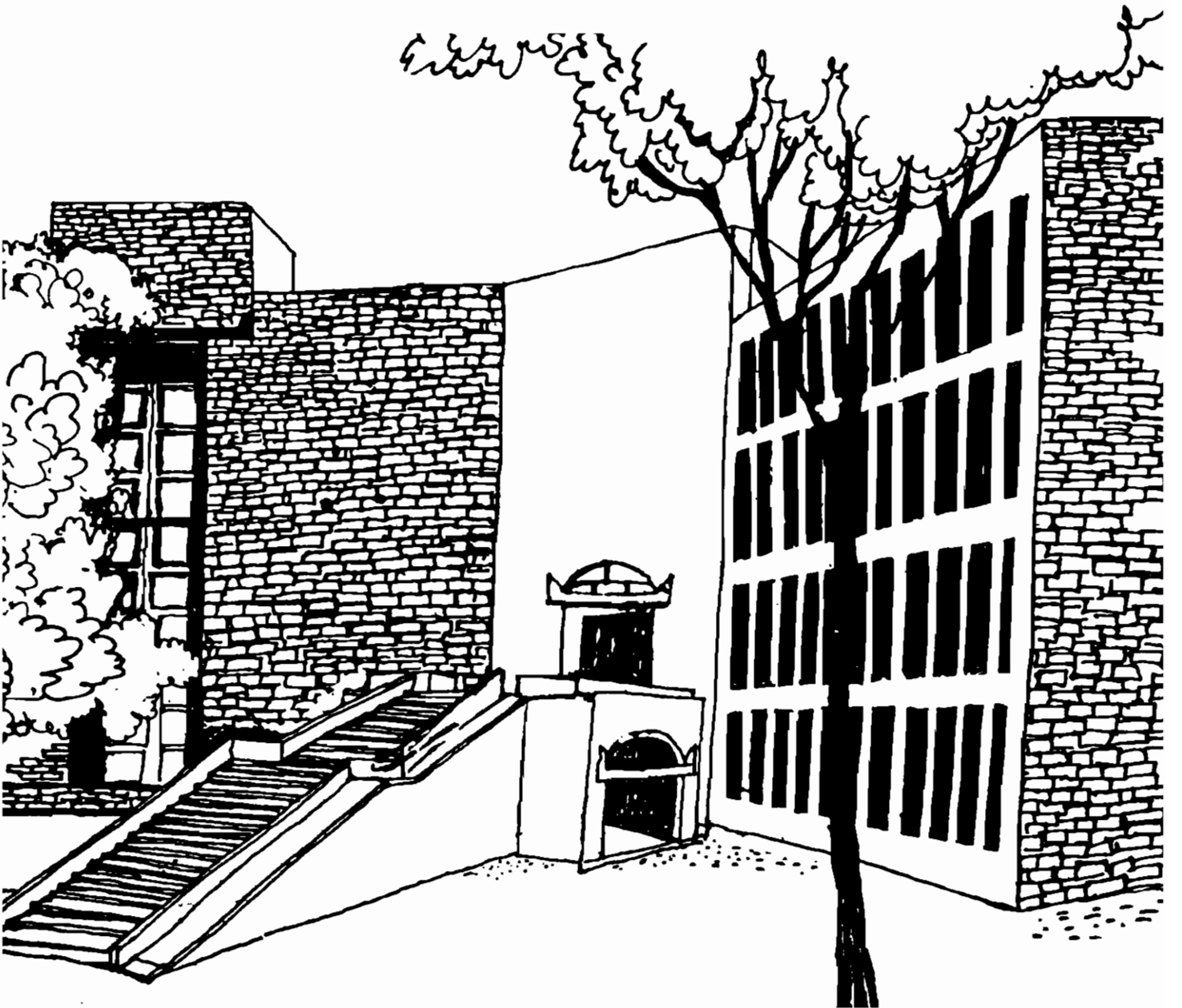




# Working Paper



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SOCIAL CHANGE AND SOCIOLOGY OF  
DEVELOPMENT: A TREND REPORT  
COVERING THE PERIOD  
1969-72

by  
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SOCIAL CHANGE AND SOCIOLOGY OF DEVELOPMENT:  
A TREND REPORT COVERING THE PERIOD 1969-72

V.R. Gaikwad

1.0 An Overview

1.1 A keen interest of social scientists in the field of social change and sociology of development could be seen from the large number of papers and books published during the short span of four years i.e., from 1969 to 1972. About 75 books and 160 articles were written by them.

1.2 In a number of studies social change and sociology of development have been closely intertwined. There are, however, specific studies on change concentrating on a single factor such as family, education, politics, religion, social stratification, urbanization, occupational mobility and social mobility. The studies which could be considered under sociology of development covered such areas as community organization, extension and communication of knowledge, institutional development, social and economic reforms, leadership pattern, people's participation, motivation and aspiration, bureaucracy and development, and entrepreneurship. Broadly speaking, while on the one hand the social scientists have examined the change processes, pattern variables in the change processes, and effects of change processes on various elements of social system, on the other hand, they have examined the effect of various social factors on the developmental processes.

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The main objective of the working paper series of the IIMA is to help faculty members to test out their research findings at the pre-publication stage.

1.3 Nearly sixty per cent of the total articles are either of theoretical nature, or are based on secondary sources in which broad generalizations are attempted. There has been continued interest in rural based, descriptive, micro-level, empirical studies. A few studies on social change in urban communities are also attempted. Studies on problem of change in tribals and scheduled castes, on poverty, and social equality are few, indicating the persistent indifference of Indian social scientists towards these topics.

1.4 During this period the subject of social change and sociology of development has been discussed in four seminars, two conferences and one symposium. The seminar on problems of 'Modernization of Underdeveloped Societies' was organized by the Department of Sociology, University of Bombay from November 2-6, 1969. Sixty-six papers presented in the Seminar were distributed in five panels, namely, Concept of Modernization, Modernization of Economic Life, Modernization of Political Life, Modernization of Education, and Modernization of Culture. One of the objectives of the Seminar was to deliberate on the five approaches for modernization, namely, the ideal typical approach, the diffusionist approach, the psychological approach, the 'New Sociology' or 'Radical Sociology' approach, and the Marxist approach. These approaches were described by A.R. Desai (1971: X-XVII). The Seminar addressed itself to the concept of modernization. During deliberations ideological implications entered into the picture. It was observed that the Seminar did not come to any definite, conclusive position. (Narain, 1970:79).

The Seminar papers are published in two volumes edited by A.R. Desai (1971). The first volume contains articles which are predominantly theoretical in nature. Problems involved in economic, political, social, educational and cultural aspects of modernization are also examined in volume one. The second volume contains articles which discuss problems of modernization in specific countries.

1.5 The Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla, organized a seminar on 'Gandhi: Theory and Practice', which was held from October 13-16, 1968. In this seminar 13 papers were presented in the section on "Gandhi on Social Cohesion and Social Change". Nirmal Kumar Bose observed that the varieties of images presented in the Seminar were not only images but were often imaginary, because most of the scholars had freely modified the words which Gandhi had used in a definite context in a definite sense (Biswas, 1969:556).

1.6 There was a symposium on the theme on modernization in 1970 organized by the Journal Seminar (128, April 1970). In the symposium, M.N. Srinivas (1970) argues that the concept of modernization is not value-free. He criticizes the tendency to dichotomize entire societies as 'traditional' or 'modern', and further argues that 'tradition' and 'modern' can co-exist in different compartments of life. Yogendra Singh (1970) examines the political aspects of modernization and observes that political modernization takes place when political parties do not draw strength from status groups or linguistic groups. Rasheeduddin Khan (1970) advocates the process of steady evolution

and balanced inter-regional growth for building a cohesive nation. Surinder Suri (1970) considers concepts of modernization as a myth. He pleads for establishing cultural autonomy and self-dependence, and for developing self-awareness and fundamental belief in the community itself. While agreeing with Suri, Dube (1974) asks "but how does one operationalize these worthy ideals?" He further mentions, "Though I am in agreement with the spirit of Suri's argument, I would have no hesitation in adopting many of the known indicators of modernization as conscious goals of national policy. My concept of national self-awareness includes also a realistic appraisal of deep-seated national maladies, and I am all-too-conscious of the fact that Suri's resounding words - noble as they are - can be twisted to promote easy rationalization and even to justify unsavoury aspects of national character" (p.17).

1.7 The Institute of Advanced Study held another Seminar in June 1972 on "Towards a Cultural Policy for India". The objective of the Seminar was to appraise the present cultural situation in India and to evolve the broad outlines of a cultural policy for the country. The statement issued at the end of the seminar mentioned: "some participants denied the need for such a policy, as it might pave the way for state-imposed regimentation. Others doubted the intention and the ability of the government to implement a coherent policy in a field as complex as culture, and some of them maintained that no cultural policy adequate to our circumstances could be implemented without overthrowing the prevailing socio-economic system. The majority



of participants, however, recognized the pervasive involvement of the state in matters cultural, noted the confidence of the people about the future, and agreed that a general formulation would provide perspectives for specific politics and actions".

(Indian Institute of Advanced Study, 1972).

1.8 In the Tenth All-India Sociological Conference held in 1970, the panel on 'Sociology and Social Organizations' has examined the social changes taking place in the various social organizations in rural India. Another panel has studied 'Sociology and Socialist Revolution". There were seven papers, including three working papers, which cover the concept of socialist revolution, preconditions of a socialist revolution and factors obstructing it, and compatibility between the traditional methods of sociological analysis and the Marxian sociological analysis. Ramaswamy (1971) reported that as regards the conceptual problems there was general agreement that the socialist revolution is characterized by two basic changes: (1) capture of political power by the working class and its allies from the capitalist ruling class, and (2) complete transformation of the character and structure of property relations and the establishment of social ownership of the means of production. There was also a general agreement that traditional method of sociological study and analysis and the Marxian approach were incompatible. One group was of the opinion that Marxian method was value-loaded and subjective, while traditional method of sociology emphasized objective analysis of social reality. The other

group thought just the opposite. In the conference there was also a Round-Table on 'Economic Development and Social Change'. Yogendra Singh defined social changes as basic transformation of social stratification in fields of distribution of economic and political power. Some thought that it was possible to conceive a type of social change which stop short of radical transformation of the political system. Others did not agree with this view. While discussing the theme on 'Methodology of the study of Social Change' some thought that there was a need to develop new tools to study 'non-structural' or 'chaos' situations. Others thought that the social scientists should come out of the bounds of conventional western tools and develop new ones to study change. Yogendra Singh was of the opinion that the focus on distribution of power in studying changes should be free from ideologies. Lynch wanted the sociologists to go to the masses and do something concrete for them instead of merely talking about them. (Ramaswamy, 1971: 81-90).

