CHAPTER- V

VALUE DISCOURSES IN THE STUDY OF INDIAN SOCIOLOGY
PART – II
5. Previous chapter deals with some of the major contributions in the study of values in Indian sociology and anthropology. The works of some of the pioneer Indian sociologists like Radhakamal Mukerjee, Govind Sadashiv Ghurye, Dhurjati Prasad Mukerjee, N.K. Bose, Dhirendra Narayan Majumdar, A.K. Saran and Ramkrishna Mukerjee have been discussed. Indian sociologists had an advantage of having inherited a rich social thought which is very ancient in the history of human civilizations and unique in relation to man in different spheres of social life. Modern Sociology, as a systematic study of human relationship and behaviour is gaining its due recognition in India. It is clear that, sociology in India does not have an autonomous existence and is closely linked to religion, or economics or politics. The development of sociology in India has been strengthened by several new generations of Indian sociologists. However, most of them were either trained in western countries or the students of the pioneer Indian sociologists. According to Yogendra Singh, "the social conditioning of the paradigms of Indian sociology during the 1950s is reflected in its ideological character. It is marked by a cultural renaissance ideology pervading the sociological studies of the 1930s and 1940s to distinctly professional and field work-oriented studies popular during the 1950s and 1960s. Ideologically, a subtle shift in the value premises of sociology had taken place as the overt reformist and contentious (vis-à-vis the external colonial situation) orientation of the 'pioneers' was replaced by a constructive and consensual value premise in the contributions of sociologists. (Yogendra Singh: 1986: Indian Sociology: 14) The studies of B.N. Seal, B.S. Cohen, R.N. Saksnina, B.K. Sarkar, Milton Singer, Mc Kim Marriot, F.G. Bailey, M.S. Gore, I.P. Desai, Iravati Karve, Veena Das Leela Dube, J.P.S. Uberoi, L.P. Vidyarthi, K.M. Kapadia, D.N. Dhanagare, P.N. Mukherji, S. Saberwal and M.S.A. Rao and some others reflect the socio-cultural complexities of Indian society in a value premises.

Jaganath Pathy has pointed out "Indian Sociology follows the lead of reactionary American Sociologists like T. Parsons, R.K. Merton, A.K. Davis, A.F. Bales, H.D. Lasswell, P.F. Lazarsfeed, N.J. Smelser, S.M. Lipset, G.C. Homans Parsonian jargon and the more recent American cult of statistics are considered to be the key to the science of society." (Jaganath Pathy: 1987: 62) Several volumes of village studies have been published from 1955 onwards that based on descriptive, ethnographical and survey-based village monographs like Dube (1955, 58), Majumdar
etc. give clear picture of values associated with caste, religion, occupation, culture and social relations among the village communities. However, some of them are discussed in this chapter. After India's independence, the caste studies were conducted by emphasizing on intensive field-work covering functional interdependence of castes, purity and pollution, nature and types of caste mobility, forms of dependence and dominance between castes, and inter-caste frictions. “Srinivas's “Sanskritization” and “Westernization”, Dube's “Hierarchical levels of interacting cultural traditions”, Marriot's “Universalization” and “Parochialization”, and Baily's “Bridge action”, are primarily focused on understanding culture and cultural changes.” (Ibid: 64) The studies on caste systems and the concepts developed for their analysis have taken for granted the rationality of the economic system, and are concerned more for values and norms than anything else. Besides village and caste studies, there are a few works on comparative politics, voting behaviour, socialization, multiple elites, family planning and communication, etc. The study on Education by M.S. Gore, and I.P. Desai, Social Movements by M.S.A. Rao, T.K. Oommen and Dipankar Gupta, Social Stratification and Inequality by Yogendra Singh, Andre Beteille, K.L. Sharma and Dipankar Gupta, the study of Cities by Victor D. Souza and Milton Singer, Development study by S.C. Dube, the study of Dalits by Gail Omvet and Nanduram, Household study by A.M. Shaha has enriched sociology reflecting the diversified values associated with the specific subjects. The study on religion is never been an area of lesser concern among the Indian sociologists. The study on religion by Ghurye, Srinivas, D.N. Majumdar, J.P.S. Uberoi, T.N. Madan, Veena Das, C.N. Venugopal and several others reflects religious values among the Indians. The study of Family, Marriage and Kinship by K.M. Kapadia, Iravati Karve and T.N. Madan reflect the associated values in the subject. The study on tradition, modernity, post-modernity and globalization by different Indian sociologists with reference to values have been already discussed in the Chapter - II.

Change in Sociology after independence is guided by the changing historical forces and bases of structure in India. Studies of specific social processes such as urbanization, migration and demographic changes, industrialization and entrepreneurship, educational processes and social stratification have been conducted.
Besides this, distributive justice and social exploitation of specific categories, such as women, children, tribes and their problems of health and nutrition were all increasingly conducted, not merely as social portraits, but also to seek diagnostic and explanatory relationship enriching concepts and methods in sociology. (Yogendra Singh: 1986: Indian Sociology: 28) It is a difficult task to accommodate all the sociologists in the discourse on value analysis. However, some of the important works of sociologists and social anthropologists like Nirmal Kumar Bose, A.R. Desai, S.C. Dube, Triloki Nath Madan, M.N. Srinivas, Yogendra Singh and Andre Beteille, who has contributed to literature on the study of values, has been discussed in this chapter.

5.1. Akshaykumar Ramanlal Desai (1915-1994)

A.R. Desai, a well known Marxist and historian sociologist who had studied Indian social reality through a dialectical approach. According to him the Marxist’s view is essential to focus on the type of property relations prevailing in the Indian society as this is crucial to a proper understanding of the nature of the social transformation that has been taking place in the country. In his most celebrated book, *Social Background of Indian Nationalism* (1948) explores nationalism and its historical phenomenon. He says that, the social transformation of Indian society from a medieval to modern basis during the last one hundred and fifty years and resultant rise of India nationalism and the nationalist movement in its various forms, social, religious, economic, political and cultural, constitute a most fascinating theme for study for the students of social science and history. He argued that Indian nationalism came into being during the British period as a result of the action and inter-action of numerous subjective and objective forces and factors which developed within the Indian society under the conditions of the British rule and the impact of the world forces. According to him, “the debate and scholarly researches are found on a preferred value premise, common to traditional Marxists adhering to two stage theory of revolution. They consider that the forces and classes that assist and encourage capitalist development in backward, ex-colonial countries (independent, self-reliance generating) are progressive and therefore to be supported and considered as allies, in completing the first stage of revolution. This premise colours the tenor of the debate and framework of researches and studies.” (For details see A.R. Desai: 1984: X [Preface]) Basically his writings are aimed at to
critically examine the revolutionary Marxist thought that pursued by traditional communist parties and their followers.

5.1.1. Village and Town

Desai has reflected on the economy and culture in pre-British India and pointed out that, the self-sufficient village, based on agriculture carried on with the primitive plough and bullock power and handicrafts by means of simple instruments, was a basic feature of pre-British Indian society. The self sufficient village as the basic economic unit had existed for centuries in India and, except for some minor modifications, had survived till the advent of the British rule, in spite of all political convulsions, religious upheavals and devastating wars. (A.R. Desai: 1948: 7) He further pointed out that, pre-British Indian society almost completely subordinated the individual to the caste, the family and the village panchayat. throughout its centuries old existence. (Ibid: 13) Within the village, the economic life based on primitive agriculture and artisan industry was on a low and almost stationary level. Besides an ocean of tiny, autocratic villages, a few towns have sprung up and existed in Indian society. These towns were of three kinds, those of political importance, those of religious significance and others of commercial values. (Ibid: 14) The towns of capital importance were capitals of kingdoms and empires. There was another group of towns like Benaras, Mathura, Puri, Nasik and others which were centres of religious worship and places of pilgrimage. A fixed population, which attends the requirements of thousands of pilgrims who visited these towns, dwelt there. Apart from this there were towns which had commercial importance because they were situated on sea or on the banks of navigable rivers or at the confluence of strategic trade routes. Handicrafts industries, complex and diversified, flourished in these towns. (Ibid: 14) Apart from this the role spreading of missionaries in the education have been resulted the uneven rise of new social classes. There was reform movements like emancipation of women, crusade against the caste system and untouchability initiated during those days and later on influenced the social values in a greater extent.

5.1.2. Conflicting Values in Indian Sociology

His book India's Path of Development: A Marxist Approach (1984) reflects about his well structured revolutionary thought with a conflicting value frame work in which has
very critically analyzed the capitalist pattern of economic development through various plans and programmes in India since its independence. Apart from this he has examined the practice of sociology in Indian Universities at the backdrop of value premises along the line of dialectical relations. Following are some of the key points taken from this book to explain his engagement with values in studying sociology in India.

1. Sociological teaching and research are still cast in the colonial mould even after several decades of India's independence. This sets limit to its range, constricts its vision, blunts its purpose and saps its creativity. The discipline also finds itself in the tragic situation because it has opted to function within a framework of dependency, as a satellite system rather than an autonomous one.

2. There is lack of awareness in Indian sociological tradition.

3. Sociological teaching and research are being undertaken in isolation from indology and history.

4. Sociology in India is largely a discipline of borrowed concepts and methods derived from high prestige-centres of learning in the affluent west, especially in the U.S.A and U.K which has resulted in chasing 'high-prestige' models into the quicksands of pseudo-intellection.

5. Indian sociology does not address itself to the living concerns of today and also for the future. It is not identifying critical problems, posing the right questions and devising appropriate procedures of investigation. As a result it is not able to contribute meaningfully towards resolving the unary dilemmas of development.

6. Indian sociology is yet to establish its credibility with the people and policy makers.

7. Adoption of a value-free stance and a posture of neutrality but still consciously or unconsciously accepting uncritically the values adopted by policy makers about the desired type of society.

8. Adopting a value-free posture, it is indecisive in determining the criteria for evaluating the relevance of research and avoids undertaking analyses of gut issues, developing a tendency to skirt around them and get distracted towards activities that have limited scientific value and are of only peripheral interest.

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With strong faith and believes A.R. Desai argued that, "the Marxist approaches helps one to raise relevant questions, to conduct researches in the right direction, to formulate adequate hypothesis, to evolve proper concepts, adopt and combine appropriate researches techniques, and to locate the central tendencies of transformation with their major implications."(A.R. Desai: 1984: 9-10)

5.1.3. Marxist Approach in Indian Sociology

According to him, the Marxist approach demands, from everyone endeavouring to understand social reality, a clear understanding of the nature of means of production, the techno-economic division of labour involved in operating the instruments of production and social relations of production, or what are more precisely characterized as properly relations. The Marxist approach considers property to be checked carefully about the spelling relations as crucial because they shape the purpose, nature, control, direction and objectives underlying the production. And further property relations determine the norms governing who shall get how much and on what grounds. (Ibid: 12) In his further argument, he states that, the Marxist approach of adopting the criteria of property relations to define the nature of a society will help Indian scholars to designate the type of society we have in India today, the class character of Indian state and the nature of the path of development being followed with all its implications.

Studies relating to panoplies clearly reveal that the concentration of assets, resources and income is growing very rapidly role even within the capitalist groups. Small-scale Industries with high capital investment and using power are expanding the cost of the handicraft industries of the rural artisan classes. Concentration of land holdings and other assets in the hands of a tiny minority of landlords and rich farmers and a corresponding pauperization and proletarianization of the bottom has emerged as a distinct trend after independence. (Ibid: 15) This inequality in distributions of available resources and monopoly over the capitalist class in their economic activity further sharpen the existing tensions among the different groups in India. Moreover, the studies assessing the condition of women, the scheduled caste and scheduled tribes reveal further deterioration of economic conditions and growing social oppression as the overwhelming majority of these groups. (Ibid)
Education which is considered as one of the tools for the social mobility among the deprived class and plays a major in shaping their social values has also comes under the grip of capitalist social character. The educational opportunities are also being created in such a manner that only those few influential sections who have resources can afford it keeping a large section of people to out of its reach. As a result the unemployment rate among these groups has increased very rapidly. This tends to accentuate social inequality in the country. Needless to describe about the sufferings of deprived sections those who are living either in rural or urban areas, it is the only minority rich are more privileged. "Studies in urbanization reveal that the evolving urban socio-cultural pattern enables a small minority of affluent sections to claim the lion's share of urban amenities at the cost of the block of the population." (Ibid) Economic development either capitalistic or socialistic is one of the important aspects for the growth and progress of any nation. But here keeping in view the holistic development of society taking account of the aspirations of different sections of people, Desai emphasizes on socialistic pattern of development. He criticized the ineffectiveness on the part of the Government of India for developing socialistic economy and pointed out that, the "economic function which is sometimes described in broad terms as "protection and reproduction of social structure (the fundamental relation of production) in so far as this is not achieved by the automatic processes of the economy." (Ibid: 34)

The ideological principles along with the political willingness are one of the important reasons for such economic development. According to Desai, "Ideological functions, which are those functions of the state, aimed of ensuring that the dominant values and normative assumptions of the specific society are accepted by the dominated or disgruntled groups and classes without the immediate exercise of repression against them." (Ibid) Desai argued that the survey of public sector in India viewed from all sides-viz. extent, emphasis, objective and impulses-clearly reveals that it is being developed to strengthen capitalism in the country. The public sector as it has emerged in India operates to assist in the achievement of the major objectives and policies laid down by government, which are clearly aimed at building capitalism in the country. (Ibid: 70) He further stated that, "while capitalist rationality is ruthlessly pursued with regard to economic operations confusing, obscurantist, casteist, religious and other worldly values are propagated among the masses through the radio, television, press.
institutions and associations and by pressing into service an entire army of professionals vending ethical, religious and spiritual values the sadhus, sanyasis and heads and staff of various religious organizations and temples.” (Ibid: 194) It is interesting to note that this dualistic value and normative system eminently serves the proprietary classes both in pursuing their economic and political interests and in confusing and distorting the perceptions and analysis of the masses, and preventing them from locating the real sources of their woes in the type of socio-economic order which is being built in India. Rural India is replete with these cultural currents. They take many forms and manifest themselves in various movements and in the emergence of varied cults taking on many ideological, organization and propaganda forms but which all perform one major function: preventing the exploited classes from tracing the true source of their misery. (Ibid: 194-195)

