theory, etc.

From this theoretical viewpoint, what are the implications? With divided motivations and structural accretion, it appears, transitional anomie seems to be a permanent affair. The intensity and range would be changing according to the rate of structural accretion and the capacity of socializing mechanisms to build or internalize them into the actor's normative patterns. One could easily follow up the different phases of the transitional anomie. This reflects back upon the decision-making apparatus of the government. In this process, before anything could materialize several structures will have been created and still several will have gone out of existence.

Action Orientations for Policy Formulations: From the light of above theoretical observations, what are the implications for the policy-making? From the nature of the democratic setup it is obvious that there are limitations for bringing in changes at a given interval. But the democratic process has some implications for the entire social system. Because of the divided motivations and structural accretion, the motivational problem of order creates problems to the integration of the system unity, in short intervals. So, in order to keep the system as a
'going concern' the federal government needs to have certain powers to keep the system intact. From the present understanding of the nature of social change in India, it appears, this feature might become a permanent affair. The assumption of wider powers, by the Home Ministry, such as dispersal of crowds by the use of Air Force, Land Forces and Navy, rules for the declaration of emergency of any service as essential service, arrest without warrant, etc. come under this category. As the federal government assumes more powers of this nature, there is bound to be opposition from other political parties. But who are the people to decide which is the system-integrative and which is not? Obviously, the Government!

Again in the nature of the democratic process, it all depends on the elites who are in the positions of power. We have already seen how the 'elites' are self-puppetizing and boundary-maintaining elements in the chapter on Vested Interests. The opposition also grows with the crystallization of elites at the top. To ward off threat to their pre-eminent position, the elites have to devise ways and means to soften them up. This will have repercussions on two levels: one within the system and the other on trans-systemic influences. From the nature of the social change and economic planning, it is evident that the five year plans are heavily
dependent on the trans-systemic borrowings. These borrowings have an effect on the elites and also on trans-systemic relations. If the borrowings are too heavy and the national system is too much dependent on other systems—from the international power gambling—it is also certain the other systems influence the nature of social change within the system, i.e., by withholding or by liberally injecting the required credits. This all depends on the nature of elites ruling the roost. If the elites are too much dependent on the foreign borrowings, the other systems gain hold on the policy making, if the elites try to raise internal resources, there will be opposition from within. A golden mean should be struck out by acrobatic feats in the trans-systemic orientations. So the golden mean should be one of raising minimum opposition from within and borrowings from others without allowing their hold on the social change within the system. From the nature of the power blocks, the crystallization of opposition will also take two sides corresponding to the two prevailing social system types. What is the way out of this vicious circle?

Side by side with the processes of structural accretion, the mechanisms of socialization should also be stepped up so that they could be built into the actors' orientations. Education, economic planning, opening up of communications,
bringing under plow vast barren lands will have a salutary effect on the motivational levels. The principles of secular state and welfare state should be scrupulously observed. This is to say that the channels of mobility and the universalization of recruitment criteria based on achievement must be emphasized. The blockage on this mobility will have effects on the system in its turn. From this point of view it is quite clear that the system-viewpoint and unit-viewpoint should have a bearing on each other.

From the nature of the ruling elites, the system is committed to the welfare and improvement of the people. Exactly this has a bearing on the social change. In order this may bear fruit, the supersystem concept should be fully utilized. The actor's orientations and normative patterns have a bearing on the supersystem. This will have to be emphasized in all its aspects in all action situations. The farmer should be told that his efforts to increase the output will be appreciated very much elsewhere in the country and also his production will help others to produce goods for his use. Likewise the industrial worker and the elites should be told that their action will have bearing on other parts such as the farmer. Although the recognition of national development was noted in the government's plans, it was not properly emphasized. Normally the VLN is said to be an agent of the system, but he was too much imbued with the
intricacies of the rural social structure and he lost his moorings. This is also due to the rigidity of the rural social structure. Even in the urban industrial set up too, an apathy prevails such as "what do I lose, ... Government loses, A". All this is due to the absence of commitment to the supersystem. But it has its black side also, such as too much concentration of power, victimisation etc.

A specific aspect of social change in India is one of nationbuilding which was not there formerly. To bring it under uniform laws and to develop the different economic, social and cultural regions into a systematic whole is a part and parcel of social change planners. This postulate has been assumed by the planners when the plans are formulated and policy decisions are made—however imperfect they may be. The question of having an official language for the entire nation is a part of the social change. In this connection also, the importance of "supersystem" could not be minimized. This concept seems to have validity for all those underdeveloped countries especially for those who have just liberated themselves from the colonial rule. One of the factors for such liberation movement seems to be the bedrock of nationalistic spirit. This spirit should be converted into a symbolic object and built into the actors' orientations in post-independence economic and social development.
Epilogue: Due to certain looseness of the structure and multiplicity of action-orientations, the Hindu social structure is amenable to change in certain lines. It has got the capacity to absorb the changes on a tell-tale level without undergoing the structural differentiation. All through the historical times this type of plasticity has been evident, according to the gravity of the situation, viz., conquest or domination by a foreign power. But in the modern times, new technological forces have been unleashed which are impinging on the structural units such as roles and collectivities. The intensity of the impact and the resulting transitional anomie are determining factors in evolving new structural relationships. The caste system as one of the main planks of the Hindu social structure is undergoing myriad changes, here withdrawing and there working in its naked form, here as a boundary-maintaining mechanism and there as a structural spur for action and so on. Although in Indian Sociology certain overly concern has been placed upon caste, nevertheless, other changes are coming towards rationality, planning and economic development. Any role-incumbent must belong to one or the other castes, but the deciding factors should be one of universalism or collectivity-orientation and so on, but not the birth mark by virtue of his biological accident. Every person, in the nature of the case,
in India, should belong to one or the other caste but the
deciding factor should be how a particular role-incumbent
is filled into the present structural position. That should
be the testing ground.

Apart from this internal transitional anomic situa-
tion, the transsystemic influences are highly influential
in determining the course of economic development. The
stability of international peace, the development of inter-
national cooperative organizations will have a say in the
economic development of the country. This situation mediates
through the ideologies of the elites which are at the helm of
affairs. This is evident from the nature of the constitution
of elites in the social structure. Although there is a cer-
tain communication break-down between elites and the rest
of the structural units, the new elites are vigorous and
there is every possibility of their forming into vested
interest groups. Moreover, this elite recruitment is made
from the upper castes and classes, which are in times of
transition vulnerable for giving stay-put to the economic
development and distributing the product of such an activity
to the rest of the society. Already there is evidence for
such a trend wherein the elites are rigidifying themselves
into vested interests, in industry and agriculture.

The aspirational structure of the middle classes and
the tradition are in such a position wherein one can effectively utilize the symbolic meaning to put through and bring in the changes. It has already been said that Hindu social structure is loose and plastic which has a capacity for accommodation. This may be utilized for bringing in rapid social change. What is needed is, that the Westernization should be couched in terms of Indian tradition. Put more doses of westernism into Indian social structure and tell the elite and rank and file that these elements were already present in the hoary past of the Indian tradition, it would be accepted with gusto and enthusiasm. Thus as far as possible the symbolic level disturbance should be avoided.

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