1.9 In the Eleventh All-India Sociological Conference held at Ahmedabad on April 28-30, 1972, there was a panel on the 'Changing Patterns of Caste'. Varunekar (1972) reported that the panelist were of the opinion that the dichotomy between tradition and modernity, and associating caste with tradition which was the anti-thesis of modernity, came in the way of a proper appreciation of the role of caste associations in contemporary times.

1.10 National Seminar on Social Change was organized in Bangalore from November 4-7, 1972. Thirty-six themes were presented in the seminar. These were studied by panels on Rural Social Change,

Family and Social Change, Education and Social Change, Politics and Religion, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Social Stratification, Urbanization, and Industrialization, and Research Methodology.

1.11 These seminars and conferences reveal the broad spectrum of interest of Indian sociologists in the field of social change and sociology of development.

## 2.0 Social Change

### 2.1 Family

Role of family in social change and impact of changes in the society on family has attracted attention of some scholars. M.S. Gore (1972) observes that family could be treated as an independent factor, as well as an intervening factor in social change. In support of his argument he refers to successful industrialization of Japan and the failure of China to industrialize. In Japan, the system of primogeniture prevented land fragmentation, and encouraged younger sons to take up non-agricultural occupations outside the family setting. In contrast the traditional Chinese family system encouraged the primacy of loyalty to the family, and the resultant norms legitimizing nepotism were detrimental to industrialization. The author also refers to the recent changes introduced in the family by Russia and China by means of which they tried to remove the obstacles in the path of modernization. According to him these efforts by China and Russia support the argument that family could be viewed as an intervening factor.

A.M. Shah (1972) treats family from wider lineage structures. He has analysed the role of land ownership and land tenure in the social and economic relations based on lineage. Shah's study based on empirical data on 20 households should encourage further studies on lineage since this line of thinking has not received much attention in the analysis of social structure in India.

B. Juppawamy (1972) refers to psychological dimensions of social change, and observes that traditional Indian society is autocratic, authoritarian and rigid. He advocates that traditional socialization and child rearing practices should be changed and an achievement motive for economic growth, spirit of innovation and adoption infused.

To Beba D. Varadachar (1972) socialization is a life-long developmental process which is not confined to the family. Processes which affect the caste, the neighbourhood, the village, etc, have their own impact on the socialization process. In this exploratory survey he finds that children born in post-independent India do not appear to be internalizing or identifying with the values learned early in the family. Udai Pareek and V. Kothandapani (1969) look into attitude towards family size and family planning from the point of view of modernization.

## 2.2 Education

National Seminar on Social Change held at Bangalore in 1972 gave much needed attention to education and social change. According to N.V. Thirtha (1972) the present education system is a victim of three types of elites each of which tries to influence

its acculturative function in diverse and discontinuous ways, as a result of which educational programmes have been oriented to resisting change. This empirical study of rural schools finds that the two opposed value-systems that operate in the schools and in the wider community have significant repercussions upon education and its capacity to produce social change. Y.B. Daale (1972) cautions that there are severe limitations to the role that youths and education could play in the modernization of developing countries. According to him, access to education is influenced by rigidities in the social structures. He also points out that the non-student youth is totally divorced from the mainstream of intellectual life and as such they could be hardly counted upon to contribute to change. B.V. Shah (1972) denies to education the role of a prime mover in social change. Chitra Sivakumar (1972) in her Mysore study comes to conclusion that the higher educational system contributes towards the maintenance of the inequalitarian social mobility of the lower strata of the society. She expresses doubts whether a socialistic and equalitarian social order could be possible in the country. S.P. Jain (1969) also observes that phenomenon of educational attainment is intimately related to the social stratification system of a given community. Yogendra Singh (1972, a) in his study of university teachers looks into academic role-structure through the following variables: modernization, aspiration, commitment, morale, and authoritarianism. He suggests the possibility that, "in the course of modernization, the adaptations in the individual role structure may begin at one or other variable, say aspiration or

commitment or authoritarianism or some other combination thereof. Given the need for consistency, change in one variable would generate changes in other elements in the role structure; and this would in time lead to the growth of a role type adapted to modernization." (p.233)

A.K. Das and others (1970), and T.B. Naik (1969) refer to education in tribal communities. Das and others studied 125 Santal families from five different villages. Like many others they also find that comparatively more affluent section of the community are more likely to accept modern education. In his paper Naik has adopted the comparative method. He has selected 15 villages of various types from two major Bhil districts of Madhya Pradesh. He concludes that persons living in joint families, those belonging to upper levels of society, and those having larger incomes, have a higher tendency to have their children educated. He finds that welfare community centres of social and cultural change in the two districts. L.R.N. Srivastava (1969) looks into problems of education and social change of the tribal people. A.K. Das (1970) analyses the 1961 census data pertaining to scheduled tribes and comes to conclusion that there is poor achievement in the field of literacy and that educationally advanced tribals are also economically better off.

M.N. Chitra (1972) studies education from historical perspective. She examines the nature of relationship between education and society at a particular period in the history of Mysore. He finds that

eventhough the western education is based on universalistic criterion of recruitment, implicit in which is the idea of equality, the upper castes have seen in it opportunities for strengthening and furthering their traditional positions of power and authority. As a reaction to this the dominant peasant castes have also entered the arena, while the low castes and untouchables continued backward and exploited.

M.L. Goel's (1970) concern is political participation and education. He analyses voting behaviour and finds that educated elite is somewhat alienated from the present political system which has affected their participation in the political process. Savitri Rani Bhatnagar (1970) explores the characteristics of students and higher education in India and Japan relating both to changes in the political and economic sector. She finds that students respond to massive social and political tensions which affect the whole society, and to specific issue affecting their personal, educational life and educational prospects. She also finds that in Japan a tightly organized power structure has used education as a resource for development of a disciplined and unified life. In India the more diffused and extremely constrained power structure is not in a position to utilize education at an early stage to accelerate economic development. India now confronts problems of under-utilization of educational personnel, while Japan reaps both the rewards and the conflicts and tensions of affluent industrialization. W.H. Griffin and Uday Pareek (1970) has studied the process of planned change in education. G.P. Altbach (1972)

writes about the University education in India. S.C. Dube (1971), and M.S. Gore (1971) have developed the links between modernization and education in India.

Though student's unrest is a social reality, it is a pity that few social scientists have come forward to study this phenomenon. There are only two major articles on the subject, one by A.R. Ross (1969), and the other by T.A. Mathias (1972). Ross has interviewed 250 students from 14 colleges in Bangalore. His study indicates the distinctiveness of Indian student indiscipline: the relative absence of political goals or ideological commitment, the greater destructiveness, and the apparently greater influence of leadership in the arousal and control of student behaviour, as compared to say, to American student demonstrations. In his article Mathias outlines concrete tasks of Indian schools and colleges in developing a social conscience in students, and maintains that a social revolution is possible without violence. Keshav Dev Sharma (1971) has conducted a massive survey covering 3862 Indian students in United States using mailed questionnaire method. About 45-4 per cent sample population responded to the questionnaire. He finds that traditional social structure of India not only operates in much the same old way but continues to reinforce itself by aiding the already privileged castes, classes and areas in reaping the benefits of the processes of modernization.



### 2.3 Politics and Elites

There are many studies which have examined the interaction of caste and political structure. E.F. Irschick (1969) has studied politics and social conflict in South India. Much of the narrative is concerned with the activities of the Justice Party and its leaders. He describes how they influenced the proviso of communal electorates, and then worked within the framework of Madras politics to obtain preferential treatment for non-Brahmin caste Hindus in recruitment in government service. In his study James Manor (1972) points out that Vokkaligas were a heterogeneous group wrongly called a caste in the census. According to him the clubbing together of different Okkaliga sub-groups into a single category was somewhat artificial, while the Lingayats were a less artificial group. He makes a pertinent observation that for rural folk, the most meaningful political arena lies within a day's walk of home. He finds that by late 1930s both these groups began to define themselves at taluk, district and state political arenas. These got further expanded and marriage networks became enlarged cutting across the endogamous sub-groups.

N. Patnaik's anthropological oriented study (1969) of political changes in a tribal block in Orissa brings out tension among the older caste Hindus who traditionally have held community leadership and power, and are unwilling to allow young leaders to function. He observes that higher development on political front and low economic development has led to an imbalance in tribal societies. This has accentuated tension and party factions which are active among tribal communities

than caste Hindus. B.R. Chauhan (1972) examines the nature and extent of political challenges faced by representatives of the scheduled castes and tribes in seeking and getting elected to reserved seats in the Lok Sabha during the three elections. N. Venkatarayappa (1972) in his survey of two Mysore villages observes that along with political awakening, factionalism was on the increase. While caste panchayats had lost their importance they had failed to disappear. On the whole rich castes dominate the village panchayat and the bulk of benefit of development has gone to them. N. Kanga Rao (1972) in his study of a Telagana village finds that panchayatiraj has resulted in the localisation of caste conflict. Money was essential for local leadership, whatever its character, right, centre or left. A.K. Danda and D.G. Danda (1970) in their study of a Bengal village also come to the same conclusion. They observe that panchayatiraj has brought a new kind of polarization of power. Increasing politicization and distribution of power to the people as well as economic mobility have challenged the former divine sanctions on caste divisions and have increased class consciousness. H.D. Laxshiminarayana (1970) in his study of four Mysore villages observes that the dominance of a caste is more apparent than real, and caste is functioning as an interest group. Andre Beteille (1969 and 1969 a) observes that application of Dumonth's model, which is concerned with ideas and values, to the analysis of political and economic problems has lead to major distortions to social reality. According to him one source of distortion in our understanding of Indian society is the conception of caste itself as a system of non-

antagonistic groups having complementary functions and each enjoy its own set of privileges (1969, a: 18). He points out that "The pre-occupations with values on the one hand and with interests on the other derive respectively from the sociologies of Durkheim and Marx. The influence of Durkheim has greatly outweighed that of Marx among social anthropologists engaged in the study of primitive or preindustrial societies" (1969, a: 30). He recommends systematic studies of interests in India because "the role of values themselves can never be fully assessed unless we study them in their continuing interaction with interests" (1969, a: 30).

Most of the earlier studies on caste and politics have emphasized the dysfunctional aspects of caste. In the book edited by Rajni Kothari (1970) the potential of caste to respond successfully to modern challenges has been emphasized. In his review article on the Kothari edited book, Oommen (1972) gives a model of politicization in regard to the ritually un-clean, economically depressed and numerically significant castes. His model covers stages for major external stimuli, motivation for change, actions taken, nature of leadership, channels of status mobility, adaptive functions, and latent functions for the caste. N.R. Sheth (1969) suggests that the existence of an alternative political structure to caste and faction based politics at the village level can eventually induce change in traditional set up. Yogesh Atal (1972) sketches the fusion of political sociology and behavioural study of communication. His primary hypothesis is that the degree and kind of participation of people depends upon the degree and kind of awareness among them.