5.1.4. Values: Socialist and Capitalist Society

Analyzing the social values of capitalist developed societies, Desai pointed out that these developed societies are themselves ridden with tensions, conflicts and are historically experiencing mighty contradiction and strife, which may lead them to various types of debacles. While recognizing the significant role of conflict in capitalist societies they further presume that the ruling group in contemporary society is the power-elite, and not the capitalist class. According to them the capitalist class is not the ruling class either in the developed or underdeveloped countries. Keeping in view the conditions of capitalist societies Desai argues, “an adequate theory of development for the ‘third world’ can be formulated only if it is clearly grasped that the present underdevelopment of the ‘third world’ is rooted in the fact that they were kept backward as colonial and semi-colonial appendages of the present advanced capitalist imperialist countries.” (A.R. Desai: 1975: 15) The backwardness of third world countries was simultaneously generated by the very process which ushered in development in the imperialist countries. “The underdevelopment of a large number of countries and the development of a few capitalist western countries are the two faces of the same world wide process which emerged with the growth of the modern capitalist system on a global scale.” (Ibid)

Whole about discussing the associated values in science & technology and its role in social transformation Desai made a comparative analysis and pointed out that,
capitalist and socialist types of societies have emerged as dominant forms in the history of mankind only after the Industrial Revolution. Both the types of societies are thus based on the foundation of production processes based on technology. (Ibid: 41-42) In capitalist society, the means of production are basically owned privately. This private ownership manifested itself in the form of individual ownership, partnership, just stock companies trusts, syndicates or cartels whereas in socialist society the means of production are socially owned. In capitalist society, the production of goods is carried in for securing profits for the private owners of the means of production. Only those commodities and goods will be produced which bring profit to the capitalist. Secondly the production of the goods is carried on for selling them in the market. (Ibid: 43) In contrast to this, firstly, in Socialist society production is not for profit but for the assessed needs of the people. Secondly, it is not carried on for an anarchic market but for carefully planned out requirements of the society. It does not suffer from the ravages of cut throat competition among profit chasing private owners but is guided by a rationally worked out universally planned use of means of production based on scientific calculation of the needs of the people. In capitalist society, the lion’s share of income accrues to a small group consisting of owners of means of production. It takes the form of profit interest and rent only a very small share is available to the majority of workers and employees in the form of wages and salaries. This inequalities in allocation of income affects the availability of resources so necessary for carrying on social, cultural and recreational life by different sections in the society. (Ibid: 44)

In contrast to the capitalist society, in the socialist society, as a result of abolition of private property in the name of production, income in the form of interest, rent and profit does not concentrate in the hands of the few people. These incomes accrue to society and are available for society as a whole. In socialist society as a result of elimination of properties of means of production, resources for social, cultural and recreational life are predominantly place as free communal amenities which could be utilized by various sections of the people. This enables the people to have a rich associational, cultural and recreational life. (Ibid: 45)

5.1.5. Values and Modernization

The associated values of modernization have not remained untouched in the writings of Prof. A.R. Desai. According to him, the term "modernization" is seeking to supersede
several other earlier concepts as a comprehensive concept aimed of capturing, describing and evaluating the profound, qualitative and quantitative changes that have been taking place in human society from the sixteenth century onwards. According to Prof. Black and others, “these changes have inaugurated a new epoch in the history of mankind. Concepts like Anglicization, Europeanization, westernization, urbanization, evolution, development, progress etc are either being replaced by “modernization” or are being fitted into the matrix of this concept.” (Ibid: 19) He further states, modernization as a complex process of “system transformation” manifests itself in certain socio-demographic features termed “social mobilization” and “structural changes”. In the process of modernization the social mobilization and major clusters of old socio-economic and psychological commitments are eroded and people become available for new pattern of socialization and behavior. These structural changes created highly differentiation and specialization with respect to individual activities and institutional structure. Thus, gradually modernization applied in the sphere of political, economic and in the cultural changes.

5.1.6. Public Sector and Value Judgement

According to Desai, the public sector in contemporary India has become one of the controversial publicized and furiously discussed themes. The discussions have acquired a new edge as it became an important issue among various political parties for fighting elections. Political leader indulge in violent and even acrimonious arguments on this subject and have launched agitations and even mass movements around slogans concerning the public sector. Value judgments are made; subtle arguments are put forward for and against its epitomized existence, its spread and concerning its functions. Electoral campaigns aimed at persuading millions of citizens to support or oppose one party or another have also spread awareness of the crucial importance of the public sector among peasants, workers and other ordinary citizens throughout the country. (A.R. Desai: 1984: 45) During the British period, the new legal, economic and political administration frame work created by the British for their own exploitative purposes, shattered any possibility of resurrection of a feudal economy and a feudal political system and provided a framework suited only for the development of the economy and a capitalist economy based on money market and production for profit. (Ibid: 99)
The transfer of power from British to the Indians has a long history of struggle. It was the Indian capitalist class who has secured political power after independence. This capitalist class is utilizing the political power to expand Indian capitalism. Due to its historically belated arrival in India, it has to depend upon powerful capitalist countries for support is a fact, but this does not make it a passive, supplying agent. It absolutely utilizes the conflicts between and among imperialist, socialist and even third world countries to strengthen capitalism in India and to strengthen its politico military apparatus which it uses to intensify exploitation of the masses. (Ibid: 108)

The public sector as it has emerged in India operates to assist in the achievements of the major objectives and policies laid down by government, which are clearly aimed at building capitalism in the country. (Ibid: 70) The public sector in India has not been built to develop socialism in the country whether it is with Nehru or Shashtri, Indira Gandhi or Morraj Desai at the helm, the government has been systematically, elaborating a capitalist economic framework in India. To identify the expansion of public sector in India as movement towards socialism is to create illusions among the masses, and to develop their energies from developing the class struggle to end the very capitalist system of which the present pattern of public sector is an ancillary part, and which is elaborated to buttress the proprietary classes and to provide an adequate politico-legal and economic social framework to induce them to expand the economy. (Ibid: 72)

Desai has suggested that, an adequate recognition of the Indian capitalist class as conscious, energetic and astute shares in elaborating plans to suppress revolutionary movements. These movements are aiming at to end capitalist system as a whole, therefore essential if one is to gain a correct perspective of the Indian situation and elaborate adequate strategies to overthrow the imperialist and capitalist system to determine the nature of the revolution needed to put India on the path of genuine economic advance. Desai in his edited book Rural Sociology in India (1969) deals with rural social structure, rural economic arrangement, caste, culture, mobility and the social conditions of peasant communities that reflect some of the values which were governing in rural Indian society. According to Desai, the Indian society has been considered as a classic agrarian society. In the context of caste and value system of the Indian rural community he says, caste consciousness is stronger among the rural people

According to Desai, historically, Indian society has been one of the most complex countries that have a continuity of history and cultural heritage, which extends back to millennia. Its heritage includes legacy from the Huns, Saks, the Scithians, the Bactrians, the Greeks, the Muslims, the Christians, and the others. It has witnessed the growth of systems of social organization like the caste, the joint family and the village communities based on self-sufficient village economy, and also of diverse types of feudal order and variegated and which have left impression, may have determined to a great extent the specific contour of the contemporary social organization.

Desai has realized the undergoing changes in Indian families and said that, "the traditional joint family was a universe in itself, performing all the important functions in the old society. The joint families have broken down. But in India, the functions which should have been taken over by the other specialized associations and groups are not shouldered by these bodies either effectively or in a sufficient measure thereby hurling the individual into a whirlpool of social and cultural ferment unprotected.


M.N. Srinivas a noted Indian Social Anthropologist, his important work on cultural and social values focuses from his sociological work such as *India: Social Structure* (1969), *Religion and Society among the Coorgs of south India* (1952), *Social change in Modern India* (1966), *Caste in Modern India* (1962), and other essays. The caste principles and religious practice plays an important role among the Indians in their social life. Thus, Caste and Religion is one of the basic components and integral part of the Indian social structure. It is not possible to understand Indian social values without reference to the structural framework in which value formation takes place. Srinivas in his book "*India: Social Structure* " (1969), emphasizes Indian social structure and cultural pattern which is characterized in terms of its unity as well as diversity.

5.2.1. Description about Values

Considering the values, norms and behavior of people in a country such as India, one cannot ignore the influence of the scriptures and the epics. It is possible that the
influence of some scriptures such as the *Manudharmashastra* on the conduct of Hindus has been greatly exaggerated, especially by reformers but that is no reason for ignoring the influence of the sacred books. The only point is that such influence varies from region to region and group to group, and therefore difficult to generalize. (M.N. Srinivas: 1966: 57)

While dealing with values Srinivas says, "values are a difficult subject to discuss with respect to any people but the difficulty increases enormously when dealing with a country as vast, diverse, stratified and complex as India where values vary from one section of the people to another on the basis of region, language, religion, sect, caste, class and ethnicity. There are also significant differences between villagers and city dwellers. Indeed, the complexity is so great that one is tempted to abandon the task as hopeless but then velour is sometimes, though very rarely, better than discretion." (Ibid: 55-6)

Srinivas, in his most of studies and especially in village studies tried to find the importance of values and norms in defining social relationship. According to him, "while values and norms varied from group to group, the locally dominant caste or other ethnic group provided a model for emulation for the non-dominants. But this operated in a circuitous way. Since the dominant castes were wealthy, powerful and enjoyed high status, lower groups were not permitted to take over their customs, manners and lifestyles. Any attempt on their part to emulate the dominants invited punishment but over a long period of time some of the customs and manners of the dominants gradually percolated to the others. Incidentally, since the 1950s, the power of the dominants to enforce their will on the others has been eroded due to legislation, education, improved communications and other modernizing factors." (Ibid: 56) However, Srinivas in his studies found that, the dominants were not always the Hindus. Sometimes the Jains, Sikhs, Christians and the Muslims who also enjoyed dominance in particular parts of India at different periods of time and their culture influenced the culture of the area in which they were dominant.

Srinivas has carefully observed the multiethnic character of Indian Society and States that, India has been hospitable and accommodative to numerous ethnic groups of immigrants from different parts of Asia and Europe, and the culture of each group has undergone many changes over the centuries to become an integral part of the present.
day mainstream Indian society. In India caste is not only found among the Hindus but also among the Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Jains and Jews. Indian social structure is shape up according to the values of caste and religious practices of the people. In the later stage these social values have significantly influenced by family, marriage, kinship and economic relationship among different groups and communities residing in India. In course of time social values have undergone many changes due to the impact of external as well as internal forces of social changes.

In his study on Coorgs, Srinivas has set the problem in his description of the discrepancy between the formal hierarchy of purity in Mysore village and the actual status relationships among the people in their day-to-day life. Things associated with high castes, their houses, clothes, manners, and ritual, tend to become symbols of superior status. Consequently there is ban on the lower castes taking them over and, formerly, such a ban was sanctioned by the political authority at the top. Explaining the values related to caste and the fear of loosing one’s own caste, Srinivas has stated that, “Coorgs express the dietetic preference of their deities by saying that they “lost their caste: a certain ambivalence can be detected in this attitude which presumably prevails towards their own deity.” (M.N. Srinivas: 1952: 211) The Coorgs are the dominant caste and the Brahmans are dependent upon the Coorgs but the Coorgs have no status at all unless the Brahmans are shown their superiority in accordance with the recognized values.

5.2.2. Values and Social Change (Sanskritization, Westernization, Modernization)

Srinivas in his article “Changing Institutions and Values in Modern India” which published in the book Towards a Sociology of Culture in India (1965) edited by T. K. Unnithan & others where he attempted to find out the changes that is taking places in India centering around human society and culture. He believes whatever changes taking places today in Indian society has its own historical roots. According to him, “the important changes occurred during British rule, changes which were qualitatively different from those which had occurred previously in Indian society. Underlying the changes which British rule brought in its wake was the Industrial Revolution of the West, and indirectly, and the scientific spirit gave rise to it. The introduction of railways, steamships, telegraph printing and superior armaments enabled Britain to integrate the country politically as never before in its history.” (T.K. Unnithan and et al: 267)
In his further argument, he states that, the British also introduced modern knowledge into India, and the use of the English language gave the Indian elite access, among other things, to that knowledge. The use of the English language also had the effect of restricting the new knowledge to the elite and this, apart from the cultural and ideological barriers, it erected between the elite and the masses which have made the task of dissemination of scientific knowledge among the latter, extremely difficult. The masses need to have a certain amount of scientific knowledge if industrial development has to occur in a big way. Finally, the introduction of British law and judicial process became an instrumental in bringing in new legal and political values having potentialities of profound change in the centuries old Indian social structure.

During the 19th century, the British slowly laid the foundation of modern state by surveying land, settling the revenue, creation of a modern bureaucracy, army, police, courts, schools, colleges, universities, railways, posts and telegraph, roads and canals and printing press. As a result the profound and many sided changes are seen in Indian society in terms of westernization, urbanization and industrialization. Srinivas in his book, the *Social Change in Modern India* (1966), has used the term Sanskritization for the lower caste people who follow the values, norms, customs and tradition of the Brahmins. Sanskritization is generally accompanied by, and often results in, upward mobility for the caste in question, but mobility may also occur, without Sanskritization and vice-versa. However, the mobility associated with Sanskritization results only in positional changes in the system and does not leads to any structural change. That is, a caste moves up, above its neighbors, and another comes down, but all this takes place in an essentially stable hierarchical order. The system itself does not change. However, the Sanskritization process was not only confined to Hindu castes, but also occurs among tribal and semi tribal groups like Gonds, Oraons, Cheros of Central India and the Pahadis of the Himalayas. These usual results in the tribal societies who were undergoing Sanskritization process claiming to be a caste and were the Hindus. In the traditional social system, the only way to become a Hindu was belong to a caste and the unit of mobility was possible through a group, not an individual or a family. However, Srinivas has emphasized upon the Brahminical model of Sanskritization and ignored the other models like Kshatriya, Vaishya and Sudra. Even the Brahminical model was
It is true that Srinivas in his book, *Social Change in Modern India* (1966) has also attempted to understand caste mobility and change in Indian society in terms of concepts like Sanskritization, Westernization, Dominant Caste and Secularization. But among the two processes, Sanskritization and Westernization, the Sanskritization process seems to have occurred throughout Indian history and still continue in some cases with added momentum in independent India. Westernization, unlike Sanskritization, is not confined to any particular section of Indian population, and its importance, both in the number of people it affects and the ways in which it affects them, is steadily increasing.

Besides Sanskritization Srinivas has also distinguished conceptual clarification between the Westernization and the two other processes i.e. urbanization and industrialization. The most westernized groups are generally found in big cities, but one must know that westernization and urbanization are not same. Even in a country like India, it is witnessed across some groups inhabiting in rural areas are even found more westernized in their style of life than many urban groups. Srinivas has very systematically explained that how the westernization process has influence deep rooted Indian social values. According to him, westernization results not only in the introduction of new institutions (for example, news papers, elections, Christian missions etc., but also in fundamental changes in old institutions. Thus, while India had schools long before the arrival of the British, they were different from British introduced schools in that they had been restricted to upper caste children and transmitted mostly traditional knowledge. Other institutions such as army, civil service, law, courts etc. were similarly affected. A major change also found after the independence that, the introduction of adult franchise is resulted the emergence of political power as more or less the supreme value for a large number of people.

Srinivas has pointed out that, modernization is also marked by increasing urbanization which has, in turn, resulted in the spread of literacy. The urbanization has tended to enhance media exposure and finally enhanced media exposure is associated with wider economic participation and political participation in the development process. Modernization implies social mobility. A mobile society has to encourage
rationality for the calculus of choice. It shapes individual behavior and conditions its rewards. Modernization process involves the rationalization of ends, which means that the goals chosen by a society should be rational and the subject of public discussion. It needs to be pointed out here that the social goals are, in the final analysis, the expression of value preferences and therefore, non-rational. The public discussion of goals can in no way guarantee their rationality. Rationality can only be predicted of the means but not of the ends of social action.

Srinivas believes that another essential element in secularization is rationalism, a comprehensive expression applied to various theoretical and practical tendencies. Rationalism aim to interpret the universe purely in terms of thought or which aim to regulate individual and social life in accordance with the principles of reason and to eliminate as far as possible or to relegated to the background everything irrational. Rationalism involves, among many other things, the replacement of traditional beliefs and ideas by modern knowledge. However, Srinivas states, in the process of secularization no purely rational element is seen in Indian society. Hindus were more affected by the secularization process than any other religious groups in India. The concepts of pollution and purity in Hinduism were greatly weakened as a result of variety of factors. Different sections of Hindus are affected in different degrees. The effect of secularization among different groups can be seen in their daily life, rituals, ceremonies and occupations, etc.

5.2.3. Dominant Caste and Changing Values in Indian Society

In this village study, Srinivas has termed the concept of Dominant Caste and tried to identify some of the value associated with it. According to him, there are four factors related to dominant caste. They are numerical strength, control of resources, i.e. land, possession of political power, and socio-religious status. Now the new factors are affecting the concept of dominance which has emerged in course of time. Western education, jobs in the administration and urban sources of income are all significant in contributing to the prestige and power of particular caste groups in the village. The introduction of adult franchise and Panchayatiraj (local self government at village level) since independence has resulted in giving a new sense of self respect and power to low castes particularly Harijans, who enjoy reservation of seats in all elected bodies from village to Union Parliament. The long term implications of these changes are
probably even more important, especially in those villages where there are enough Harijans to sway the local balance of power one way or the other. In the traditional system, it was possible for a small number of people belonging to a high caste to wield authority over the entire village when they owned a large quality of arable land and had a high ritual position. Now, however, in many parts of rural India, powers has passed into hands of numerically strong people and as a result, they are also taking advantages of the new educational and other opportunities available to them. Endemic factionalism in the dominant caste is also another threat to its continued enjoyment of power.

Describing the role of Indian elite shaping India's social values after India's independence, Srinivas states that, "the elite which came to power with independence wanted the constitution to bring about fundamental changes in Indian economy, culture and society. The constitution provided not only a charter for ushering in a revolution but the instruments for achieving it. As already mentioned, adult franchise was the principal means for bringing about the revolution, while other measures such as the outlawing of untouchability, and its practice in any other form declared a criminal offence, the reservations of seats in legislatures for SCs and STs to catch up with the forward sections of the society. Provision was also made for the states to take steps to advance the interests of the 'Socially and Educationally Backward Classes' (SEBCs), also called the other backward classes (OBCs)." (M.N. Srinivas: 1966: 59)

Srinivas argued that, "as a result of economic developments since independence the proportion of population below the poverty line has come down to about one-third. But the country is far from abolishing poverty, and from assuring the poorest that their basic needs will be met. Substantial improvement has occurred in the positions of women but it is as yet confined largely to urban middle class women. However, women's movements have gained strength in the last three decades and they are aimed at combating specific evils such as dowry and suttee and in achieving eventually gender equality." (Ibid: 61) Srinivas was well aware about the various social problems like corruption, degradation of morality and erosion of values in different sphere of social life. "Corruption has grown phenomenally during the last thirty years, and no area of life is free from it. Over the years corruption has come to be accepted as a fact of life, and it is widely known that the citizen has to pay officials and politicians for permits, licenses and other favours. Government officials have to pay bribes, for instance, to be
transferred out of a place, or to stay where they are. Transfers appear to be a major source of income for higher officials and their bosses, the ministers. This means that transferable officials must collect enough money in the course of their official work to be able to get or avoid a transfer. The net result is that the citizen is compelled to pay a bribe for anything he wants from the government.” (Ibid: 62)

In his careful analysis of the social change, Srinivas has observed that, in India there has been tremendous increase in all kinds of violence, organized violence against the state, inter-group violence, intra-familial violence, and an increase in the general climate of violence and finally, as in the case of corruption, a tacit acceptance of violence and a growing insensitivity of murder, bloodshed, gang wars and rape. “Some of the violence is directly related to the politico-economic system if it does not stem out of it as, for instance, in booth-capturing during elections. Since the acquisition of political power opens the doors to wealth, influence and status, all sorts of people including smugglers, black marketers and mafia dons want to become MLAs and MPs. Political scientists and journalist have written at length about the ‘criminalization of politics’ in recent years but nothing has been done so far to tackle it.” (M.N. Srinivas: 1966: 63)

Srinivas has very critically analyzed the existing conflict particularly in urban areas, which are invariably multiethnic. The economic competition conflict between groups, some times crate and it might assume the form of a struggle between the sons-of-the-soil and ‘outsiders’. even when the former are only earlier immigrants. This kind of situation is often exacerbated by politicians, businessman and the film-makers who may use such conflict to further enhancement of their own ends. Irony is that, the presence of a large number of unemployed low skilled and uneducated youth provides the requisite muscle power to fight the battles of politicians and businessmen. As a result, unwanted politicians who have the criminal records are entering into Indian politics and adding fuel to already existing problems in spite of taking interest in developmental works. Srinivas has felt that no account of changing values can be complete without reference to consumerism. According to him, consumerism is the recent phenomenon and speedily spreading. It is heavily dependent on advertising business and as a result of the participation of talented people in the advertising industry consumerism is booming. “Indian news papers and journals now a day
regularly bring out lush supplements with multicoloured illustrations on glossy paper but with hardly any worthwhile reading matter." (Ibid: 69) Higher purchase schemes, chit funds, the organization of periodic ‘sales’ by big firms, and the use of credit cards are an inevitable consequence of consumerism. This is perhaps the technique to attract more numbers of people to use their products.

5.3. Shyama Charan Dube (1922-1996)

Indian society reflects an old and established tradition on some of high intellectual achievement in social philosophy and normative social thought. According to Dube, some stereotypes have persisted about Indian contribution of the period. First, it is believed that this thought was deeply rooted in metaphysics and ethics, and was far removed from social reality. Second, there is an implicit assumption that the ethos of the age allowed little or no scope for development of an empirical tradition in respect of knowledge relating to man and society. Third, the ascriptions of inviolable sanctity to the ancient texts, it is assumed, inhibited the growth of independent thought in later periods. These stereotypes represent only partial truth and emphasize certain central tendencies but underplay other currents which were by no means feeble and inconsequential.

S.C. Dube obtained his B.A. (Honours) in Political Science and got first teaching assignment in Hislop College of Nagpur University (H.C.N.U.). At this University he also obtained the Ph.D degree for his study of the Kamar. From Nagpur University (N.U.) he moved to Lucknow, where Anthropology and Sociology were struggling to gain recognition as independent disciplines. In the academic environment of Lucknow University (L.U.), where S. C. Dube’s Anthropology was consolidated in the company of three pioneer social scientist namely Radhakamal Mukerjee, D.P. Mukherjee and D. N. Majumdar. After staying for sometime in (L.U.), Prof. Dube has shifted to Osmania University (O.U.), Hyderabad, where his talent and scholastic work was recognized when he taught anthropology within the sociology department. In (O.U.), Dube has departed from tribal studies and started the village studies. While staying in Hyderabad, he organized an interdisciplinary team to study an Indian village in its entirety, with a holistic perspective. In this village studies his orientation to Indian values focuses to understand the Indian reality. The village of Shamirpet situated near
Hyderabad in the Telengana region of Andhra Pradesh, which became internationally known through professor Dube’s work on ‘Indian Village’ published in the year 1955. When Dube joined in Central Institute for Research and Training (CIRT) in Community Development at Mussorie, it was not a popular institute for academic excellence. However, due to Dube’s selfless efforts and commitment, soon this institute became the National Institute of Community Development (NICD) and was later shifted to Hyderabad. His four years stay at the Institute helped mobilize several young scholars to do research on village India and process of social and cultural change. The wider research on village studies has come out with the various types of social values that have associated with the villagers. This reflects Prof. Dube’s value commitment to the discipline and popularizing sociology.

5.3.1. Description about Values

Most of the Indian values are not a product of a month or a year. It is an accumulation of several thousand years old cultural heritage and of history. What we find today in Indian society is deep values, which have its linkages with the century old history. Dube pointed out that, though the ancient texts - the shasstras and the smritis- stand out for their philosophies content and metaphysical heights, it would be incorrect to assert that they concerned themselves exclusively with eternal verities and neglected the existential reality of the time. Even Manu’s Dharmashastra was not a utopia - an outline of an idealized normative order rooted in a system of philosophy and having no organic links with the institutions and norms of society.

Values being one of the important areas of concern in the study of social science in India, Dube was well aware about the origin and growth of modern social science in India. According to him, the growth of modern social science traced back to the colonial rule. The impact of the West created ferment and Indian intellectuals reacted to it in several diverse ways. A happy consequence of it was the growth of social science activity in the sub-continent. The Asiatic Society of Bengal was founded in 1784. Sir Williams Jones, the moving spirit behind this society has regarded history, science and art as the trinity of human knowledge. The society held weekly meetings at which original papers were presented and discussed. Men of learning contributed papers for publication in the Asiatic Miscellany which was brought out once a year. The society encouraged work in the fields of history and anthropology and its activities generally
covered a wide range of social institutions and problems. In 1857 the first three universities were set up in the Presidency capitals. The first department of anthropology was established in 1920 at the Calcutta University. Under a great form the Government of India the Bombay university started some courses in sociology and social sciences in 1914; a department of sociology and civics was established in 1919. In 1924 Bombay initiated a full master’s level course in sociology. A doctoral programme was started in 1936 and the first Ph.D degree in sociology was awarded in 1938. Despite the early start in two leading university centres, the acceptance of sociology and social anthropology in the academic system of India was slow. In most other centres they were first linked to economics, philosophy, history, or political science and had to strive hard to attain for themselves an independent and autonomous status. The courses drew heavily from the British system. Though in a limited measure, they provided also for teaching on Indian social thought. “Few universities had adequate funds for research; not operating even on shoestring budgets some of them produced work of impressive quality. The scholarship of this period is not characterized by an excessive concern either for theory or for method. It had a rich data base and presented some significant analyses.” (T.K. Oommen & P.N. Mukherji: 1986: 114-121)

5.3.2. Values in Social Science Discourse/Research

S.C. Dube in his views on value-neutrality in social science research states that, the case for value-neutral social science represents at its worst, unashamed hypocrisy; at its best, it provides an example of misplaced emphasis. Value-neutrality often manifests itself as a disguised apology for an uncritical acceptance of the established order. He further elucidates that “when the forces of rapid change operating in a society dictate critical choices, social scientists of this genre shy away from them and concentrate on the trivial with exemplary vigor and technical virtuosity. In the process the social sciences get divorced from the larger realities of the world or in C. Wright Mills language from the “public issues of social structure”. Dube believes that the social sciences must play a role in reshaping the social order, which is cracking.