Widening gap between the elite and the masses has been mentioned by S. Navlakha (1969) and B. Balakrishna Nair (1971). Navlakha also refers to some of the contradictions within the ranks of the elite. N. Balakrishna Nair (1971) refers to elite approach in Indian thinking. He mentions that "it has been a major strategy and tactics of U.S. Technical Assistance Programme in developing countries such as India to identify the power groups in the aid-receiving countries and win them over" (pp. 486-487). He emphasises that 'the elite approach in agricultural development has been purposivistic, with the objective of effecting political and economic mobilisation, in the wake of the acceptance of U.S. Technical and other assistance programmes, and that in agricultural development it follows the pattern in U.S. domestic situation, particularly in identifying and designating the so-called progressive farmers' (p.487). M. Bretcher (1971) describes the elite image and political modernization in India.

In the seminar on Gandhi (Biswas, 1969 : 55 -556), there was a panel on 'Gandhi on Social Cohesion and Social Change'. Gandhi's ideas were compared and contrasted with that of Marx. Radhakrishna (1970) also wrote on Gandhi bringing out the political scene that was prevailing soon after the country's liberation on August 15, 1947. The author pointed out that the ultimate orientation of Gandhi's political action was indeed to set into motion a cumulative process of social change.

On a general plan, Lyoyd I. Rudolph and Susanne Hoeber Rudolph (1969), a husband and wife team, explore the potentialities for modernization

contained within the structure of ethics of a traditional society. They explicitly reject the notion of a dichotomous relationship between tradition and modernity and suggest that it is rather dialectical in the sense that there is continuity in the social and cultural changes which are implied in modernity and contained potentially in the traditional structures and values. On a somewhat different plan Myron Weiner (1971) writes on political problems of modernizing pre-industrial societies. Yogendra Singh (1971) examines the concepts and processes in political modernization. The role of language conflict and its consequences for integrational processes of national building has been examined by J. Das Gupta (1970). According to him language rivalry does not necessarily impede national integration but could actually contribute to the development of a national community. He observes that only when language groups mobilize into political interest groups, it is possible to determine the pattern of inter-group conflict likely to emerge.

#### 2.4 Religion

There are a few studies on religious cults and sects and their role in social change. C. Parvathamma (1972) studies bhakti cult of Veerasaivism which is anti-Brahmanic but not anti-vedic. She finds that over the centuries Hindu traditions have percolated into Veerasaivism. According to her one of the reasons for this is the conversion of large numbers from the lower castes to Veerasaivism, and who have not given up their old practices. L.L. Mullatti (1972) has classified Veerasaiva and Varkari ideologies as radical and

moderate respectively and has suggested that these ideologies have repercussions on social organization. The Veerashaivas have a rigid organization while the Varkari panth is more flexible. Vatuk Ved Prakash (1969) has analysed the functions of bhajanopadeshak in bringing about social change in India. G.N.R. Mudiraj (1970) examines the caste-sect dichotomy in eleven Telengana villages. He finds that unlike caste, the sect does not manifest its authority through local and regional organization. Marriage and adoption are traditionally recognized modes of recruitment to the caste. The sect functions to confer a specific ritual identity on its members who have a vested interest in maintaining the distinctive ritual pattern that assure the persistence of their collective ritual identity.

There are two excellent papers on Hinduism and modernization, one by K.P. Gupta (1971), and the other by A.N. Pandeya (1970). Gupta has examined the relevance of Hindu beliefs and rituals to the modernization of India. According to him classical Marxist and Weberian models fail to describe, much less explain, the historic individuality of modernizing patterns. He points out that the state and direction of religious evolution in each tradition manifest, at each stage, tensions of continuity and change in relation to the existing conditions. In this process of adaptive expansion each tradition creates and sustains an unique mode of breakthrough which prepares it for eventual confrontation with the exigencies of modernization. He indicates how this confrontation is interlinked with the historical particularities of a socio-political system, following at the same time a certain universal

pattern towards progressive rationalization in response to adaptive requirements. He finds that Hinduism's ethical ideas are directed toward the individual rather than society. "India's modernity can be conceived to have been structured by the central hindu category of autological 'solution' at the personality level. There is no national ideal which may commit collectivities to nobler goal-attainments. Even the slogan of socialist pattern of society seeks to induce change in the hearts of individual. The norms of ethical ideal are laid down for a 'good' Hindu, not for a good Hindu society". According to him, 'the search of capitalistic spirit in the dominant ethos of Hinduism is clearly mistaken' (P.71). Gupta's paper is one of the best theoretical framework developed by an Indian sociologist for studying the role of Hinduism in the modernisation of India. Thomas Conrad's (1971) comments on Gupta's paper and Gupta's rejoinder (1971 a) are also worth mentioning here. A.N. Pandeya (1970) challenges the weberian proposition that asian religions are a major obstacles to modernization. According to him Indian religious tradition is a vast reservoir which provides many alternatives for identity conceptions or set of identity symbols needed for modernization. This line of thinking is further supported by R.S. Khare (1971) who shows that Kanya-subja Brahman does not employ the Hindu notions of Karma and Dharma in any rigid causative frame of reference; rather they are his intrinsic properties which he can variously interpret. According to him a ~~Kanya-Kuoja~~ Brahman is not ambiguous or ambivalent about his simultaneous pursuit of the sacred and the secular. To him modern office is at once a symbol of economic necessity, cultural modernity, social status and Brahmanic excellence.

M.S.A. Rao (1969) also writes in the same vein while discussing Max Weber's "Protestant Ethic" hypotheses. He argues that Hinduism and Hindu culture emphasize the this-worldly aspect as much as the other worldly aspect. The basic ideas of Hinduism, e.g., Karma and Dharma, are constantly reinterpreted to suit situations. Essay by C.P. Loomis and Z.K. Loomis (1969) based on Max Weber's ideas concerning India and 'Ascetic Protestantism' was discussed in a four-day seminar organized at the National Institute of Community Development, Hyderabad. The essay generated tremendous heat, so much so that the Indian scholars not only criticised Weberian model thoroughly, they criticised Loomis for Weber's ideas! In the book edited by R.F. Spencer (1971) the focus is supposed to be on relationships between religion and modernization. Only Nanning Nash and to some extent Agandananda Bharati discuss religion as a factor in the process of modernization. In the seminar 'Church in India Today' (C.B.C.I. 1969) there was free and frank discussion on the policy issues affecting the entire group. It was pointed out that religion need not be a cause of stagnation but can be a dynamic force in society.

## 2.5 Values

An excellent piece of research on values is by Ratna Dutta (1971). She has raised some very important questions: What happens to values people hold in a society undergoing rapid changes? Is value change a pre-requisite for general social change characterized by industrialization and urbanization, or is it that the domain of values remains continuous and constant in the face of various structural changes occurring in a society? In short, is value change a determinant of



social change, its consequence, or simply an invariant element in the process of social change? She critically examines various empirical studies which have tried to answer some of these questions, and comes to conclusion that the categories of analysis used in these studies do not explain the phenomenon properly since these categories are relevant to institutions of western origin. She brings out the distinct identities of status of values, norms and ideologies in the process of modernization. While using Parson's action theory as the main reference structure for her study, she brings out some shortcomings in the action theory.

In his very interesting article D.C. McGlelland (1971) examines some themes in the culture of India. Richard Lannoy (1971) maintains that though India's problems manifest themselves in urgent economic terms, their root causes lie in the historical development of the country's values as reflected in its cultural and social organization. He examines the motivational structure of India's culture and society and concludes that it is the aesthetic sensibility that tends to Indian thought and consciousness its most unique characteristic. He thinks that dichotomy between tradition and modernity can be resolved by recognizing that science and intuition are both rooted in the non-rational. He observes, "the scientific spirit is commonly regarded as the anti-thesis of India's traditional modality. This is based on out-dated notions of science and of 'rationalism' as unalterably opposed to the 'irrationality' or 'mysticism' and 'intuition', a misconception which is fostered by the hybrid educational system". He further

observes that "the aesthetic sensibility or capacity for unified awareness is not an obstacle to modernization but an asset".

## 2.6 Law and Social Legislation

In the much neglected field of law and social change, there are two major publications. Wolfgang Friendmann (1972) examines the role of law in changing society. B.B. Chatterjee and others (1971) examine the impact of social legislation on social change. Their book reports the findings of a research investigation conducted in four villages near Varanasi. The authors studied the attitudes of the rural people to social legislation on Hindu marriage and untouchability. Interview schedule and Thurston type attitude scales were used. They find that the attitudes of the caste Hindus towards untouchables remain substantially the same in respect of dining and temple entry. Whatever little change that has taken place could not be attributed to awareness or social acceptance of social legislation.

## 2.7 Social Mobility

As an adjunct to 1961 census, preparation of ethnographic monographs and glossaries on a number of selected scheduled castes, scheduled tribes and ethnic groups with special status has been taken up by the Census organization. The report by S. Sanyal and B.K. Roy Burman (1970) is a study on social mobility movements among the scheduled tribes undertaken in 1968. A questionnaire was sent to block development officers of all community development blocks to find out the changes in the following aspects: adaption of new caste name and surname; change of occupation; adoption of new religion,

sect or cult, performance of rituals associated with higher castes; changes in the dietary and drinking habits; and education. Data are presented in tabular form. No analysis is attempted. There are indications that social mobility movements of different types are taking place among the scheduled castes and tribes.

G.N. Rama's study (1971) of social mobility among the untouchable gold miners is a part of a larger project on the impact of industrialization and urbanization on the family in the Kolar Gold Fields. The study points out that migration is motivated by a desire to be free from the stigma of untouchability and perpetual economic bondage. Rober L. Hardgrave (Jr.) (1969) reconstructs the social history of Nadars and describes the processes by which the Nadars of Tamilnadu have risen from a social limbo to social respectability and political prominence. S.M. Chauhan (1972) studies three multi-caste villages in Assam and tests the concept of sanskritization in explaining the social mobility. H.M. Narula Siddaiah (1971) conducted a study on 'Nagartha' caste. He points out that Nagarthas have shifted to modern professions and services though their traditional occupation is trade. They want to be treated as vaishyas in order to claim superiority but at the same time they feel that they are backward in order to claim governmental favours. Ows M. Lynch (1969) studied the untouchable caste of Agra, viz., Jatavs. Drawing concepts from the theory of reference groups, he examines the efforts of an untouchable caste to achieve upward mobility within a democratic framework. K.L. Sharma (1972) does not agree that structural changes, which are induced through extra-caste mechanisms but have definite repercussions on caste structure, can be

examined either through reference group theory or sanskritization. V.S. Nargolkar (1969) observes that greater efforts have to be made to achieve the Gandhi's dream of social equality. Dan A. Chekki (1971) observes that in urban India class structure prevails within the broad framework of the caste system. His study of Brahmins of Dharwar explains how family and kinship tend to play an important role in the process of social mobility. G.L. Verma (1972) looks into social acceptability and rejections which are latent in group interactions in Indian village. Data for his paper come from the nationwide study on 'Awareness of Community development in Village India' conducted during 1968. For his paper Varma has taken a sample of 408 respondents from the larger study. He finds that high caste non-Brahmins are ranked the highest, while the Brahmins are ranked at third position by the respondents. He also finds that womenfolk in rural India still believe in observing greater social distance. He concludes that those groups which are minor or isolated show a strong desire to identify with more privileged higher-order groups in the society. M.J. Mahar (1972) gives a comprehensive account of the untouchables in contemporary India. Satish Sabarwal (1972) examines the process of urban social mobility at different points in the caste hierarchy in Punjab. He shows how individuals use their caste networks as well as the new networks of occupational and political interest groups to seek betterment for themselves. He observes that caste solidarity is a function of the perceived hostility of the environment and the community's shared interests having been articulated and organized (p.182).

So far Indian sociologists have been indifferent to the contribution of military to social change. A Bopegamage (1971) is perhaps the first to look into this aspect. He observes that Indian Army is an important innovative agent as well as representing one of the most effective channels for upward social mobility. It has introduced a scientific method of cultivation through its Grass Farm Department, which is of direct benefit to the Indian cultivation .... The officers corps of the present Army is one of the most modernized and westernized elements in Indian society, with interest in stability, and order, national unity, and development and technological progress.

#### 2.8 Occupational mobility

The close link between social and occupational mobility in India has been examined by some. From the study of six villages in Rajasthan, K.L. Sharma (1969) finds that occupational mobility is necessarily followed by changes in the class structure, He, however, concludes that the role of caste system in guiding occupational mobility can not be undermined, as caste still plays a crucial role in the village community. N.K. Jaiswal and C.K. Ambastha (1970), study caste and occupation preference in East Bihar villages. Their finding is that people either prefer to stick to their own caste occupations or they want to take up open occupations such as service, cultivation, business or labour. A.K. Majumdar and K.K. Das (1970) conducted a study in five villages in West Bengal. They find migrants to be most progressive people in the sample villages. Jaspal Singh (1971) in his study of trade union leaders finds that his respondents have been relatively stationary as far as horizontal and intra-genera-

tional vertical mobility is concerned but moved down when inter-generational mobility is taken into account. B.K. Agarwal and P.C. Deb (1972) report that farming is considered to be the most prestigious occupation by both farming and non-farming population of Punjab. Priestly occupation, which occupied highest position in the past, however, finds a lower place in the occupational hierarchy, as it received seventh rank from the respondents.

T.N. Madan's (1972) is among the first few studies of a profession. He has focussed his attention on the doctors whose profession is typically urban based. He observes that changing occupational structure is an integral part of the process of modernization. He finds that doctors come from urban, Hindu, upper-caste, upper-income homes. In the choice of their career they have been influenced by considerations of income and status and also by the normative ones of social service. Dewitt John (1969) through his socio-political analysis of the Punjabi immigrant community in Britain gives a clear picture of the new structural pattern emerging amongst the Punjabi immigrants. He brings out the inherent tendency of the Punjabi leadership to fall apart again and again due to intense competition for offices.

## 2.9 Social Structure and Social Stratification

There are a number of empirical studies on social structure and social stratification. Thomas R. Metcalfe's (1969) study on Ordh Talukdars describes the impact of different systems of land revenue administration on the agrarian class structures. Richard G. Fox (1969) looks into community change in a North Indian market

town. N.K. Jaiswal and U.C. Jha (1970) describes the extreme differences between the upper castes and the backward and scheduled castes. They find that upper castes monopolize all the privileges and avail themselves of all the opportunities. In his study of six villages, K.L. Sharma (1970) finds that caste consciousness operates at different levels, such as caste and sub-caste, and within the caste or sub-caste at factional and kinship basis. He compares caste consciousness with what Durkheim called 'collective consciousness', and suggests that there is a good deal of overlap between caste and class consciousness. To him class consciousness is a replica of caste consciousness. K.C. Panchandikar and J. Panchandikar (1971) have made an attempt to identify and explicate relevant traits that articulate the more significant determinants of social structure and the process of social change. Iravati Karve (1971) observes that in the process of modernization caste must no longer be looked upon as hindrance. She suggests that, "It is necessary to study how the process reveals some structural details and how other details are getting modified. Whether in this process what remains of the system can be called a caste say twenty years later will be quite another matter" (p.118). P.C. Aggarwal (1971) gives an account of the breakdown of Jajmani system in Mewar and its effect on agricultural labour, tension generated by the changing inter-caste relationships, new religious affiliations, vacillating political alignments, and increased tempo of economic activity.

In his well documented paper on the Changing Pattern of Social Stratification, Yogendra Singh (1972) points out two limitations of Bailey's

stratification system, namely over-emphasis on the role of Jatis and the absence of dynamic elements of the system like caste association and categories. The four tendencies in the changing pattern identified by him are: (a) the upward social mobility and political influence at the village and regional levels in the middle castes and peasantry; (b) concentration of political power, economic and social benefits in the upper castes and urban middle classes; (c) increasing social inequalities in the various social strata, and (d) emerging class relations in social stratification. T.K. Oommen (1972) identifies three strategies generally followed in studies on rural social change. These are: (a) viewing village level changes as mere reflections of the change in the wider society; (b) concentrating only on local structures and their analysis as though they were independent of the larger society, and (c) analysing the interaction between local structures and the wider world and delineating the resultant changes in the former. He recommends the third strategy. He observes that in rural society relations centering in land formed a core institution and other institutions are largely dependent on it. Anil Bhatt (1972) looked into class-caste stratification and its relation with politics.

Two scholars who have done excellent, comprehensive work on rural social structure are P.C. Joshi (1969, 1970, 1972), and Andre Beteille (1969, 1969a, 1969b, 1970, 1971, 1972, 1972a). Joshi has studied agrarian social structure and social change. A comparative study of land and Pakistan has been done by him. He looked into the question of class structure and normative dimensions of social change.



A comparative study of land reforms in India and Pakistan has been done by him. He looked into the question of class structure and normative dimensions of social change. In 1969, Andre Beteille brought out his collection of essays. In dealing with social stratification he uses the analytical categories developed by Marx, Weber and Evans Pritchard to discuss dimensional and structural aspects of stratification system. In 1971 he explores the similarities between the Indian caste system and what he calls 'the colour-caste system'. He observes: 'In India the same individual has a number of different identities according to caste, religion and language, and any one of these might be more important than the others, depending upon context and situation' (1971:535). He also observes that 'People might be highly conscious of their differences, whether physical, or cultural, without their consciousness acquiring a political form'. According to him the castes begin to organize themselves into associations which take form of mutually antagonistic groups when people feel that caste consciousness would fade away. He has earlier written (1969, a) on the politics of "non-antagonistic" strata wherein he has suggested that role of values should be studied in their continuing interaction with interests. In 1972 he describes the agrarian relation in Tanjore district.

In his two essays Andre Beteille (1972) examines the nature and forms of inequality in rural India. He observes that social stratification in the second half of the twentieth century is less simple, less clear-cut and less visible than it has been in the past (p.11). He classifies human society in two kinds, viz., harmonic and disharmonic. In the formal

kind there is consistency between the existential order and the normative order, while in the latter the two are in conflict. He considers traditional Indian society as harmonic system because barriers between castes or strata follow to a large extent from the contradictions between the normative and existential order. In a harmonic society they are likely to be open and endemic" (p.15). In his other essay (1972: 19-35) he examines inequalities in rural areas in relation to the ownership, control and use of land and other material resources. He concludes that "the political instruments which are used for destroying an existing system of inequality are not wholly neutral but themselves become the basis for a new system of inequality" (p.34). Andre Beteille is struggling to find a way out to identify some fundamental principle which would help at once to explain what has happened in the past and to predict what will happen in the future? In the process he sometimes becomes pessimistic, and sometimes takes a defensive posture. In 1971, he writes 'the course of political conflict remains unpredictable. There is no general theory which can enable us to delineate in exact terms the relationship between cultural differences and their organization into mutually antagonistic groups' (p.535). In 1972 he writes, "the sociologists can never predict the emergence of agrarian unrest in the way in which the astronomer can predict the appearance of a comet. But he can interpret meaningfully what has happened in the past, and this gives us some indication of future possibilities within a given constellation of factors" (1972, a: 150). He becomes defensive when he says" ....my argument should not be taken as a plea for a return to the harmonic society. I do not believe that

would be possible even if one considered it desirable. My argument was meant to underline the difficulties involved in building a society on the promise of equality" (1972 :16).

Victor S. D'souza and Raj Mohini Bethi, (1972) find that social class is a significant category in Chandigarh. According to them people are able to identify themselves with different social classes based on income, occupational prestige and education.

Effects of changes in social structure on the roles of older people have been examined by V.S.D'souza (1971). Based on secondary data ... the author tests a theoretical model that in the emerging industrial social order the old people are exposed to the vulnerability of the aging process from which they were shielded in the preindustrial social order.

Social scientists have paid little attention to minorities and their status in the Indian Social structure. We have two studies in this field; one by Robert S. Newman (1972) on Jews, and the other by A.R. Saiyed (1972) on Muslims. Newman observes that Jews follow two different types of caste hierarchy. One is the wider, Hindu one where the Cochin Jews ranked relatively high, but where the Bene Israel ranked low. The other is the system within the two groups and including a third Jewish group, the Bagh dadi. A.R. Saiyed (1972) reports that Muslims continued to follow traditional way of life and to understand their change resistance tendency it is necessary to examine the minority status of Indian Muslims, especially the lower class status of the vast majority of the members of this community.

## 2.10 Urbanization

C.R. Prasad Rao (1970) has studied pattern of rural-urban migration. He finds that the rural-urban relations are more intimate, numerous and compact between small towns and villages. Harshad R. Trivedi (1969) introduces the concept of 'semi-urban pocket'. C. Rajagopalan's (1972) paper is thought provoking. He examines the philosophy of the phenomena of urbanization and social change. He endorses Wirth's theory--the dimension of distinctive urban social change and the outward diffusion of urban way of life. He looks into the significance of critical population size to qualify a settlement to be urban. The author argues that process of urbanization can not be examined from only one dimension, namely, social dimension. The central proposition of V.M. Mishra's paper (1971) is that media of mass communication play the role of intervening variable in both urbanization and modernization processes, and that the designer and activater relationships between the two processes are concomitant, mutual and reciprocal. M.S.A. Rao (1970) conducted an intensive study of changes in the social structure of Yadavpur resulting from the metropolitan impact of Delhi. He finds that economic changes have affected the occupational mobility and disturbed the Jajmani and inter-caste relationships. Joint family has been little affected by these changes. There is growth in trade and changes in consumption pattern which have eventually lead to the establishment of new values. Party-politics entered the village. Ashish Bose (1970) provides a valuable source book for the study of urbanization in India. The book covers among other things an appraisal of the statistical data on internal migrations

which would be of interest to scholars interested in study of social change.