Giving an example about the “social scientist” and the “citizen” Dube discussed and states, who are value bearers cannot be compartmentalized. It is not possible for a citizen having personal values to bring about an instant role-switch immunized himself to value-virus, and start functioning as an ethically neutral social scientist. “The sooner
we realize that many seemingly value-neutral positions and dangerously value-loaded, the better will it be for the growth of a meaningful social science. This would certainly affect the choice of themes to be investigated but it need not undermine the objectivity either of investigational procedures or of research results. Antiseptic social science will perhaps produce "specialists without spirit" whose analyses will stand out only for the sterility. (For more details see S.C. Dube: 1973: 20)

Dube made an effort to liberate social science particularly with reference to social anthropology from the prejudices western influences to understand Indian reality. He made a radical view regarding the role of social science in the sphere of social construction and development. According to him, "radicalism often expresses itself in a series of slogans: the more hysterical your slogans are, the more respectable you are likely to be among the radicals. This is a danger that needs to be met seriously. Slogans are no substitute for social science. Slogans may contribute towards bringing about desired upheavals, but they cannot reconstruct society. The social sciences, with their objective insights, can turn visions of the future into feasible path of social reconstruction. This task implies sustained hard work. The claptrap of slogans must be guarded against if the social sciences are to play a meaningful role in rebuilding society." (Ibid: 20-1) Keeping in view the above prejudices regarding the role of social science in rebuilding society, Dube was in opinion of applying new methods and techniques in social science research by strictly following the value neutrality. "Thus a new dimension that can be added to social science endeavor is one concerned with shaping man's future - that of setting the sailing directions towards a desired human destiny." (Ibid: 26) He has given the remedial measures how such new dimension in social science could be added. He emphasizes two important interconnected aspects these are the predictive and the normative/prescriptive. Firstly, social science needed an assessment of the major socio-cultural trends that are in motion today on their basis, and an estimate of the kind of society we are likely to have in future. This exercise in future is not to be done by invoking some latent and mystical foresight, but by imaginatively using our available knowledge of social and cultural dynamics, by a penetrating reading of the contemporary situation, and by a careful evaluation of the competing forces of change that are likely to influence the foreseeable future. Secondly, the social science cannot shirk their responsibility for normative thinking and
prescriptive pronouncements about the king of future we should consciously set out to shape for ourselves. In other words, Dube has suggested for serious thought to charting the quality of life that human being wish to promote, and to developing a design for living.

According to Dube charting the quality of life and developing a design for living is an area in which the social scientist cannot be value-neutral. Thus, it is needed to take definite options and make conscious choices. “We shall have to make our alignments explicit, and we should do so with conviction and courage. This calls for projecting, with definite value preferences, a utopia based on insightful reading of history and careful evaluation of social science data on the processes of society and causation within them.” (Ibid: 27)

5.3.3. Values: Equality and Development

According to S.C. Dube, one of the major concerns of humanity has been the economic development and rapid technological change. He has carefully observed the planning processes in India and stated that, “much of planning endeavor is aimed at ensuring higher rate of growth. But absolute figures of GNP and per capita income are extremely misleading as they can hide behind their impressive façade grueling poverty and appalling conditions of sub-human existence. Today there is pressing emphasis on the distributive aspect of economic development. “Growth with justice” has come to be adopted as the ideal by nearly all developing societies, two-thirds of the world.” (Ibid)

He further pointed out that, “economic planning unrelated to definite social objectives determined with imagination and vision has created imbalances and disharmonies which are threatening to defy solution. It is time that we recognized the paramount of social objectives and geared economic planning to their realization. In other words, economic development can no longer be viewed as an end in itself; it has to be made an instrument of social policy for the attainment of stipulated cultural goals.” (Ibid: 27-28)

Dube has rejected the notion of standards of living that are base on more affluent societies and suggested to establish situationally relevant norms. He was worried about the western influence along with increasing consumerism in fast growing materialist society and pointed out that, the glittering ideal of western prosperity, manifesting itself in ever-increasing consumption, is not for most of the world. It may
not even be very desirable for us (third world countries) as we see growing disenchantment with the culture of affluence in the West itself. “The high consumption model of society, therefore, will have to be rejected: the path that the developing nations adopt can only be one of building a society which underplays consumption and concentrates on providing a variety of rich social services.” (Ibid: 27)

The issue of equality is an important and fundamental principle of democracy that has incorporated in India’s constitution. Indeed, difficulty arises at the micro level while implementing the principles of equality in vast and diversified country like India where the social relationship governed by the values of caste ideology. Dube has given the following views of equality with reference to Indian society. ‘In the social sphere the urge for equality will have to elicit in adequate response. A dehumanized egalitarianism will hardly meet the demands of the situation. The new form of social organization to be visualized must have built into it the craving for individual autonomy along with recognition of the fundamental equality of all men. It must ensure that progress does not entail impersonalizing human relationship. In the new system man must find a basis for relating himself adequately to other men to his work, and to cultural participation that offers him creative satisfaction and fulfillment.” (Ibid: 28)

“The new design for living aimed at ensuring social development is likely to encounter several difficulties. First entrenched vested interests are likely opposing the emergence of a new redistributive institutional structure that is the prerequisite to the implementation of the projected design for living. First, entrenched vested interests are likely to oppose the emergence of a new redistributive institutional structure that is the prerequisite to the implementation of the projected design for living. Second, value abandonment, value acquisition, value retargeting and the value implementation implicit in the scheme will not be easily established value patterns are likely to assert and reassert themselves, something at unexpected turns.” Dube’s writing reflects that the erosion of global values may be due to “the absence of international consensus of human goals and mechanisms to defuse explosive tensions will pose serious threats to a smooth transition from the prevailing chaos to the happy equilibrium implicit in the desired new design for living.”(Ibid)
5.3.4. Values: Science and Technology

Prof. Dube realized the values of science and technology in Indian society. According to him, "the possibilities of science and technology are unlimited and must continue to be explored. But even this effort will have to be related to social and cultural objectives. Many of us cultivate science in a manner which man has to serve science rather than make it serve him. Labor-saving devices are necessary, but there is no reason to believe that elimination of all labor is socially desirable. Man must have worthwhile work to do, and some creative uses for the leisure earned through the devices that he builds. Leisure as a period of void has nothing to commend itself, but its planned utilization for creative self-fulfillment is something to be desired." (Ibid: 28)

Dube has vision on the relevance of science and technology in this fast growing consumer society. It is quoted in his work Social Change in Changing Society (1973), "It is time for us to radically alter our views regarded the nature of our society and to rethink the principles that validate its structure and its functioning. The fact that large parts of the world are now coming more and more ungovernable convincingly indicates that an institutional revolution is necessary. This revolution will inevitably involve a change in the locus of power; but I am certain that it will have to go beyond changing the power equations. Consumerism has proved to be a senseless, futile, and undesirable philosophy: to us in the developing world its impossibility must also be patent. Science and technology cannot-and must not-be rejected, but at the same time they should not be allowed to generate problems that pose a major threat to us. The rational, scientific and egalitarian society that we visualize must be degenerate into a dehumanized society. The human dimensions of social reconstruction, therefore, must be kept constantly in mind. Man wants security but needs affective and aesthetic satisfactions as well. The blueprints for the future must respond to these needs." (Dube: 1973: 28-29)

5.3.5. Village Study

The above-discussed subjects are some of the glimpses of Dube's macro level sociological analysis on values in the context of Indian society. The micro-sociological views on values could be analyzed in the framework of Dube's studies on Indian village. According to Dube, our thinking about the Indian village is colored by some
durable stereotypes. Sir Charles Metcalfe once described it as timeless, changeless and self sufficient. Despite mounting evidence to the contrary, these labels have stuck. The romantic vision of the poet invested into village life the charming attributes of simplicity and friendliness. Many of us imbibed in our elementary schools, the notion that the village had everything to be desired-contentment, honesty, and all the simple joys of life. It is perhaps for its reason that a number of us lament the passing of the village and is bewildered when we find many of the elements of the modern urban-industrial ethos penetrating the countryside. But deviating from Sir Charles Metcalfe Dube says, the village was never placid, tranquil and nor was it uniformly friendly to all. Dube realized the importance of studies of village communities from different parts of the country covering the many divergent patterns of organization and ethos. The book *Indian Village* (1955) is an ethnographic study on Shamirpet village, which provides all possible details covering important aspects of the culture and values of this village community. When the study was conducted almost 70 % to 80 % of India’s population were living in villages.

Dube has truly pointed out the village social conditions and states that exploitation and discrimination have existed for centuries in the villages, which suffered as long as the villagers remain in silence but, from time to time, expressed their discontent. Many reform movements originated in the villages and had a rural base but played major influence on mainstream social life. They were aimed at eradicating the injustice inherent in the social system. To some people, the village was neither hospitable nor friendly. Many of them were forced out of it and had to seek refuge in other regions; for example, the tea and jute industries were largely built in some countries by the sweat of migrant labour. Such migration was not only inter-regional and confined to the territories of India. In search of employment our people had to go to such far off places as Fiji, Guiana, Mauritius, Trinidad, Tobago and so forth. Surely it was not love of adventure alone that persuaded them to leave their kith and kin and their motherland for good. Dube founds the unfriendly village socio-cultural and economic life had pushed them out of the village. Those who were left their villages continued to operate within a constricted universe. Doubtless there were changes, but at a given point of time one did get a deceptive picture of a more or less
stable equilibrium. In the last quarter of the 20th century the situation has changed very rapidly.

5.3.6. Changes in the Village

In the village study, Dube has pointed out the following structural changes of the Indian villages. Roads, buses, electricity, tube-wells, piped water, and brick houses were not there twenty-five years ago. Tractors and harvesters will perhaps surprising by their presence and efficiency. In the village dialect one will find several unfamiliar terms such as ‘hybrid’, ‘chemical fertilizer’, and pesticide ’, ‘seed multiplication, and so forth. In the village market one will find many goods quite unfamiliar to people. The ubiquitous transistor radio would perhaps intrigue people who are not aware of changes in village. One will notice an entirely new range of developmental and welfare services. If a person is perceptive enough she would find that even the human individual has undergone some significant changes; in their attitudes and values. The individual that we would encounter today is one of a different kinds that of some years ago.

In the sphere of the economic life of the people, several new avenues to prosperity have been created, but Dube has pointed out that, all sections of the village community have not been able to take equal advantage. The extension and credit services of the state, combined with the availability of the hardware and software of modern agriculture, have made the green revolution possible. This has enabled some section of the village to attain considerable prosperity; they can use it for raising their level of living as well as for gaining a larger share in the distribution of power. But the distribution of the new affluence has been uneven and curiously enough, it has widened the gap between the rich and the poor. Today, both the push and pull factors for migration are operating simultaneously in the village economy. In the regions that have attained agriculture prosperity, the gentleman farmer, drawn from the city into the highly profitable but low-taxed field of agricultural activity, can be identified easily. Those who could not take advantage of the new opportunities have been eased out of the village and are joining the ranks of the urban industrial proletariat in increasing numbers. Many traditional crafts of the villages either have died or are undergoing slow death; exceptions being such arts and crafts as can be decorated the homes of the urban rich, both in India and aboard.
5.3.7. Changes in Caste

After observing considerable changes in the villages, Dube pointed out that outwardly, the social system retains its traditional framework, but a keen observer would notice many changes in it. Today the ritual idiom is not as strong as it was twenty-five years ago. The notions of purity and pollution that characterized many different aspects of Hindu life have lost much of their rigour. Thus, the rigidity of inter-caste relations has been relaxed considerably, making room for more flexible patterns of interaction. Another dimension of change in the caste system is the delinking of caste and occupation, which made people easier for their social mobility.

5.3.8. Changes in Family and Kinship

In the sphere of family and kinship has also not remained static in the villages. According to Dube the assertion that the joint family is breaking in India makes two questions. First, that unbroken joint family was the normal or standard pattern in the country, especially in the villages, and second, that it is breaking down under the impact of urbanization and industrialization. The classical joint family of India was rarely an unbroken joint family. The developmental cycle of the domestic group, in the villages as well as in the towns, clearly show the process of the break up of large extended families and their re-emergence, after some years, as joint families. After the break-up parts of them sometimes unite and, almost always, they develop again into joint families. And then the cycle starts again. However, the territorial range of migration has expanded considerably, and it leaves its unmistakable impact on family patterns and kinship obligation. In other words, space and time have a definitive role in reshaping some aspects of the social structure. The separated units of the family tend to maintain close contacts with each other for some years later, their ties are weakened. The same is true, to a certain extent, of kinship obligations. Their intensity is definitely affected by the time and space distance between seceding unities. In passing it should be noted that Industrialization according to many reliable studies has shown some unanticipated results. According to Dube, rather than weakened the joint family, it has very often strengthened it.
5.3.9. Changes in Politics

The most dramatic changes in the arena of politics have not remained unnoticed to Dube. He found the rural voter today cannot be taken for granted. They no longer go to the polling booth to pay homage to the heroes of India’s struggle for independence. In view of the results of the last few national and state elections, it would be very misleading to talk of castes as potential vote banks. The traditional political brokers have lost their hold over their erstwhile vote banks. Today there is a heightened awareness of the main issues of national, state, and local politics. In many ways, local level politics has forged links with district, state and even national level politics. Factionalism continues unabated but factions and faction-chains have been incorporated into the established channels of political communication. Contract and resource networks have emerged in some strength and in clear relief they are visible as well as predictable. Alignments between castes or segment of castes and between factions and sub factions in the local political arena have contributed significantly towards changing the orientation of the people. Today it would be wrong to think Indian village as an isolate or even as an isolable unit. The more appropriate method of conceptualizing the villages would be to think of it a relation to the extended and the emerging networks-economic, political and social. The growth in communications is making the village with urban centers in multiples relationships.