### 2.11 Industrialization

S.K. Kuthiala (1971) in his thought provoking article tries to answer the question: "To what extent social and economic development is related to industrialization?" The author observes that in spite of Herbert Blumer's argument (that the industrialization by its very make-up can have no definite social effect and that it is neutral and indifferent to what follows socially in its wake), many Indians, particularly administrators and scholars supported or influenced by American advisors, have elevated the *Gemeinschaft - Gesellschaft* dichotomy into a principal devise of social taxonomy. He thinks that due to this approach scholars are divided into two groups -- one concerned with rural problems and the other concerned with urban problems. He argues that there are alternatives in the adjustment of an agrarian society to industrialism not present in the histories of modern western nations. Most western scholars have assumed the inevitability of Westernization with increasing industrialization of underdeveloped countries. He challenges this and argues that western cultural history need not be repeated in the under-developed countries as they move toward industrialism. G.S. Arora (1972) critically examines the trends in evolution of organization like CSIR, ICAR, ICMR, AEC, and R & D of the Defence. One of the main points that emerges from his study is that the growth of Indian scientific community and the rise of Indian capitalism are closely related. He examines the role of government and the western trained scholars in this process. The author advocates

delinking of the Indian model with the western model.

#### 2.12 Macro-Analysis on Social Change and Debate on Modernization

In the preceding sections the studies were, by and large, classified according to the single factor emphasised in them contributing to or influenced by social change. There were, however, a few studies which have looked into the inter-play of various elements in the process of social change and modernization. These are considered in this section.

In his noteworthy study on peasant societies of Asia and Africa, Guy Hunter (1969) describes the unique situation of 'ancient' social structure in a modern world, emphasizing that societies live and grow as a whole; technology and economics are intertwined with politics, administrative standards, education, and even fundamental beliefs and values. He refers to the formidable differences between the situation of developing countries today and that which faced the western world in its main period of modern growth. He observes that the developing countries, from their relative weakness, cannot and may not wish to follow the same course as the western countries at their moment of greatest relative strength. He points out how impossible it is to recapitulate earlier paths of growth not only in economics - in the growth of administration or of politics or of education. Hunter describes 'modernizing' "a change from traditional, custom-oriented society to an individualist or co-operative economic-oriented society; as the evolution of a system of values capable of mediating modern knowledge and techniques; as the mobilization of surplus manpower

and under-used resources for economic growth; as the spread of higher education" (pp.295-296). He further says, "Modernization can in fact only mean following a path which is possible for each nation in its current circumstances, using to the best advantage the common stock of scientific knowledge which is available simultaneously to every country in the world" (p.296). He concludes: "some peasant nations may well achieve a civilization which has qualities which the West will envy, even if their physical wealth is less. Some certainly will be pioneers in new experiments in social action. 'Europeans', in the widest sense, have much to give to these countries, if it is given modesty: they may also have much to learn from them" (p. 298).

Milton Singer's study (1972) is an excellent one on modernization based on an anthropological approach to Indian civilization. According to the author the three field trips reported in the volume are explorations of an extended method for a social anthropological study of civilizations. The volume is not based on mere field reports; the author has made an excellent effort to dovetail the theoretical papers with field reports. Singer has taken a position, 'one that recognizes the continuing co-existence and mutual adaptations of India's cultural traditions -- Great and Little -- and modernity'. His position asserts none of the possibilities envisaged in three other positions, namely, "the inevitable and linear transformation of a traditional culture and society into a modern one, the unchanging and obstructive persistence of a traditional society and culture, or the hypothetical modernization of a traditional society if it were to abandon its traditional institutions" (p.245). He observes, "I was convinced that the dichotomy between "tradition"

and "modern" whether in the popular form of western "materialism" versus Eastern "Spirituality" or in the sophisticated social science form of "traditional" versus "modern" societies, was not useful theoretical guide for understanding India. (p.247). To him, Indian modernization is not simply an "aping of the west that destroys the traditional way of life, but rather a highly selective process of borrowing and innovation, which seeks to develop and incorporate useful, novel elements into a highly organized and continuing civilization" (p.336). Srinivas in his Foreword to the book observes, "It is a fascinating paradox that the 'cultural ideology of 'traditionalism' is one of the major instruments of modernization. Movements that progressive intellectuals in developing countries would castigate as revivalist frequently contain elements of modernization. The process of modernization is complicated enough in any society but far more so in the historic civilization"(p.X).

A comprehensive analysis of Indian society is attempted by David G. Mandelbaum (1970). His focus is 'on the principal groups of village society and on the patterns of interchange and counter change among them. The author examines some of the principal social and regional variations. He views social relations as systems and parts of systems and shows that Indian society has not been static or stagnant, but has continually been adaptive, mainly on the basis of certain deep - lying psychological and social themes. In Volume-I he gives the concept of social system and of caste order and defines major



components of Indian society. In volume II he examines the village as a social entity in the context of the changing, larger entities of state and civilization. He classifies social change as recurrent and systemic. According to him recurrent changes have come about through social mobility, through religious movements, and through the absorption of tribal people. While writing on dominance and subordination, he observes, "the ideology of non-competitive varnas is firmly believed while competitive social action among Jatis is zealously waged" (p.628). According to him "The drives toward social advance are quite constant, but the tactics for advance are varied....., Traditional alternatives are in the three "twice-born" varnas....., whatever route may be chosen, effective rise begins with the prospering of individual families. Hopes for higher rank are futile unless steeled with secular strength. Individual families can achieve real advance only as part of a larger group and so prospering families deploy their secular resources to achieve ritual gains for their group" (p.631). He finds that "The major changes in Indian society are in the same direction as that taken by broad changes in other contemporary societies. The general trend is toward the narrowing in cultural disparities and in social distances between groups in a society, though scarcely toward any total elimination of stratification. There is a general shift away from traditional status symbols to modern political and technological symbols. Disadvantage groups at every level of society are entering the political arena as they had not been able to do before" (p.634).

Contrary to the thinking of Hunter (1969), Singer (1972), Mandelbaum (1970), Srinivas, (1970) and many others, is the thinking of Brigitte Berger (1971) in the sense that she equates modernization with Westernization. Based on Weber's basic ideas on the nature of power and the rationalization process, Berger analyzes the development of rationalized hierarchical authority in political structures, economic structures, stratification systems, urbanization and the family system. In each case she contrasted the rationalized structures with the tradition-bound structures of feudal Europe and of the peasant and tribal societies of Africa and Asia. She observes, "Urban culture is the culture of modernity. What happens in cities is what defines the fate of modern and modernizing societies. Urbanization equals modernization. And since modernization means, in a fundamental way, the diffusion and adaptation of western patterns of society and culture, urbanization equals Westernization" (p.174). On Berger's book, Elise Boulding (1972) comments that "by equating modernization with westernization, She (Berger) falls into the trap of using a folk model where analytical model is intended, as Ayoub warns us Western social scientists are prone to do".

Some attempts have been made by Indian social scientists to bring together their writings on various topics with a view to give a comprehensive picture of social change in India. Notable among these are: Balakrishna N. Nair (1971), B. Kuppiswamy (1972). Narmadeshwar Prasad (1970), and M.S.A. Rao (1972).

### 2.13 Research Orientation and Methodology

It is realised that basically no research is value free. Subjectivity in sociological research reflects in many forms: in the basic theoretical assumptions, operational definitions, types of questions asked, and selectivity in analysis and interpretation of data. There has been serious examination of many sociological assumptions in economic growth theories. Doubts have been raised about the relevance of some of the Western sociological theories to the Indian society and culture.

M.N. Srinivas (1969: 50-52) has argued that the use of concept of modernization involves a value judgement. He emphasised this point on various occasions (1970, 1971). Ratna Dutta (1971) observes that "empirical studies of the modernization process in the underdeveloped areas today are often hampered by categories of analysis which are limited by their special relevance to the institutions of western origin" (p.129). I have earlier referred to the study of Guy Hunter (1969) in which he refers to thoughtless application of economic and social theories derived from Western experience. According to him "The trouble lies in inadequate or wrong description of the data on which theory is constructed". Milton Singer (1972) is critical about using such dichotomy as "traditional versus modern" or "western materialism" versus "Eastern Spirituality". A.R. Desai (1971) observes that concept of modernization is not without its ideological implications (Vol.I: 458-474). R.N. Saksena (1971) in his presidential address to the Tenth All-India sociological conference observes:

"The idea of the spiritual East is, historically speaking a comparatively recent origin. It is an epithet coined by the Western scholars, particularly the Western Orientalists, and applied to the Eastern countries, especially India". He asks: "should development of a backward society be necessarily through industrialization and automation on the Western pattern, and does modernization mean only Westernization?". He again repeats this question in 1972. Andrew Gunder Frank (1969) critically examines the relevance of western sociological theories of economic development. Harold A. Gould (1969) has done a critical analysis of western inspired development theories as they apply to India. Sinai, L.R., (1971) exposes major limitations of social sciences in comprehending the problems of modernization. Weberian concept on "Protestant Ethics" and economic development has been challenged by many, such as Fox (1973), Mines (1973), Paparek (1973), Nandy (1973) and Singer (1973).

Diagnostic research on social change is discussed by Ram Krishna Mukherjee (1972). He examines the manner in which field of variation may be conceptualized and its characteristics ascertained through precise formulation of null and alternate hypotheses from both empirical and theoretical knowledge. Suraj Bandopadhyay (1972) discusses the need to collate certain social types from findings that are available in various areas of Indian society to get a more comprehensive picture of the problems of social dynamics. He stresses how emphasis on society as an organic - functional system incapacitated professional sociologists to understand social dynamics. According to him this

approach resulted in a failure to formulate theories of social organization in general, and social stratification in particular. A. Inkeles and A.K. Singh (1971) examines the problems in comparative research on modernization.

The Indian Institute of Advanced Study convened a workshop on "The Macro-Sociology of India". Relationship between micro-and macro-sociological approaches are examined in various papers presented in the workshop (Sabarwal, 1972).

### 3.0 Sociology of Development

#### 3.1 Introduction

Major focus of research in sociology of development has been on the following : Organizational and institutional changes introduced in the country for development; sociological constraints under which these institutions operate; affect of social structure on programmes and policies; emerging pattern of leadership and role of leaders in communication of ideas; bureaucratic structure and role of the bureaucracy in development; and factors effecting growth of entrepreneurship.