Discussing on different value bearers in the society, Dube states that; humanity has been evolved from lower forms of life. Contemporary human life has many carry over from its evolutionary heritage. We have animal ends, but realize them through cultural means. Nutrition, sex and procreation, nurture and upbringing of progeny shelter and other forms of physical properties, which are all basic need, are all ends that we share with other animals. (S.C. Dube: 1998: 53) But here the similarity does not ends. We eat cooked food and our preference contributes to a million different culinary styles. What is acceptable food to one society may be unacceptable to another. Some religious group rejects pork, other may reject beef and still others may reject all animal flesh.'(Ibid) He pointed out that, this difference might be because of distinct values, norms and attitudes of the value bearers. He has further explained that, “the survival needs will require a basic alteration is extent distributive values and the prevailing reward systems. They will also require a curb on individual consumption and extension
and enrichment of social services. The societal needs assume the growth of social consciousness, restructuring of statuses and roles, and an imaginative and determined human engineering effort with the accent on cooperation, consensus and discipline." (Ibid: 56)

According to Dube, the notions of good, satisfying and desirable lifestyles are implicit in the normative structures, schema of value and cultural emphasis societies of larger scale and civilization-small and large have been more explicit in this regard. Their normative structure defined more clearly, what is desirable and good, although each one of them has set tolerance limits and permits variations in goal definition and goal attainment.

5.4. Triloki Nath Madan (b. 1931)

T.N. Madan a well known sociologist and social anthropologist has contributed to understand Indian values through his writings. He has been engaged with sociology and social anthropology for more than forty years and contributed to the discipline. His area of interest includes the sociology of work and the professions and the study of kinship, religion and cultural identity. He has hold teaching and research positions in several universities in India and abroad (Australia, England and United States of America). He has authored or edited several books and published many papers in professional journals in several countries that reflect Indian orientation of values. He has been taught by pioneer Indian sociologists like D.P. Mukerji, Radhakamal Mukerjee and D.N. Majumdar in L.U. He learnt from D.P. Mukerji that anthropologist must study history and philosophy and give up their writing headed posture of value neutrality. Another teacher A.K. Saran, a stern critic of positivism summarily rejected the idea of a study of values through field observations. "He was confused to undertake field study kinship study among the Pandits of rural Kashmir. However, on space of D.N. Majumdar and S.F. Nadel Madan submitted a research proposal to the Australian National University (ANU) for the study of "Kinship Values" among the pandits of rural Kashmir, and was awarded a research scholarship." (T.N. Madan & A. Beteille: 1975: 135)

5.4.1. T.N. Madan's Value Preferences

When Madan went to Canberra, he has the opportunity to discuss with Edmund Leach about his proposal to study kinship (a case study on Kashmiri Pandits) as a grammar of
values. Stressing his structural functional approach Leach said Madan that he would be making a very serious mistake if he got involved in such a vague and difficult to handle theme as 'values'. Leach advised a focus on 'objective facts'. What mattered most in peasant kinship systems in South Asia was that 'people' had land and they had maternal uncles'. This was obviously his way of saying that the two most significant factors governing kinship relations and family life are the ownership and inheritance of property, notably land, and the disputes that arise over it among agnatically related kin who are the offspring of different mothers in an extended family. He advised Madan to collect case studies of family disputes and subject them to careful analysis, so that the existence of cultural norms may be demonstrated, and to avoid getting bogged down in 'an ideal', value-governed, mythical state of existence'. (R.K. Bhattacharya: 2000: 98)

T.N. Madan argued that, anthropology was best conceived, not as the study of other culture, but as 'the mutual interpretation of cultures'. While arguing this, he mentioned as the dual perspective of the views from within and without, and added 'we must adhere firmly to the notion that anthropology resides in this nexus, that it is a kind of knowledge – a form of consciousness – which arises from the encounter of cultures in the mind of the anthropologist. According to him, ethnography merely as knowledge of how other peoples live their lives can be just baggage, a burden unless it teaches one to live one’s own life better – judged in terms of certain ultimate values that enjoys cross-cultural legitimacy. Whether this effort is described as 'the mutual interpretation of cultures' or as the cultivation of 'critical self-awareness' ... (T.N. Madan: 2000: 105-06)

5.4.2. Values and Religion

T.N. Madan in his edited book Religion in India (1991) attempted to pin point India’s religious values. According to him, India is the home of many world religions apart from its indigenous religions. The followers of major world religion are present among the people of India. Talking about the Hinduism which is one of the dominant and important religion in India, Madan says, “Hinduism a direct descendant of Brahmanism, the Vedic religion of more than 3,000 years ago, is the oldest of the country’s religion and has the largest number of followers. Some of the tribal religions may be older though, being the inheritors of prehistoric cultures. The Vedic religion of the immigrant Aryans carried the imprint of its Indo- European origin and was also
influenced to a certain extent by the proto-historic Indus valley civilization.” (T. N. Madan: 1991: 15) A distinctive feature of the over all religious ethos of India is that religion here influences all aspects of society. The Buddhism and Jainism born in north India and took shape tremendous change in various social life of its population in India as well as abroad. The two preachers namely Gautam Buddha and Mohavir have left a remarkable account of Buddhism and Jainism respectively. The Thomas Christians of south India have a creditable tradition according to which Christianity was brought to India by the Apostle Thomas within living memory of Jesus Christ. However, the documentary evidence of the presence of Christians in India goes back only to the sixth century. Islam followed two century later. Among the other world religions which arrive in India were Zoroastrian and the Jews. However, the youngest of India's religious tradition is Sikhism, the faith first taught by Guru Nanak at the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Madan further goes on speaking that, “now, all world views, whether religious or secular, have their metaphysical foundations, which are the basis and an integral component of social activity everywhere. The root paradigm of all the major indigenous religions of India is that of dharma.” (T. N. Madan: 1991: 17) In Hindu religion some of the values like dharma, karma, kama, varna, guna, artha and makshya plays a very dominant role in many sphere of social life. Madan’s orientation to Hindu values mentioned as, “a concept of multiple connotations, dharma, as Hindus perceive it, includes cosmological, ethical, social and legal principles that provide the basis for the notion of an ordered universe. In the social context, dharma refers to the rules of social intercourse laid down for every category of persons in terms of social status (varna), stage of life (ashrama), and inborn qualities (guna). In other words, for every person there is an appropriate mode of conduct (svadharma) defined by his or her caste, gender, age, and temperament. Such context, sensitive prescriptions are, however, subject to the dictates of general morality (sadharana dharma) which are binding on every body. All activity is goal oriented and dharma as the first goal (purusartha) is the basis for the rational pursuit of economic and political goals (artha) as well as pleasure (kama). An alternative to dharma-artha-kama is makshya (freedom from rebirth, reward and retribution or samsara) and the way to its lies in sanyasa or the renunciation of all social activity. The sources of dharma, according to tradition, are four: the original
knowledge (shruti), remembered teaching (smriti), the conduct of good people (sadachar), and moral reason or conscience (atmatusthi).” (Ibid)

The Buddhist and the Sikh notion of Dharma are fundamentally seems to be similar but they are different in detail. For Jains non-violence is the core values of dharma as they think that, the immortal and immaterial jiva (living organism) resides in all sentient beings including microscopic forms of life. For Buddhists, as per Buddha’s teachings dharma consists of four noble truths and human existence that is marked by suffering. According to Buddhists, “Suffering arises from ignorance and desire; suffering can be ended through freedom or nirvana ... and the way to nirvana lies through the ‘eight fold path’ of meditation, morality and wisdom. For the Sikhs, dharma is (dharam in Punjabi) is the ‘moral order’ based on ‘divine commandment’ (hukam) for the followers of these religions, dharma is the moral foundation of the good life.” (Ibid: 17)

The other important religious value is the karma that has dealt by Madan while discussing the Indian religion. Emphasizing karma he says, in Indian religious traditions, human actions have inescapable consequences. While an emphasis on the doctrinal character of karma has been emphasized by western scholars, within indigenous discourses the stress is on pragmatics, on karma as actions. Madan states that, in Hinduism, karma has come to be identified with sacrificial and life - cycle rituals and with religious devotion or bhakti (love to god) including pilgrimage. According to Buddhist tradition, the individual is the architect of his own destiny of his suffering and freedom. The moral endeavour of follower of the Jain is to protect himself from the consequences of karma born of passion and to lighten the burden of previous karma. With the Muslim invasion in India, arrive the ulama (doctors of Muslim law) and the mystic Sufis. The ulama emphasized submission to the orthodox way of life (sharia), where as the Sufi promoted the spiritual quest (tariqa) of realizing God through love and intermediacy of holy men. Like all over the Muslim world, sharia is the basis of social and personal life among the Muslims of India. Sharia mean the unity of God and finality of the prophet are the foundation of Islam.

With referring the principles of sharia and tariqa Madan attempted to explain Muslim religious values and practice in India. “Besides these two cardinal principles, the denial of which is apostasy, Indian Muslims adhere in principle, though not always
in practice, to the obligations of daily and periodical prayers (namaz), charity (zakat), fasting during the Ramzan (roza), and pilgrimage to Mecca (haj). Shia Muslim populations of South Asia, place an additionally especial emphasis on the observance of Muharram. Along - side of the so called ‘pillars’ of Islam, in Indian Muslims particularly in rural areas, observe many social customs, which are the result of their Hindu environment rather than in accord with orthodoxy.” (Ibid: 18-19) Apart from the above mentioned major religions, there are many religious minorities in India such as Zoroastrians or Parsis, and Jews. These small and vanishing communities are such of the tribal people still follow their own religion resisting absorption into Hinduism or conversion to Christianity. Most of them are mainly found in the eastern, central and southern parts of the country, they were for long identified as ‘animists’ by civil administrators. So far the tribal religion is concerned, Madan states, in India, many tribal religions have indeed disappeared but now-a-days revitalization movements have emerged among some of the converted peoples, notably in northeast India (such as the Khasi and the Naga). However, their prospect is uncertain.

5.4.3. Values: Hindu – Muslim Relations in Kashmir Valley

Madan was privileged to undertake field study about his own community and used participant observation method to analyze the kinship values among the Rural Kashmiri Pandit. He believes that participant observation is neither necessary nor fully possible. As per his field experience; Madan has revealed that, “an overweening emphasis on externally observable behaviour, to the neglect of the ideas of the people, their belief and avowed purposes, is a field work recommendation that no one could ever follow and yet succeed in his task. The relationship between beliefs and actions is pragmatic and not contingent. The statistical regularities, or deviations from them, are social facts (“things”), but they become meaningful to actors only in terms of their value system. On the other hand, the validity of certain value imperatives in a society could be said to be independent of the frequency with which they might be shown to inform different spheres of social life. Filial party is a value in Kashmiri pandit society, not because most of the sons can be shown to observe its implications most of the time, and despite the fact that some sons maltreat their parents, we most distinguish between essential and general truths and try to apprehend the relationship between them. (T.N. Madan and A. Beteille: 1975: 148-9) In the Kashmir valley Muslims are the majority
community. Wide range of forms found to characterize social organization among the Muslim communities. The characteristic groups include ‘brotherhood’, lineages, clans, tribes, castes, or caste-analogues, and socio-economic, classes. It was Islam religious values and ideologies that have constructed different types of social organization and shape up the Kashmiri society.

In his study Madan has pointed out that, traditionally, Islam was presented by its learned men as faith (religion), way of life (culture and society), and power (holy law and the state) in one same less whole. As a culture area, the Kashmir valley is of crucial importance for the understanding of the synthesis of Muslim and Hindu world views that based on fundamental principles of social organization like caste. Madan attempted to differentiate the Kashmiri Muslims and the Pandits through some of the visible signs. “Muslim and Pandits do not dress identically: the differences may not appear striking to an outsider but a Kashmiri would never make a mistake in this regard. Besides differences of male and female dress (of headgear, gown, trousers, and sometimes even footwear), many Pandits wear tyok on the foreheads: it is a mark of saffron or some other coloured paste, elongated among men and round among women. Muslims grow beard more often than Pandits, and of a distinctive cut. The Muslim of rural Kashmir: (1) believes in the oneness of God and Muhammad as His prophet, (2) offers prayers (namaz) at the appointed times, (3) gives alms (zakat), (4) keeps the prescribed hours of fasting and eating (roza) during rozmaz; and (5) performs the pilgrimage to Mecca (haj) when he has enough savings for the purpose. (Madan: 1995: 176-7)

The native Hindus of Kashmir all belong to the Brahman varna, and are divided into two endogamous subcastes. The Kashmiri Brahmans call themselves Bhatta and are generally known in India as Kashmiri Pandits. Being Brahmans, the Pandits are traditionally debarred from a large number of occupational activities. Thus, they cannot change in polluting activities such as barbering, washing clothes, obtaining oil from oilseeds, removing and skinning dead animals, making shoes, winnowing pans and drums, slaughtering goats and sheep, and so on. There are so many other types of activities which are not polluting, but which no Pandit would engage in because they involve manual labour, no matter how light. (Ibid: 185) The important striking feature of the social organization of Kashmiri Hindus comprises mainly two Saraswat Brahman