#### 3.2 Social Structure and Sociology of Community Development

Community development has been an organizational innovation introduced in early fifties. Since its inception various aspects of community development have been analysed by the social scientists. While some continued to write on C.D., the interest of many shifted to people's participation and political processes in rural development.

R. Dwarkinath (1972) emphasized that community development has been recognized as a social process of directed change. A.B. Bose (1969) refers to various social obstacles which impede rapid progress. These, according to him are: absence of competitiveness, importance placed on group rather than individual, stress on spiritual advancement rather than material gains in the traditional value system, the demographic burden, limited social and economic inter-relations between different groups, vested interests of the traditionally privileged groups in the continuation of the old order, absence of functional literacy, and alignment of village factions primarily on the basis of primary social groups. He, however, finds that the structure of family and village community is becoming more democratic. New social groups are cutting across conventional boundaries of kinship and caste, and greater rationality is now emerging in social or economic relationships even at village level. B.A. Roy Burman (1972) discusses the problem of adaptation of the people of the hills of North-East India. He suggests that the problem should be looked at as a part of the larger system of adaptation embracing the hills and plains, areas cutting across political divisions but underlying the formation of cultures and communities. The diverse facets of ecological adaptations are discussed under three categories, viz., physical and social mobilization and biosocial response. He finds that the tribes living in a region are developing a sharp sense of their identity and this is linked with sanskritization.

There are many empirical studies on social structure and social transformation in rural areas. N. Patnaik (1969) brings out that backwardness of a community acts as a spur to accelerate change because of rising expectations and levels of aspirations, where such community is not under the pressure of other dominant groups. Sometimes economic prosperity of a rich landlord could be a retarding factor. A.P. Barnabas (1969) finds that 'all' aspects of the life of the villagers are undergoing changes. He also finds that higher the caste greater is the change and development. Paul G. Kiebert (1971) gives a descriptive analysis of life in a south Indian village. He finds that while changes are taking place in the village, caste and other social groups which cut across village boundaries are of equal importance in providing order in a pluralistic society. I.S. Grewal and T.S. Sohal (1971) find that refugee farmers differ distinctly from the non-refugee farmers in respect of certain cognizable characteristics, and former adopt improved practices at a higher rate than the latter. A.K. Danda and D.G. Danda (1971) find that community structure is one of the most important factor in shaping and making the kind of cultivator he is. They find that all 'outsiders' are usually distrusted by the villagers.

In 1946 Ramkrishna Mukherjee studied intensively six villages of Bengal. His findings which were first published in a paper in 1958 are now (1971) published in a book form. In 1946 Mukherjee found that the rural society was a living and moving entity. He observed that "a changing society should be regarded as the resultant of (1) the traditional inertia, (2) the urge to adapt to the changes in the basic economic

structure, and (3) the tendency to imbibe cultural traits from the surrounding groups and especially from those which are of a better socio-economic status, for there is a good deal of truth in the saying that 'culture flows from a higher to a lower potential' (p.273). He, however, gave a rather pessimist picture of the direction in which the changes were occurring. Some of his observations were: caste and communal division of the people (were) still maintained and were very little affected by the social change (p.277); within the caste or community there was concentration of economic power in a few families. This did not lead to any social security for the multitudes. It only further divided the better-off and the poor people into their respective groups (p.278); to meet the growing economic distress the people were reducing or totally giving up the grandeur of the socio-religious ceremonies (p.278); the old values of life were going to pieces and the traditional features were losing warmth and joy, but bright future was not visible instead (p.278); the society was changing by the forces acting upon it, but the change was of a blind character (p.280); the little education to broaden the individual outlook, which could help the people to get a new concept of the society and the progress of history, was also restricted only to class I of the economic structure, showing the lasting effect of the changes of a disintegrating economy on a society without a future (p.280). Mukherjee's twenty-five year old findings are of immense value to us even today, since most of the village studies conducted after his study only repeat his findings in one form or the other. A comparison of his findings with those of the recent studies would indicate that there has been no basic structural changes in the rural society even after



many five year plans.

P.K. Misra ( 1972) points out how the failure of Jenu Kuruba tribe to adjust itself to the changed environment and ecological conditions had affected its social life. He found that other tribe from the same region has been able to adjust to changes due to some of the institutional mechanisms which were absent among the Jenu Kurubas. One of the few studies which brought out certain structural changes in the rural society due to 'green revolution' is that of P.C. Aggarwal (1972). He finds that in the Punjab untouchability has almost disappeared. Chamars are found entering Gurudwaras and carrying lunches to the Jats, and in one case working as secretary of a Gurudwara. While the Jats are still dominant, the traditional qualifications for leadership are beginning to be questioned. The joint family is on its way out. Prakasa Rao (1972) analyses the interrelationships between caste, family structure, and religion and the different types of physical environment, the interfluvial (doab) and the flood plain. He finds that Jats are essentially a doab community, while refugee sikh cultivators and Gujars are located in plains. He also finds that benefits of innovation do not seem to have percolated to small cultivators, while the Jats and Sikhs who are progressive farmers have monopolised the benefits derived from innovation. Persistence or increase in disparities is clearly brought out by this study. Studies by Wolf Ladejinsky (1970, 1973), Parnab Bardhan (1970), and P.S. Appu (1973) bring out the ironies of India's "green revolution". Bardhan brings out that the benefits of "green revolution" have not percolated to

agricultural labourers. / Appu draws attention to unequal distribution of benefits from the Kosi project. Planning Commission report (1973) of the Task Force on Agrarian Relations clearly brings out how agrarian relations have been affected due to disparities in the distribution of benefits from development programmes.

### 3.3 Institutional Structure and Development

Various efforts have been made in the country to evolve new institutional arrangements for development. Social processes and sociological constraints under which these institutions operate have been the subject of some studies. B. Minz (1970) has presented a new perspective of the Indian community development programmes. He observes that while Gandhian ideology of community development has been ineffective, the recent innovative efforts are helping community growth in terms of structural changes and linkages of village communities with the national system. According to him circular causation with cumulative effect and people's poverty account for the increasing gap between the rich and the poor. Sugata Dasgupta (year not available) conducted an interesting study on the Sriniketan experiment of rural reconstruction carried out by Rabindranath Tagore. He finds that democratic values are substituted for traditional ones in the experimental villages. P.N. Mukherji (=970) conducted a study of gramdan movement in India. S.K. Day (1969) emphasizes the need for peoples participation in development and transfer of power to people's hand for their self development and growth.

A seminar on Rural Development for Weaker Sections was organized in 1972 by the Indian Society of Agricultural Economics and Centre for Management in Agriculture of the Indian Institute of Management. The Seminar deliberated on the problems of weaker section, programs for their development, and policy imperatives. Papers by V.S. Vyas, (1974) V. Govindrajan (1974), Sugata Dasgupta (1974), Yogesh Atal (1974), and V.R. Gaikwad (1974) dealt with the sociological and institutional dimensions of rural development. Vyas observes that greater convergence of ownership with operation of land and, a slight shift towards the smaller size groups in the distribution pattern of operational holdings, has played a positive role in giving a fillip to agricultural production. Govindrajan, the project officer, Small Farmers Development Agency, Srikakulam, in his paper emphasizes that there are a number of instances in which small cultivators are denied credit even when the amount is within their repayment capacity. According to him, the most important reason for this "is the traditional conservative approach of the influenced and better-off sections of cultivators who dominate the co-operative and run it as a close shop. Prejudices and indifference towards the small man sometimes based on caste or other sociological factors -- also account for this attitude of exclusiveness" (p.111). He stresses the point that 'unless this influential section is dislodged from its position of dominance vis-a-vis the small farmer, the hopes of a larger credit flow to the small farmer are doomed" (p.111). As a project officer in charge of SFDA, Govindarajan's observations and criticisms should be taken very seriously.

Dasgupta examines the role of voluntary agencies. He claims that the developments so far have followed an elitistic approach and a strategy of precolation from the top to bottom. He would like a control system from the bottom up to be developed. Yogesh Atal wants caste to be delinked from economic planning. According to him "A common error in our approach to development has been to equate inequalities in the economic sphere with social inequalities. Having identified the lowly groups in the caste hierarchy of Hindus, we have listed them in a schedule and granted them special privileges in the political and economic sphere with the express hope that this would ameliorate their ritually degraded status" (1974:1973). He recommends an area approach using a systems framework for development. Gaikwad is very critical of the approach followed so far. According to him under the guise of catering to special needs of the poor, we have created parallel institutions which are as inefficient as the ones they are supposed to replace. He recommends that if existing institutions are 'cleaned' thoroughly, and their control is vested in the weaker sections, then only overall development of weaker section would be possible.

#### 3.4 Leadership, Extension and Communication

The administrative machinery has always expected the village influentials and leaders to play key role in communication of new ideas to rural masses. The socio-political implication of this 'elite approach' to development has been studied by many. V.M. Sirsakar (1970) conducted a survey of 537 political leaders of three districts of Maharashtra. His findings are that these leaders mainly represent

the dominant caste of the region. Mohinder Paul Kaushal (1970) conducted a study in Ludhiana Block covering 216 village heads. His study reveals that the leadership structure has undergone a great change in the post-independent period. The strong-hold of the traditional caste-oriented leadership has been definitely shaken, and leaders from backward caste are also coming up. In contrast to this, S.P. Jain (1971) observes that if the social structure of the community is based on religion, caste and class, all the aspects tend to influence the pattern of leadership. He finds that in a north Indian village community upper strata of the community monopolizes both political and social leadership in the community. M.F. Abraham (1972) critically examines the studies on leadership.

V.R. Gaikwad and others (1972, 1973) critically examine the village social structure and role of opinion leaders in communication of ideas in rural society. They observe that the rural elite, in a way functions as agents. This elite is not neutral or impartial, and has a deep vested interest in programmes of the government. It reacts to government programmes in two ways. If the programmes support its interests it takes the maximum advantage of such programmes. If the programmes are meant for the benefit of the general masses and not essentially for the elite's own benefit, or if the programmes are even likely to influence the socio-economic structure, then it reacts in either of the ways: (a) Use its political links with higher levels either to scuttle the programme at the higher level itself or to distort and twist the basic objectives of the programme in such a way that its

benefits flow towards it; (b) create impediments in the legitimate working of the administrative machinery; (c) adopt indifferent and passive attitude towards the programme and give no co-operation to the implementing machinery; (d) pay lip-service to the cause of the programme in the presence of the officials and conveniently forget about it after their departure; (e) directly or indirectly exercise its economic power, its power derived out of the patronage it is able to extend to others, and its other power to intimidate the people in not accepting the government programme. The authors have further examined why this elite approach appeals to the existing political system, and the officials of the implementing machinery. They have raised doubts about the applicability of the concept of 'two-step' flow of communication in Indian village communities.

U. Pareek and Y.P. Singh (1970) give a profile pattern of key communicators in an Indian Village. L. Misra, L.N. Kar, and S. Sahoo (1970) conducted an action research study in nine villages. Their study reveals that the lay leaders were quite competent in bringing about change in knowledge, skill and attitude of their fellow farmers. D.N. Trivedi (1972) says that opinion leaders act as key individuals in the process by which new ideas enter the social system; and by providing the information to others they undoubtedly facilitate adoption of new farm practices. C. Rajagopalan and Jaspal Singh (1971) pointed out that even a backward and traditional-bound community can be changed, if only the advantages of change can be convincingly brought home and demonstrated to the people, and when necessary conditions

are created and adequate facilities are provided to the people. Rajagopal and Singh do not agree with Weber, and observe: "To quote Weber now in support of the present traditional character of Indian society amount to assuming that the Indian society has not undergone any fundamental change from the ancient time" (p.110). I.B. Singh and B.N. Sahay (1972) report the results of a study in two villages on communication behaviour of farmers and its impact on the economic and social aspects of their life. They consider communication as the key intervening variable in adoption of innovations. Their findings support their proposition that economic aspects of village life cannot be detached from the broader social aspects, and agricultural improvement is inextricably linked up with a whole set of social problems. V.M. Mishra (1971) observes that the media of mass communication play the role of intervening variable in both urbanization and modernization processes, and that the designer and activator relationships between the two processes are concomittant, mutual, and reciprocal.

### 3.5 Administration for Development

Effectiveness of an administrative organization involved in planning and implementation of programmes of development, to a great extent, depends upon the development orientation of its personnel. Orientation itself is a function of various factors such as background of persons concerned, their attitudes towards common man, their aspirations and motivations, and their reactions to stresses and strains which they face in the course of duty. There are a few studies which cover some of these dimensions.

B.S. Singh and A.U. Patel (1969) have looked into farmers' perception of the village level worker (VLW). S.L. Tripathi, V.K. Dubey, and G.C. Srivastava (1970), on the other hand have studied the attitude of VLW towards the community development programme. They have found that the VLWs have 'neutral' attitude towards community development programmes. Other studies on VLWs are by D.C. Dube (1970), W.B. Rahudkar (1970), and R.S. Shiwalkar (1970).

A.P. Barnabas and Donald C. Pelz (1970) looked into various aspects of agricultural administration such as co-ordination, communication and decision making. P.R. Dubhashi (1970) gives a comprehensive account of rural development administration in India. Richard P. Taub (1969) identifies four primary sources of strains under which Indian bureaucrats operate. These are: (1) the changing nature of the officer's responsibilities from the maintenance of law and order to various tasks of development; (2) democratization of government; (3) decline in the status of officers; and (4) legacy of centralized decision making, elaborate rules and regulations and multiple levels of civil service. He observes that the requisite shared values and subtle understanding which enable bureaucratic organizations to operate efficiently in a shifting and complex world are missing in the Indian bureaucracy (p.194). Taub finds IAS wanting when he compared it with the Weber's ideally constructed model of technical efficiency. He suggests that goal complexity, political setting and staff attitudes are modifying variables in the theory of bureaucracy and organizational effectiveness. S.N. Dubey (1969) also finds the



duel system of control, the role conflict, and conflicting loyalties responsible for organizational tension in community development bodies in India. Action for Rural Change: Readings in Indian Community Development (1970) is a source-book which provides a number of articles on problem of development administration. Of direct relevance are those of C.N. Bhalerao and I.H. Khan, R.S. Shiwalkar, w.B. Rahudkar, and D.C. Debey and others. In his book, V.R. Gaikwad (1969) has examined the pattern of official - non-official relationship under panchayati raj. He observes that the general attitude of officials towards the elected representatives is that of contempt and resentment. He forwards five reasons to explain such attitudes: (i) feeling of superiority due to higher education, urban background, higher social status and better standard of living; (ii) feeling of superiority due to position, power and authority, along with special privileges enjoyed so far as a government servant in the society; (iii) general contempt for the illiterate and semi-literate villagers from which class many non-officials are elected; (iv) feeling of resentment towards the merging local leadership because of its efforts for more power and better status; (v) fear of loss of power, prestige and privileges enjoyed so far. Other notable articles on the relationship between officials and elected representatives are by A. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar (1970), and Y.B. Damle (1970). Iqbal Narain and V.P. Grover (1970) examine the relationships between the technocrats and generalists.

V. Jaganadhan (1972) in his theoretical paper looks into the role of social welfare administration in social change. V.R. Gaikwad (1973, a) examines the role/<sup>of</sup>the public services in development of weaker sections

### 3.6 Motivational Factors in Development

Role of socio-psychological factors in economic development has been examined in some studies. D.R. Sarkar and D. Sen (1970) examine the effect of value orientation on adoption behaviour. In their study of 100 heads of households in four villages in Birbhum district, west Bengal, they find a positive co-relation between the modern values and adoption behaviour. Value scale and adoption scale are used for measuring Fatalism - scientism, conservatism - liberalism, authoritarianism - non-authoritarianism, cultural ethnocentrism - modernism. S.V. Supe and N.V. Kolte (1971) also look into values and adoption of farm innovations. They administered five value scales related to farm management process to 236 farmers of Buldhana district of Maharashtra. They find significant relationship between adoption behaviour and economic motivation, scientific orientation, mental activity and risk preference of the farmers. Importance of economic motivation has been emphasized also by A.K. Das and D.R. Sarkar (1970). There are a few studies on aspiration. Notable among these are by B.C. Muthayya (1970, 1971), and S.A. Srivastava and S.K. Goyal (1970). Srivastava and Goyal find that the villagers are greatly concerned with the satisfaction of bare necessities of life, and they have very vague idea about their other needs. Muthayya also comes to more or less same conclusions. He mentions that socio-economic status and work-orientation of cultivators could also be used to motivate the farmers. H.S. Bhatia (1970) suggests that changes in institutional behaviour follows a selective process, which is guided

by forces affecting both intra-group and inter-group behaviour patterns. Sachidananda (1972) conducted an intensive study covering 300 respondents from six villages. The results indicate their progressive outlook does not emerge out of economic development of the farmers. The general purpose of Durganand Sinha's study (1972) was to find out the changing trend in the level of aspiration and motivation over a period of five years, i.e. between 1964 and 1965 when the tests had been originally administered and 1969 when they were readministered. He finds a consistent decrease in the optimism with which the future is viewed by the respondents. There is also a general decline in the level of aspiration. Narmadeshwar Prasad (1970) studies two aspects of social change, namely, change on a material level, and social reaction to change. He has developed a conceptual framework which is based on the nature of 'objective level' and 'subjective level'. The objective level includes change of quality, change of quantity, loss or removal or replacement, and change of function. Each is tested on material objective level, and behavioural objective level. Change at subjective level incorporates values, motives, needs perception and belief. Udai Pareek (1970) looks into the dimension of poverty in relation to motivation.

### 3.7 Entrepreneurship

Many social scientists have taken keen interest in analysing the factors influencing entrepreneurship in Indian society. L.P. Vidyarthi (1969, 1970) has studied industrialization in tribal areas. Study by

Administrative Staff College of India, Hyderabad (1969) gives a profile of emerging investors in rural India. H.N. Pathak (1973) has examined the problem of developing entrepreneurship in backward regions. K.J. Christopher (1969) looks into socio-psychological factors influencing development of small industries. U. Pareek and V.K. Kumar (1969) have studied the motives of entrepreneurship in an Indian town. The study by G.V. Javillonar and G.R. Peters (1973) of 27 industrial entrepreneurs in a north Indian town reveals that entrepreneurship among the Indian small-scale entrepreneurs is more a consequence of their family and other situational factors than individual factors. They do not find an achievement related to entrepreneurship. Malgavkar and Jayachandra (1972) observe that the socio-political system related factors are often impediments to the development of entrepreneurship. V.R. Gaikwad and R.N. Tripathi (1970) have analysed the reasons for fast growth of industry in a rural setting. The authors have identified eleven factors that have contributed to the success of an entrepreneur. These factors indicate how under certain socio-political circumstances a rich landowner from rural area is able to develop large industrial enterprise.

K.N. Sharma (1969) in his study covering Parsis, Gujarati, Marwari, Vaisyas, Brahmin, Kaystha, Muslims, and artisan and peasant castes, concludes that the growth of entrepreneurship can be divided into two phases - initiation of entrepreneurship and broadening of social watershed of entrepreneurship. Broadening of social watershed, according to Sharma is a result of the process of feedback of the success

of the leaders, change into the social system, and development of new channels of communication cutting across caste barriers (p.491). W. Brochi (1969) has written on the entrepreneurship in the less developed world. Based on his field study among the Ramgharias, Satish Saberwal (1972) makes an interesting point that Hegan's hypothesis about the rise of an entrepreneurial class is related closely to the rise of the Sikh Lohar-Tarkhans who later called themselves the Ramgharias. Hegan has suggested that withdrawal of status respect from a social group results in its turning to innovation and entrepreneurship as a means of regaining social status. Saberwal has contributed to Hegan's analysis by bringing in the concept of conditional conferral of status respect. He involved an integral concept of corporate dissonance. P.S. Hundal (1971) compares the slow and progressive entrepreneurs of Louisiana. He finds that fast progressive entrepreneurs have high need achievement than the slow progress entrepreneurs.

N.P. Singh (1970, 1970 a) has conducted a series of studies on agricultural entrepreneurs. In one study (1970) he finds that progressive cultivators have a positive rating of their economic progress. They like their profession and have a positive attitude towards modernization. In another study (1970 a) he finds that traditional agricultural entrepreneurs show higher anxiety than progressive agricultural entrepreneurs.

Various authors have suggested the essential conditions for the development of entrepreneurship. J.A. Schumpeter (1934) has suggested suitable environment and intuition in grasping the essential facts. Weber (1930) suggested 'Protestant Ethics' which emerged from the religious belief system of Calvinistic Puritanism, which according to him is absent in oriental religious belief system. E.E. Hegan (1971) has suggested creative personality, high need achievement, need order and need autonomy, fairly widespread creative problem solving ability and tendency to use it, favourable attitudes towards manual-technical labour and physical world. T.C. Cochran (1971) referred to attitude towards occupation, the role of expectations held by sanctioning groups, and the operational requirements of the job. D.C. McClelland and D.G. Winter (1969) argued for need for achievement through self-study, goal setting and inter-personal support, keen interest in situations involving moderate risk, desire for responsibility, concrete measures of task performance, anticipation of future possibilities, organizational skills, and energetic and/or novel instrumental activity. To Peter Kilby (1971) important conditions for development of entrepreneurship are: Perception of market opportunities; gaining command over scarce resources; marketing of products; dealing with public bureaucratic concessions, licences, taxes; management of human relations within the firm and with customers and suppliers; financial and production management; and technological knowledge. He gave low priority, to 'need for achievement

and moderate risk taking! According to Kunkel (1971) values, attitudes and personalities are meaningless variables leading to blind alleys of theory and action. Wayne E. Nafziger (1971) reports that those who perceive challenge to status, migrants and members of new religious sects and reformed groups generally show greater entrepreneurial capabilities. Staley and Morse (1965) has suggested that programme of services in industrial advice, management training and industrial research are essential conditions for development of entrepreneurship. Fox (1973), Mines (1973), and Papanek (1973) argued for favourable economic opportunities and political conditions. Ashis Nandy (1973, 1973 a and 1973 b) considers supportive community self-image which gives meaning, value, and status to an entrepreneurial career, to be important considerations. Milton Singer (1973) considers traditional system of occupational culture, special opportunities, motivations, experience and training or knowledge as important factors. He argues that traditional belief and value systems are flexible to allow for interpretation with changing conditions.