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subcastes. A very small numbers of Vaishya caste is found only in some towns. Before arrival of Islam in Kashmir valley there were many caste among the Hindus including the people of four varnas. However, the Hindu dynasties had an inglorious end. “External invasion, court intrigues and internal disorder resulted in the emergence of the first muslim king of Kashmir, Rinchana ...” (T. N. Madan: 1995: 118) Explaining the rigidity of Hindu religion in Kashmir valley, Madan has given the example prince Rinchana who was initially a Buddhist. Rinchana was originally a Buddhist Prince and a refugee from Tibet at the court of the Hindu king. He beseeched the Brahmans to allow him to become a Hindu but they refused. Then Rinchana turned to Bilal Shah who readily accepted him within the Muslim fold. Beginning with the Muslim rule in Kashmir the dominance of Kashmiri Pandits gradually declined. According to the Kashmiri Pandits conception, Kashmiri villages are characterized by the simple but sharp distinction between themselves and the Muslims. The Muslims are regarded as ritually impure than the Hindus. They are referred to as melcha (of lowly birth, outsiders). The Muslim world is considered by the Pandits as the world of tamas (darkness and ignorance). Muslims are outside the pale of values by which a pandit is expected, as a Brahman, to order his life. In practice however Pandits consider some Muslims less polluting than others. In the beginning, the Hindu – Muslim relationship in Kashmir is hierarchical and based on respective values which later on turn to a hostile and conflicting situation. Pandit stereotypes to Muslims that matched by Muslim stereotypes of Pandits equally derogatory and expressive of the wish to exclude the other. The Muslims use the words like ‘faithless’, ‘unfaithful’, ‘double-dealer’, ‘mean’, ‘cowardly’, ‘corrupt’, and ‘dirty’ for Brahmins. Despite such differences there are some visible relationship between the Muslim and the Kashmiri Pandits based on caste principles like purity and pollution. Pandits can marry Muslim women but not the Muslims are allowed to do so. The Pandits have free access to all parts of a Muslim house but Pandits do not allow Muslims into their kitchens and into any room where a ritual is in progress or where ritual takes place ... (T.N. Madan: 1995: 193)

Like any other parts of Hindu dominated region in India, the notion of purity and pollution is clearly visible even among the Muslims in Kashmir. Perhaps the presence of brahmanical ideology and the principles of caste system in India have a greater influence among the Muslims in India. Kashmiri Muslims clearly distinguish
between dirty (makur) and impure (napak). The two conditions may exist together as in
the case of legendary pig – the animal is non-existent in Kashmir – whose very sight
is forbidden to the Muslim. (Ibid: 194) Dependence in deference to a principle
characterizes the relationship of the Pandits with the Muslims. A Pandit cannot retain
his ritual status without the crucial services of at least some of the Muslim occupational
groups. The Pandit keeps Muslims out of the sanctum of his cultural universe, but has
to let them into his social world; hence the strain and anxiety that he experiences. A
Muslim, on the other hand, considers Pandits as outsiders, both ideologically and
empirically. (Ibid: 197)

5.4.4. Values: Development, Modernity and Secularism

Madan was very much concerned with the development initiatives that have taken by
the Government of India after its independence in the year 1947. "Development and
modernization were intended to transfer western technologies, institutions, and values
to the non-western world, but this did not mean that anybody believed that the later
would become the equal of the west. A westernized Indian, it was assumed by the good
Samaritans, would be a better Indian than the one who was immured in his own
tradition, but he would never be the as a European. The universal modern cultural
empire has produced dependent subjects all over the so-called Third World, through the
processes subsumed under development, but not a common world citizenry. This fact
alone is enough to generate fears that modernity can become the new colonialism.
When the intellectual centres of the west look beyond their own campuses, they only
create the peripheries ..." (Ibid: 152) Madan very clearly indicates that how the
developmental process in India through modernization activities became an
instrumental to impart western technologies and western values that threatened the
possibility of emergence of new form of colonialism in third world countries.

Regarding secularization of Indian values in the context of religious believes
and practices Madan states that, "uncertainties, in fact, attend the religious life of all the
peoples of India. The slow but steady processes of secularization are in evidence
everywhere; religious values (such as 'purity' and 'pollution') are being diluted or
displaced by secular values, and religious practices (such as life - cycle rituals) are
being abridged or abandoned. People are increasingly placing more faith in 'modern'
medicine and putting 'magical' nostrums behind them. At the same time, a heightened
religiosity is also in evidence everywhere. New religious cults and movements have arisen within living memory and currently, militant religious fundamentalism has found support even among people with a so-called modern education.” (T.N. Madan: 1991: 19:20) T.N. Madan was well aware about the associated values of modernity and secularism. According to Madan, modernity is generally regarded as both a practical necessity and a moral imperative, a fact and value. Modernity for Madan does not mean a complete break with tradition. “Being a modern means larger and deeper things: for example, the enlargement of human freedom of the range of choices open to a people to a respect to things for example, the enlargement of human freedom and the enhancement of the range of choices open to a people in respect to things that matter, including their present and future life styles. This means being in charge of oneself.” (Yogesh Atal: 1993: 546) Madan recall the word “secularization” which was first used in the year 1648, at the end of the Thirty Years’ War in Europe, to refer to the transfer of church properties to the exclusive control of the princes. “What was a matter-of-fact statement then became later, after the French Revolution, a value statement as well: on November 2, 1789, Talleyrand announced to the French National Assembly that all ecclesiastical goods were at the disposal of the nation, as indeed they should have been. Still later, when George Jacob Holyoake coined the term “secularism” in 1851 and led a rationalist movement of protest in England, secularization was built into the ideology of progress. Secularization, though nowhere more than a fragmentary and incomplete process, has ever since retained a positive connotation.” (Ibid) Madan has attempted to locate secularism as a value premises in the religious practices in South Asia, as majority of the people of South Asia are in their own eyes active adherents of some religious faith. According to him, secularism is the dream of a minority which wants to shape the majority in its own image, which wants to impose its will upon history but lacks the power to do so under a democratically organized polity. Secularism therefore is a social myth which draws a cover over the failure of this minority to separate politics from religion in the society in which its members live. From the point of view of the majority, “secularism” is a vacuous word, a phantom concept, for such people do not know whether it is desirable to privatize religion, and if it is, how this may be done, unless they be protestant Christians but not if they are Buddhists, Hindus, Muslims, or Sikhs. (Yogesh Atal: 1993: 547) Madan carefully observe secularism in Indian scenario
and analyzes that, Indian secularism has been an inadequately defined “attitude” ... of “good wills towards all religions,” Sarvadharma Sadhhava; in a narrow formulation it has been a negative or defensive policy of religious neutrality (dharma nirpekshta) on the part of the state. In either formulation, Indian secularism achieves the opposite of its states intentions; it trivializes religious differences as well as the notion of the unity of religions. And it really fail to provide viable political action, for it is not a rooted, full-blooded, and well-thought-out weltanschauung, it is only a stratagem. (Ibid: 549)

In his study on secularism in South Asia, Madan convinced that, in Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam, and Sikhism there has seen the hierarchical relation between spiritual authority and temporal power. Tolerance is indeed a value enshrined in all great religions of mankind, but Madan has not underplayed the historical roots of communal antagonism in South Asia. Madan gave the example of Nehru and Gandhiji’s view on religion, communalism and politics in Indian experience. “In our own times it was, of course, Mahatma Gandhi who restated the traditional point of view in the changed context of the twentieth century, emphasizing the inseparability of religion and politics and the superiority of the former over the later.” (Ibid: 552) For Gandhi religion was the source of absolute value and hence constitutive of social life; politics were the arena of public interest; without the former the latter would become debased. Nehru himself stated in the year 1936 that, the communal problem is not a religious problem, it has nothing to do with religion. Giving emphasis on Nehru’s statement Madan says it was not religious difference as such but its exploitation by calculating politicians for the achievement of secular ends which had produced the communal divide. Nehru’s writings and speeches brings out very clearly his conviction that religion is a hindrance to “the tendency to change and progress inherent in human society” and that “the belief in a supernatural agency which ordains everything has led to a certain irresponsibility on the social plane, and emotion and sentimentality have taken the place of reasoned thought and inquiry”. (Ibid: 557)

In his argument Madan further stated that, the Nehruvian state was first and foremost democratic, but in an economically poor and culturally diverse country it could hardly be truly democratic without being socialist and secularist. In the context of relation between religion and politics Madan referring M.K. Gandhi says, “perhaps men of religion such as Mahatma Gandhi would be our best teacher on the proper relation
between religion and politics — values and interests — underlining not only the possibilities of interreligious understanding, which is not the same as an emaciated notion of mutual tolerance or respect, but also opening out avenues of a spirituality justified limitation of the role of religious institutions and symbols in certain areas of contemporary life.” (Ibid: 560) Giving emphasis on secularism Madan says secularism must be put in its place finding the proper means for its expression. In multi-religious societies, such as those of South Asia, it should be realized that secularism may not be restricted to rationalism, that it is compatible with faith, and that rationalism (as understood in the West) is not the sole force of a modern state. What the institutional implications of such a position are is an important question and needs to be worked out.

5.5. Yogendra Singh (b. 1932)

Yogendra Singh is another internationally acclaimed Indian sociologist whose research works covers a wider range of areas such as culture, social change, tradition, modernity, post-modernity, globalization, social stratification, sociological theory and methodology and issues on globalization. Most of his works are based on value preference that reflects Indian social reality. He has made an outstanding contribution in the domain of sociology of social change including value change in Indian society. It is interesting to know from his work on Modernization of Indian Tradition (1986) reflects that, how the traditional Indian social structure getting modernized with the impact of external forces of planning and development that introduced by the British rule in India. Following the footsteps of the British, the Govt. of India after its independence has carried forwarded the works of social reformation with planning and development that became an instrumental to present day changes in the Indian society and a tool for modernization of Indian traditions.

5.5.1. Values: Social Change, Tradition and Modernity

His work on Indian Sociology (1986), gives an account of origin, growth and practices of sociology in India. He attempted to focus on the Indian social realities through a comparative analysis putting forward the views of different scholars D.P. Mukerji, Radhakamal Mukerjee, Louis Dumont. S.C. Dube and some others. In his widely known book Modernization of Indian Tradition (1986), Singh has very systematically discussed at length about various issues on values in the context of social change with
reference to tradition and modernity. He has conceptualized social change and carefully examines various approaches to social change. He viewed that, integrative changes are taking place in Indian society. He attempted to differentiate between the traditional and modern values. “The distinction between modern values and traditional values may be maintained on the ground that modern values, like science, being evolutionary universal, might not be typical to any one particular cultural tradition, whereas traditional cultural values may be particularistic and typical. It may be purely accidental that institutions contributing to modernity first developed in a culture other than one’s own. Modernization in its essential attributes or in ideal-typical forms is a universal-cultural phenomenon.” (Y. Singh: 1986: 61) He argued that, acculturative processes which contribute to modernization, in purely a historical sense, do not operate in isolation with other syncretic processes. For instance, the cultural impact of the British colonial rule in India did not merely result in introjections of modern values or innovation of modern institutions, but also in the propagation of Christianity and introjections of many other cultural styles which for all obvious reasons have no connection with modernity.

Y. Singh has deep understanding about India’s socio-economic arrangement and given the following view on traditional Indian society. "Tradition, by which we mean value-themes encompassing the entire social system of Indian society prior to the beginning of modernization, was organized on the principles of hierarchy, holism, continuity and transcendence. These four value-themes were deeply interlocked with other elements of Indian social structure. Hierarchy was engrained not only in the system of caste and sub-caste stratification but also in the Hindu concepts of human nature, occupational life cycles (ashrams), and moral duties (dharma). Holism implied a relationship between individual and group in which the former was encompassed by the latter in respect of duties and rights; what had precedence here was community or sangha and not the individual. This subsumption of individual by collective persisted all along the line of traditional social structure, e.g., family, village community, caste and political territory or nation. Communalism in traditional social system was reinforced through the value system of continuity which in Hinduism was symbolized by principles of Karma, transmigration of soul and a cyclical view of change. The principle of transcendence also posited that legitimation of the traditional values could
never be challenged on grounds of rationality derived from the non-sacred or profane scales of evaluation. It formed a super-concept contributing to integration as well as rationalization of the other value-themes of the tradition.” (Ibid: 191)

Singh has made a comparative statement on value components of tradition and modernity with reference to Indian and Western society. “The organization of tradition based on these value-components could not be called typical only of the Indian society, since at one level similar phenomenon also existed in the traditional West. The divergence between the two traditions, however, arose from the two traditions, however, arose from their unique social heritage, existential situations and historicity of circumstances. From this a questions follows: will the historicity of modernization in heterogeneous societies and traditions result into their transformation towards a universal and homogeneous form of modernization? This question assumes significance especially for India which has a hoary past and has been the centre of civilizations with great temporal depth.” (Ibid) None can deny that, Indian society is based on the multiple traditions. While discussing modernity with reference to Indian society it is necessary to understand India’s traditions which shape up through the ages. However, the Hindu and the Muslim are the two major religious traditions in India which give the differential value relationship between these two communities.

“Historically, social structure and tradition in India remained impervious to major elements of modernity until the contact with the West began through colonization. The earlier encounters with Islam only reinforce the tradition wince Islam despite being exogenous to the tradition since Islam despite being exogenous to the Hindu tradition as basically organized on value theme which were traditional; ideally, Islam had no place for hierarchical differentiation of Individuals within its community of believers its world-view was messianic historical in contrast with the Hindu view of continuity; the principle of transcendence in Islam was strictly monotheistic and here too it differed from Hinduism.” (Ibid: 192)

According to Yogendra Singh’s view, though the Hindu and Muslim Community are different in their value components but it took time to shape up as mainstream Indian society. “Despite these dissimilarities in ideal value-themes of the Hindu and Islamic tradition, there took place a synthesis between them which reinforced the traditional character of Indian society without significant breakdown in
its organization. (Ibid) Social change including value change is inevitable to any society. Thus, Indian society is not exception from it. Yogendra Singh has pointed out these changing aspects of Indian society. He states that, "the changes which thus occurred were confined to differentiation within the framework of traditional social structure and values structural changes were very few, and those which took place were limited in respect of the types of roles. Mention may be made of the priestly roles and monastic organizations which emerged with the rise of Buddhism. Similar developments in religious role-structures and organization partially followed the emergence of other traditions. But these changes by no means could be called structural, since differentiation of roles was segmental and did not alter the system as a whole. The role differentiations also had an elitists character since all of them were led by members of the upper class and caste. Only a few Bhakti Movements were an exception, but these were invariably reiterative rather innovative in significance. None of them had a meaningful impact on political system, the stratification system or the caste order against which they propagated." (Ibid: 193)

5.5.2. Values and Post Modernity

According to Yogendra Singh, "the philosophy of post-modernity, even though several decade older in its evolutionary voyage, seems to have had a very close relationship with the emergence of social and cultural institutions, values, and practices which contributed to the cognitive restructuring or a virtual decomposition of the epistemology, ontology and ethics, on which the paradigm conventional philosophy was positioned. It challenges the postulates of rationality on which most social science categories of structure, system and change have been formulated; it attempts to invalidate the notions of actor or the subject within the social science discourse and its moorings in the structure of social values." (Y. Singh: 2004: 21-2)

After describing the values associated with tradition and modernity Yogendra Singh has move up to explain the values that associated with the post-modernity. He has tried to locate the post-modernism within the discourse of sociology though his study on social structure, culture and change. He attempted to find a clear relationship that exist between philosophical articulation of post-modernity and the social change that took place in society in its post-industrial phase. In the discussion of post modern condition he pointed out that, "some of its obvious indicators are: the breakdown of
community values and its structures due to high levels of social and psychological mobility of members in society; the revolutionary changes in the gender relationships and emergence of new family norms about marriage, child care and conjugal responsibilities; and erosion in the participatory behaviour of individuals in the affairs of society and community, due to the legitimization of self-referentiality in individual ethic. Alienation and anomie, which classical sociology held as problems created by the industrial society, cease to be so perceived in the post-modern society. On the contrary, the borderline between freedom and alienation is so narrowed as to render the distinction infructuous. Mass media, hyperconsumerism, and the supremacy of images over values downgrade the role of the subject in the manifestation of post-modernity.” (Ibid: 34)

5.5.3. Values: Social Change and Globalization

No part of value changes will be complete without referring the recent changes in Indian society that is taking place in the process of globalization. Yogendra Singh was well aware about the unprecedented changes that are occurring in different spheres of social life with the arrival of globalization. He has discussed about the current trend of globalization at length in the context of Indian society and culture. According to Singh, “Globalization is a composite process. It results from the convergence of a series of developments in societies which are qualitatively new. These include: contemporary revolution in science and technology of communication, high velocity movements of finance, capital and market, increased social mobility, migration of personnel and emergence of a global Diaspora. Its associated contributory processes are: intensification of cultural interaction among diverse groups through media exposure, increased incidence of leisure-time activities, growth in tourism, infrastructure of entertainment and marketing of cultural products, personnel and styles. These developments have an evolutionary character, as they are generally irreversible despite societies going through the cycles of growth and depression in economy, polity and social system. This attribute of globalization has social structural and political consequences which are often overlooked as most treatment of this process has focused upon a segmental rather than a holistic analysis of its nature and consequences. In a segmental approach, analysts have studied, ‘financial or capital globalization’, ‘telecommunication or media technology’, and cultural globalization as separate
developments, and then tried to view the impact of the one, for instance, ‘financial or
capital’ globalization upon other segments such as the ‘media’, ‘communication’ or
‘culture’.” (Ibid: 206) However, this new social order widely described as the
‘information society or the post modern society’ is yet to come into being in India and
different parts of the globe.

Yogendra Singh in his book *Culture Change in India: Identity & Globalization*
(2000), attempted to focus on what extent cultural globalization has influenced on
cultural identity at the local, regional and national levels. He has analyzed these
impacts relocating our historical and social structural conditions in this direction and
shape up our cultural responses, whether it is in favour of adaptation or rejection or new
to the alien cultural traits that spread through the process of globalization. “... it is held
that each cultural system tends to integrate culture traits into a configuration which is
guided by its cultural values; these values impose a logic of selectivity which define the
limits of acceptance or rejection of alien cultural traits. Similarly, these core values
within each cultural system also exercise the power of introducing adaptive changes in
the meaning and usages of culture traits drawn from outside, and defines the modality
and scope of its assimilation, integration or adaptation within the indigenous cultural
system. Hence, the specific features of our social structure, its linkages with the local,
regional, ethnic and national levels of culture and the core cultural values within each,
should provide us insights into the contemporary forms of cultural change.” (Y. Singh:
2000: 15)

Yogendra Singh was a careful observer of social change. Being specialized with
the area of social change, the recent changes that is taking place in traditional Indian
social structure in the process of ‘Globalization’ has not kept him unaware. In his
engagement with social change, he has pointed out that, “our traditional social structure
enjoyed a great deal of the inter-structural autonomy. It could be seen to have existed
among some key elements of the social and cultural system. For instance, traditionally,
there existed substantial autonomy among the principles of social stratification based
on caste, the political system governed by the rulers and the value system and religious
traditions which were under the control of the priests and local communities. The priest
enjoyed cultural authority which was independent of the rulers. They had and even
now, continue to enjoy freedom to pronounce upon matters related to rituals, customary
rites and ceremonies. Of course, local communities could also play some role in certain aspects of the religion-cultural matters based on tradition and local customs. Similarly, caste system enjoyed a large measure of autonomy through its panchayats and exercised self-rule in economic, social and cultural matters in day-to-day life." (Ibid: 16) However, caste has undergone major changes and assumed new economic and political functions.

Though Indians were felt their presence in different parts of the world long before the present trend of globalization process. But the recent phase of globalization made some how more easy to our skilled professionals with different areas of knowledge to spread across the world. In this context Singh has observed and states that, “with expanding number of the Indian Diaspora, now, these cultural linkages also extend to other countries and are tending to attain a global character. “The revolution in the mode of communication, travel, Internet, electronic-mail, e-commerce, fax and many other new modes of international and inter-cultural interactions have resulted, paradoxically, on the one hand, into the intensification of consciousness of identity, and on the other, selective appreciating and all even adaptation to new cultural styles, forms and practices from other regions within India and from the countries outside. On the basis of the pattern and direction of selective cultural adaptation that is taking place in India in the process of globalization of culture, whether local or national, has sufficient resilience to succeed in preserving its cultural identity and also work out a successful and creative synthesis between the global and the local, regional and national levels of cultural styles, forms and practices.” (Ibid: 18)

Changes were taking place in India as well as other parts of the world even before the present trend of globalization process. But some thing new in the present phase of globalization is the rapid spread of information/knowledge through the media (electronic and print) in the form of technological revolution. The notion of one global village has breakdown the age old traditional stronghold of culture, economy, polity and social arrangement all over out the world. According to Singh, “the changes in traditional practices and institutions are closely related to the processes of urbanization, patterns of migration, politicization of caste and community relationship in villages and the rapid pace of growth and expansion of the electronic media of information and entertainment throughout the country. These changes are also related to the
transformation of economy. The abolition of the feudal system of tenancy and agrarian structure eventually contributed to the Green Revolution and increase in agricultural activity. "The peasant absorbed new technologies which altered the mode of production in agriculture and disturbed the equilibrium of many traditional cultural forms. Many traditional fairs, festivals folk cultural celebrations, etc., which were linked with feudal patronage, had to undergo new institutional anchorage based on caste and community associations. In this process of transition, several cultural practices, organically linked with the past institutions, were lost. The traditional balance of relationship between the folk culture and the culture of elite, which have been extensively studies by social anthropologists, today stands deeply fractured at several places due to industrialization and urbanization and reform in many institutions of the traditional agrarian economy. (Ibid: 19)

5.5.4. Changing Values of Youth

He has given the example of changing youth values both in rural and urban Indian society. Following example is the abstracted from his book *Culture Change in India: Identity & Globalization* (2000). "The new forces of social change, politicization and media exposure have changed youth's values and social psychology throughout the country. from the village to the town and to the metropolis. Youth are disenchanted from the present state of things around them and seek opportunities outside. The rural youth wish to migrate to the cities, whereas the urban youth, particularly those from the middle classes and the upper castes (for whom reservation policy has now made access to government jobs limited in scope), wish either to seek employment in lucrative private sector jobs or migrate outside the country. The globalizations of economy, and the decentralization of production of goods and services by the multinational corporations, have totally altered for these youth the project of their future and the perception of their 'life-world'. The 'success theme' has become universal, and the successful performers are the youth who are perceived to have imbibed the western lifestyle to the maximum extent.

Another important tension in the values of the youth is reflected in the change in their attitude towards authority — be it in the family or the public institutions or the state. In rural areas, older generation parents lost much of their authority due to 'technology-information' and 'management-market' orientation in agriculture
following the Green Revolution. Continual learning and experimentation and not knowledge acquired by age was now required. From the decade of 1970s onwards, the decision-marketing power shifted from their old patriarch to his younger sons who may be a semi-literate or a school-college dropout. We also see composition of the "panchayat" leadership in various parts of the country shifting in favour of the youth or youthful adults around this period. In the urban families too major changes in the structure of authority take place due to the pressure on younger people to show initiative early in their student career (from higher secondary to bachelor’s course) for preparing themselves for better jobs. In the changed context, not the degree as much as the training, exposure, initiative and experience get the premium. Many values of the parents’ generation in regard to education and employment are now put in jeopardy, especially in the middle class urban families. It erodes the traditional mystique of the parental authority and guidance defining youth’s aspirations, their lifestyle and future planning.” (Y. Singh: 2000:120)

According to Singh, “these structural changes have imparted much freedom to the youth to define their life aspirations and lifestyle. Moreover, the family as an institution that provides normative stability to the youth is now under great structural and functional stress, both in the cities and the villages. It may not, however, suggest that the traditional family values of loyalty towards parents, parental support to children or the traditional values in regard to marriage and customary rites or rituals have withered away. They continue to persist in most parts of the country and in large majority of families. However, the spread of youth’s lure for western lifestyle is incrementally gaining grounds. The nature and extent of this westernization of lifestyle varies in terms of rural-urban and class-caste composition.” (Y. Singh: 2000:120) He further states that, through selective incorporation of the western values, ideas, technologies and institutions, etc., the Indian tradition itself underwent transformation. This factual situation has its basis in logic. He says, the cultural patterns in each society are historically conditioned and comprises of values at two levels i.e. instrumental and categorical. It is mentioned earlier that, cultural changes begin with changes first, in instrument values, such as economy, technology, patterns of consumption and living styles, etc. but changes in the core values of the culture which belong to the independent or categorical structure of values of a society, and constitute cultural
identities of its people, do not undergo total transformation. It changes slowly as it adapts itself to new values. According to him, identities are deeply rooted in individual psyche and constituted a symbolic configuration of passions and meanings culturally mediated by socialization in the childhood.

5.6. Andre Beteille (b. 1934)

Andre Beteille is considered one of the distinguished scholars in sociology and Social Anthropology in India who made a significant contribution to the study of Indian Sociology and Anthropology. His classic work *Caste, Class and Power* (1969), is an example of village India, where Beteille made an attempt to focus the caste, class relationship and power structure in Tanjore village in the form of social stratification. He has identified some of the major values associated with "caste structure", "class structure" and "power structure" of Sripuram village in Tanjore District in south India. It is learnt from his work that, the similar pattern of caste, class and power structure is found in different parts of Indian villages. The caste structure constituted the basis of traditional Indian society. Tanjore District in particular has been known for the rigidity and complexity of caste structure. In the village, this caste structure has not only divided the population into various sections of unequal ritual status, but also dominated the economic and political life of the people. Beteille stated that, "it will be noticed that the values represented in the distribution of space in Sripuram are largely those of its traditional social order, in which positions in the class and power structures were on the whole governed by positions in the caste structure. Today, with the differentiation of the class system and the distribution of power, the social system of Sripuram has become too complex to be adequately contained within any single scheme of geographical representation." (Andre Beteille: 1969: 20)

5.6.1. Description about Values

Beteille has differentiated between the traditional agrarian and modern industrial capitalist society according to their organizational pattern with reference to values. "In addition to particular modes of organization, societies have also their characteristic patterns of values. Here again there are major differences between the two types of Society. We have comport values and organizations are interrelated, the former being often more resistant to change than the latter." (Andre Beteille: 1974: 57) As we
know social change could be brought through different ways. Beteille pointed out that any attempt to bring socio-economic change will not be effective unless brought change in values. “Planning for social and economic change is often associated with the creation of new types of organization, but unless these are supported by appropriate changes in values they cannot be fully effective. This may be illustrated with an example. Traditional societies place a high values on ‘personal’ relations in the sphere of work, but the bureaucratic organizations which are the major instruments of planned rural development require a certain commitment to impersonal values and norms. Where this commitment is weak are absent the organization will be either ineffective or improperly used.” (Ibid: 57)

Most of the society of today attempts to bring socio-economic changes through the proper planning and development. Betteille has viewed two conception of development in a value permises. “There appear to be two ways of attempting to define the concept of ‘social development’. In the first use it can be defined independently, in terms of a specific set of institutional factors whose choice will have to be justified in terms of a particular set of values. It can also be defined in relation to economic development - in terms of institutional factors whose association with the former have been or can be clearly established. It is essential to keep in mind that the two approaches are different and can lead to very different emphases in the selection of the institutions to be studied.” (Ibid: 58)