These studies bring out four currents of thought pertaining to entrepreneurship. Early sociologists like Weber emphasized the religious belief system, suggesting that religious belief systems of Hinduism, Buddhism and Islam do not encourage entrepreneurship. This has been challenged and refuted by many social scientists like Fox (1973), Mines (1973), Papanek (1973), Nandy (1973 b), and Singer (1973). According to them the religious belief systems in India do not seem

to impede industrial development since these traditional belief and value systems are sufficiently flexible. The second current of thought emphasizes the achievement motivation aspects, and again links these with the nature of socialization in the society. This over emphasis on the individual and his values, attitudes and personality has been severely criticized by some scholars such as Kilby (1971), and Kunkel (1971). The third current of thought emphasizes the existence of economic opportunities and incentives for entrepreneurial development. The economists assume that the factors of production possess a high degree of mobility, that inputs and outputs are homogeneous, and that producers, consumers and resource owner have knowledge of all the possibilities open to them. As is well-known, in an underdeveloped country such ideal conditions do not exist. As such, the entrepreneurship envisaged by economists cannot be developed in the country by considering the economic dimensions alone. The fourth school of thought emphasizes the managerial approach to entrepreneurship. It emphasizes both the perception of market opportunities and operational skills required to run a business or an industry.

Critical evaluation of these currents of thought brings out that the entrepreneurial role encompasses the perception of economic opportunity, technical and organizational skills, managerial competence and motivation to active results and support of immediate social group.

The research literature on entrepreneurship provides some useful insight into the complex psychological, sociological, economic and



managerial aspects of entrepreneurship. It seems from these studies that to accelerate growth of entrepreneurship in a developing country like India it is absolutely necessary to develop various support systems at least at the initial stages of growth. The support systems should provide, (i) information about market potential and opportunities, (ii) financial support, (iii) expert technical advice and guidance, (iv) training in managerial skills, and (v) motivational training to overcome, to the extent possible, some of the attitudinal and behavioural constraints.

Initial support systems are essential, for even a dynamic entrepreneur is not likely to go very far in the absence of the five factors mentioned above. The initial support has to be such that it should shield the potential entrepreneur from various environmental constraints and minimise his dependence on his immediate social group. In other words, to start with, it creates a somewhat simulated environment around the entrepreneur which is favourable to him. Such support systems should function till such time a critical number of entrepreneurs in the society is developed, so that entrepreneurship does not remain an isolated, individual dominated concept, but a social reality which has become an integral part of the culture, or culture itself. Only systematic and organized nurturing of entrepreneurship would ultimately generate pressures on the existing socio-economic and political, institutions, cultural attitudes, practices and values towards modernization.

#### 4.0 Recommended Direction for Research on Social Change and Sociology of Development

4.1. The review of researches on social change and sociology of development reveals that the treatment of these subjects by the social scientists is undergoing a perceptible change. Till recently, there was blind acceptance and use of western concepts and theories in their researches with little original development of thought relevant to indigenous culture and society. This could be considered the childhood period for the Indian sociology when most of the scientists tried to use the knowledge received from the western scholars, especially the American ones. Over a period of time, when they, and especially the young entrants in the profession consciously or sub-consciously discovered that social realities did not support and correspond their interpretations, they became rather skeptic about the wisdom of alien scholarship. A few western scholars also realised the futility of applying in toto the 'established' western concepts and theories to complex, historic cultures and societies of the developing countries. It seems that at least for the Indian social scientists the childhood phase is on the wane, and they have now entered the adolescent phase. The phase of intellectual dependence of Indian scholars on their western counterpart is slowly but definitely fading out. This is a phase of disenchantment and diffidence for many, and of creativity and exploration for some.

4.2 In this period of adolescence, research for concepts and theories relevant to the society and its needs are being emphasized. Halting steps are being taken towards development of

at least middle-ranged theories with the hope that these would explain the social realities much more meaningfully. There is a distinct desire to add to the micro-level, empirical studies, macro-level studies and theoretical constructs. Anxiety is expressed about the eventual use of research to solve pressing problems before the country. Some thought it necessary to supplement political debates and legitimate political processes in the country through collection of specific information and rational arguments about alternatives. There is some realization that the role of social scientists involves not only the description of social environment and social process, but evaluation of social change and its consequences, anticipation of second generation problems and future needs of the society, and generation of alternative strategies for development.

4.3 These are the trends that need to be strengthened further, deliberately and judiciously. Broadly speaking, the policy should be to encourage:

(A) Research of theoretical nature leading to middle-ranged theories. This could be done through (a) analysis and interpretation of available micro-level, empirical studies on various elements to get a better and deeper knowledge about reality, and (b) analysis and interpretation of micro- as well as macro-level studies for broader generations.

(B) Research to supplement the political debates, and to give rational, objective arguments about alternatives. It is of utmost importance that studies falling under this category should not merely give a

descriptive account of events, situations and processes, but, and this is most important, they must come out with logical alternatives, giving (a) various operational strategies to be used over a time span, (b) constraints under which the strategies would be implemented, (c) methods for keeping the constraints within limits, (d) possible consequences of the alternatives suggested, and (e) long-term planning of supplementary strategies to take care of possible consequences, and for maintaining the correct direction of social change.

4.4 The second category of research mentioned above raises a fundamental question: Should or should not a social scientist today concern himself in his work about the eventual use of his research? This is an old question debated all the time and there are valid arguments on both the sides. However, the question today is of priorities. When the resources are limited what should be our priorities. Available studies on social change and sociology of development give a fairly good description of the social realities and social processes in the country. More descriptive studies would not appreciably add to our understanding of the society. What is required today is more studies which would come out with better definition of social goals and clear-cut alternative strategies for achieving the defined goals.

4.5 Definition of social goals may not be a difficult task. But development of alternate strategies for change raises another fundamental issue. It is realised that the social science research is not value-free. Generally speaking, the so-called "value-free"

research is system supportive. The values essentially play a determining role when it comes to evolution of alternative operational strategies for social change. The latent, underlying values and political ideology of a scientist are exposed through the operational strategies for change suggested by him. Often to avoid such an exposé, the scientists limit their work to mere description of social processes. The question is : should not a social scientist explain clear his value or ideological base while writing on social change and sociology of development? How clear is the ideological base of most of the social scientists in India? In other socialist countries, especially in Russia and East-European countries, research in social sciences is on Marxist-Leninist foundation. In China it is on Maoist foundation. What is the ideological foundation of Indian social scientists? It seems that Indian social scientists have no clear perception of their value and ideological base. They show great hesitation in coming to grips with such questions. Some consider such a question as against the spirit of scientific enquiry, and even consider it as 'obscence' and 'indecent'. It is felt that if they would concentrate their energies on finding out alternative operational strategies for social change, their perception of their ideological base would become clearer to them. Without a clear perception of their value and ideological orientation they might find it difficult to contribute substantially to theories of change and development.

4.6 In operational terms, the questions that should attract attention of those interested in the field of social change and sociology of development, are as follows: Are the social goals before the society clearly defined? In which 'direction' changes in various elements are taking place? Is the society moving towards the prescribed goals which the policy makers have put before the society? Whether the change strategies adopted so far moving the society in right direction? In which strata changes are more marked and in which these are missing, and why? What are the factors effecting change, and how overall changes in the society are affecting various sub-systems and elements and quality of life? In the field of development the questions that need to be answered are: Whether and how far various organizational and institutional changes introduced so far have been effective in inducing development? Under what sociological constraints these institutions operate, and how these constraints could be removed or minimised? What are the new organizational and structural changes required for accelerating development process?

4.7 The areas which did not receive sufficient attention during the period 1969-72, and the new areas on which work was started and which show potential for further development are as follows:

1. Family as an intervening factor in social change.
2. Changes required in family structure and socialization processes for accelerating modernization. (Further development of Gore's (1972) ideas).

3. Innovations required in education system so that access to education would not be influenced by rigidity in the social structure.
4. Strategies for development of social consciousness among the student and non-student youth.
5. Innovations required in political system so that distribution of power would not be influenced by traditional structure in the society.
6. Systematic studies of interest. (Further development of Andre Beteille's (1969) ideas).
7. Development of operational strategies for change based on Gandhian ideology.
8. Implications of applying operational strategies based on Marxist-Leninist foundation to Indian conditions.
9. Implications of applying operational strategies based on Maoist foundation to Indian conditions.
10. Implications of "Mixed economy" in Indian conditions.
11. Relevance of Hindu beliefs and rituals to modernization of India. (Further development of Gupta's (1971), Pandeya's (1970), and Rao's (1969) ideas).
12. Status of values, norms and ideologies in the process of modernization. (Further development of Ratna Datta's (1971) ideas).
13. Social legislation and social change.
14. Theoretical implications of social differences.
15. Historically defined system of social production and its relation with the class articulation or stratification of society (Application of Marxist analysis for understanding the Indian social structure).

16. Institutional and functional frames of control and leadership affecting social mobility and social stratification.
17. Examination of three basic relations, normally, property relations, relations based on socially relevant and appraised knowledge, and relations of power, as determinants of social change and development. (Further development of Yogendra Singh's (1972), P.C. Joshi's (1969, 1972), and Andre Beteilles (1969, 1972, 1972a) ideas).
18. Effect of demographic factors on social change and social stratification.
19. Differences in quality of life between Urban and rural setting, and within each setting between various strata.
20. Motives, value orientation and ways of life of intellectuals, including, civil servants and people in profession such as doctors, lawyers, teachers, artists and scientists.
21. Effect of urbanization and industrialization on the relationship of intellectuals to the various classes of society and to its professional and occupational structure.
22. Effect of mass communication on social consciousness and social change.
23. Mechanization of agriculture and its implications on social and occupational mobility.
24. Industrialization and social and occupational mobility.
25. Influence and manifestations of urbanization.
26. Role of cultural activities in inducing change.



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