5.6.2. Value and Equality

Apart from Indian society, Beteille observed a significant change that has taken place in Asian societies in order to achieve their desirable ends. Emphasizing on social equality which a main content of conflict in the Asian region he has referred to values. According to him, "The changes taking place in the Asian Societies will in the end have to be assessed in terms of the values which these societies are seeking to achieve for themselves. Among these the value placed on social equality occupies a central position. In this regard India's adoption of the goal of a casteless and classless Society' is characteristics of the region as a whole. Further, equality in the new social order is visualized not merely in terms of the distribution of income but as involving the abolition of every kind of privilege." (Ibid: 61) Beteille has stood with his own argument emphasizing social equality in a frame of social development with reference
to existing social values. According to him, “It may be argued that equality here is essentially an external norm as such should not be used as a criterion for evaluating changes in societies which have been traditionally governed by hierarchical values. In spite of the persistence of traditional values in these societies, the normative model adopted everywhere is an egalitarian one. Therefore the choice of social equality can be made without fear of ethno-centric bias and can be justified independently of its assumed casual connexion with economic development.” (Ibid: 61) Besides this he has further stated that, “the choice of the second criterion would be somewhat more difficult to justify in formal terms. The emphasis on impersonal values and norms has historically been associated with the growth of particular organizational structures in the west and notably with what has come to be characterized as ‘rationality’ undoubtedly this entire complex has advantages over its traditional counterparts in terms of technical and economic efficiency. More important the normative models adopted in administration (and also in politics) in the new Asian states all place a high value on impersonal rules. Thus at least in regard to public life the assessment of change in terms of this criterion corresponds with the application of standards which these societies have set for themselves.”(Ibid: 62) Despite several reformations, the deeply rooted traditions of inequality continue to exist in one or another form in Indian society. Explaining this continuation, Beteille has very interestingly pointed out that, how newly created organization in Indian society is quickly adopting the strongly hold old values of inequality to continue the legacy of the traditional hierarchical values in a new form. As a result the desire to achieve the goal of social equality in a value premises come to a major set back. Very briefly he has discussed and given the example that. “the predominance of hierarchical values in the largest sector of a society has implications for the society as a whole. When new organizations are created they are frequently pervaded by these traditional values. Thus, in India it is remarkable how quickly Co-operatives, Block offices and even school boards become involved in hierarchical patterns. In the first place, recruitment is highly selective partly because of existing inequalities in training and ability and partly on account of prejudices organizations develop their own hierarchies and concerns for status which often distort the very ends which they are designed to achieve.” (Ibid: 65)
5.6.3. Conflicting Norms and Values

Beteille in his book *Antinomies of Society: Essays on Ideology and Institutions* (2000) clearly focuses on the conflicting norms and values in Indian society. India is well known for its diversity in terms of caste, race, language, culture and religion. Beteille was well acquainted with the Indian social reality and argued that, “diversity in ideas, beliefs, and practices was encouraged by the system of values, and the tolerance of diversity had an ethical basis in Hinduism. Dharma, commonly translated as ‘religion’ but better regarded as ‘right conduct’, is classified into varnashramadharma, or rules appropriate to particular stations and stages in life, and sadharanadharma, or rules common to all; far more stress is given to the former than to the latter ... The classical text provide little authority for one single and uniform normative standard for all sections of society.” (Andre Beteille: 2000: 210)

According to Beteille, the traditional Indian social structure is characterized by the orthodox rules, norms and regulations and governs through the caste principles. The practice of these caste principles perhaps one of the important causes for conflicting values in Indian society. “Traditional Hindu society was governed for 2000 years by the law of the Dharmashastras, whose influence was pervasive and far-reaching. The Dharmashastras in general and the Manusmriti in particular provide the most complete and elaborate design for a hierarchical social order known to human history. In 1950 India adopted a new constitution in charters for a social order could be more strikingly different than these. It is no accident that Dr. B.R. Ambedkar, widely regarded as the father of the Indian constitution, publicly burned the Manusmriti, which he viewed as the embodiment of injustice and oppression.” (Ibid: 212) The root causes of conflicting norms and values in Indian society were well known to the leaders of independence India. Several attempts were made to reduce the inequalities and provide the better facilities to weaker section of the society through the different plan and programmes in India’s development projects. These plans and programmes were successfully resulted several changes in Indian society.

Beteille has pointed out a second and closely related conflict of norms that has to do with the claims of collectivities as against the individuals. The framers of the Constitution of India sought to base the constitution on equality and individual rights, but both inequality and collectivity identities have survived as obdurate facts in
independent India. Referring caste ideology in the discourse of inequality Beteille very strongly stated that, "Caste was thrown out by the front door, but it has in the name of equality and social justice, re-entered through the back door..." (Ibid: 219) Beteille has discussed about the secularism at the backdrop to analyze conflict and social inequality in Indian society. He says, "We have to distinguish between secularization as an outcome of diffuse technological, economic and other forces operating in society and secularism as a conscious ideology or design for living. It is the ideology of secularism rather than the broad process of secularization that has to be the issue in discussion of the conflict and norms." (Ibid) In this context he viewed, in its long future ahead India has to go a long with the norm of secularism and the norm of religious pluralism. Secularism has become India's destiny, however hard it may be for its present leaders the coming generations have to cope with that destiny. "It is becoming increasingly clear that there are two distinct, if not mutually conflicting, ways of viewing secularism. In the first view, secularism means disengagement from religion – not this or that particular religion, but religion as such; this appears to be the generally accepted idea of secularism in the west, and it is not without some adherents among Indians." (Ibid: 223) However, independent India has witnessed a bitter experience of attack on secularism from different corners. Besides this analysis on Indian secularism Beteille has pointed out that, "state sponsored secularism is exposed to attack from various sides, where it seeks to neutralize religious excesses, it will be attacked by believers for understanding morality. Where it seeks to promote even protect a religious community under stress, it will be accused by one set of believers of bias in favour of another." (Ibid: 224) Beteille has located the Indian secularism in the perspective of religious tolerance and gender inequality. He believes that, "the divisions over secularism bring to the fore the complex interplay of ideas and interests in society. People do have basic and fundamental differences over the meaning of tolerance and the meaning of equality, and over how far religious tolerance can go in accommodating gender inequality. But adherence to a particular position is an expression not merely of inner faith in a particular doctrine but also of loyalty to the community of one's birth." (Ibid: 226)
5.6.4. Values and Social Change

Beteille pointed out that, some major changes are taking place due to new reformation packages. In addition to economic reforms, the processes of democratization and politicization of people and their social institutions have also brought about some major changes in the traditional culture. Emphasizing political processes Beteille argues that, a significant consequence of politicization in India is the acute self-consciousness and celebration of identity by castes, ethnic groups and minorities. This change has played an important role in weakening the traditional bonds of reciprocity and linkages of culture and economy among different castes and ethnic groups. As a subsequent result each caste or ethnic group prefers to establish solidarity within its own fold, and seeks to achieve its social, economic and culture objectives by constituting different associations and organizations. The breakdown in the traditional pattern of the inter-caste and inter-ethnic economic and cultural reciprocities has also been engendered by industrialization, expansion of education, the policy of positive discrimination in education, job opportunities and political offices, etc., in favour of the weaker sections based on caste and ethnicity. It became evident and consequently, a rapid change has taken place in the traditional occupational structure of castes and tribes. As these groups have moved up to occupy new occupational space, in this changing social structure and many folk cultural traditions and forms that fostered inter-caste reciprocities in Indian society have become redundant. In villages, the traditional community structure which was governed by caste ideology has been fractured as castes have been increasingly politicized.

According to Beteille, at the time of Indian’s independence, there was the anxiety about the stagnation engendered by an atrophied traditional social order. “Today, as all the tensions associated with a major social transition become manifest, it is disorder that appears to be the larger threat, although the two kinds of anxiety might be experienced simultaneously.” (Ibid: 208) In contemporary India’s social processes a significant changes have been seen in the sphere of social life. Particularly the shift of community centric social well being to individual gain is given more priority. In view of this dramatic shift Beteille has stated, “the turbulence that is endemic in contemporary India is often attributed to the decline of moral values or their displacement by the pursuits of narrow personal or sectional interests. There is a
constant refrain that values have gone out of politics, civics life, the professions and education. These are represented as being driven increasingly by the desire for individual gain as against social well-being.” (Ibid) Historically, Indian society is one of the bound traditions, society rich with century old social and cultural heritage. Though cultural contacts with alien forces took place since long but those external forces of social change absorbed with its tradition. The practice of caste-class relations along the hierarchy of caste principles was very predominant in Indian society. As a result, social inequality is never been a silent and non controversial issue in Indian society. In the context of this inequality in Indian society and its continuation in one or another form, Betelle has pointed out that, “attitudes to hierarchy began to change among the Indian intelligentsia from the middle of the nineteenth century onward … This was a slow and gradual process that encountered many unsuspected obstacles, and it has not by any means reached its terminus. British rule acted as an important catalyst, but Indians began on their own to look into their cultural traditions for support for the ideal of equality. With the approach of independence, the tide turned, and caste came to be widely regarded as the main source of inequality and divisiveness in Hindu society.” (Ibid: 214) Betelle further argued that, when people are placed differently in society and they strive for the same scarce objects, conflicts of interest are bound to occur, and they tend to overshadow all other conflicts. Betellel has focused in this chapter not only about the conflict of interests but also on the conflict over values and norms and over what people consider being right, proper and desirable, and what they regard as legally and morally binding. “The issue of contending norms and values is not the same thing as that of conflicting interests, but it is difficult to convey a sense of the dynamics of the former without taking some account of the latter.” (Ibid: 209)

5.6.5. Values: Conflict and Social Structure

The ideas and values of the individual are shaped up part in such a manner as of their location within this differentiated social structure. Now India has a population of more than 1 billion and divided by different language, region, religion, sect, caste, tribe, wealth, occupation, education and income. “India is also a nation-state with a formal legal and administrative structure that designed to maintain some measure of unity without doing violence to the distinctive lifestyles cherished by its major religious communities and cultural groups. Indians believe that rightly or wrongly, the tolerance
of diversity was a core value within the Indian tradition, which has for that reason a
great deal to contribute to the growth of a pluralist democracy in India. The tolerance of
diversity can accommodate the conflict over norms and values only up to a certain
point. Those factors, which are responsible for managing such affairs of state in India,
view these conflicts as clear signals of social disorder and disintegration. There is no
way in which this change can come about without the displacement of norms and
values by others. Nor do all these conflicts are over the norms and values which end by
tearing apart the fabric of society. Indeed, the suppression of such conflict may as
easily lead to that outcome. “It is important to acknowledge their necessity, and to
create and sustain institution to negotiate them. This cannot be done by wishing present
conflicts out of existence, or hoping for a future in which no conflicts out of existence,
or hoping for a future in which no conflicts will arise.” (Ibid: 210)

It is widely known that traditional Indian society is many way different from
that of the modern Indian society. But traditional life pattern and social practices still
exist and seen in different parts in India even in present days. “Modern Indians
sometimes say that the acceptance of diversity as a core value in Indian civilization
gives Indians a special advantage in building a democratic society. However, tolerance
of diversity should not be mistaken for individual freedom. Although society as a whole
tolerated the widest range of practices among its multifarious groups, the individual had
very little freedom to choose his own life plan for himself in work, worship or even
leisure. Classical law stressed duties more than rights ... and one’s most important duty
was to uphold the way of life of the group into which one was born.” (Ibid: 211)

In the wake of the shift of tradition to modern practices and value changes
Beteille has put forwarded that, “what was important in the social ethic was not
individual choice but the immemorial tradition by which the life of each particular
group was in principle governed. Note that these ideas, beliefs and practices never
changed but they changed slowly and imperceptibly, and not generally through the
consciously designed actions of the individual. According to Beteille, either the group
as a whole or, a section of it would adopt a new way of life, and are claiming that it was
its traditional way of life from which its member had deviated in recent times through
some accident or misfortune.” Conflict was part and partial affairs among the Indian
social life that exist since long. Conflict in Indian society continued even after its
independence which Beteille pointed out that, “an account of the conflicts in contemporary Indian society has to begin with the transformations in it during the past hundred and fifty years, and particularly since independence. What is most striking from the present point of view is the change from a hierarchical normative order to one based on the principle of equality: equality before the law, the equal protection of the laws and equality of status and of opportunity.” (Ibid: 212)


The making of Constitution after India’s independence is a remarkable for its constitutional provisions for the socio-economic upliftment of backward communities. It was believed that, these constitutional provisions will reduce existing inequalities to some extent and for its obvious reasons certainly it has brought many changes ion Indian Society. The adoption of new Constitution brought significant changes among the people but the age old tradition and custom continued to exist in the society which Beteille has pointed out that, “the whole life of a society does not change with the adoption of a radically new constitution. New laws may be enacted, but many old customs and conventions remain. In India, these are often at variance, and it cannot be assumed that the law is always more binding than custom and convention. Relations asked on kinship, caste and community have not remained exactly as they were, but they have not changed beyond recognition. Old identities and invidious distinctions based on them continue to be prominent features of the social landscape.” (Ibid: 213)

In Beteille’s opinion, all these divisions, based on language, religion, sect, caste, and tribe, are intersected by other divisions based on the distribution of wealth, income, occupation and education, or divisions corresponding to class in the broad sense. Making the confusion worse, it is quite common in contemporary India to represent the divisions of caste and community in the language of class, in both law and politics. The question of inequality and its practices in Indian society is an important subject of interest in Beteille’s study. While defining the pervasive existing of inequality in Indian society, he has referred to constitutional provisions that have given some remedial measures to reduce inequality. “The Constitution of India is one of the lengthiest documents in its kind – and it has incorporated some ninety two amendments in its brief existence. The length and the breadth of its amendments are good indicators of the ambiguity, uncertainty and conflict over norms in contemporary Indian society. There
are strong provisions for equality in the Constitution, although some of them have required amendment."(Ibid: 214) If we analyze the social history of world civilization, no society is free from conflicts. Conflicts exist in every society in various forms it differs from society to society. It may exist in the name of caste, class, race, region, religion, language, culture, ideology, etc. but it is interesting to note that all the above forms of conflicts exist in India. One of the reasons for such lengthy document of Indian Constitution is to keep in mind about the multiple diversity of Indian society. Though constitution of India adopted after its independence but for more than 57 years of its existence and practice many traditional disparities between the groups still continues to exist and new problems are emerging in the form of inequalities. Andre Beteille has stated that, "the leaders of independent India saw of course that a new constitution could not by itself secure substantive equality. Many of the old disparities between groups remained, and new inequalities between individuals were emerging. Efforts were set in motion to remove or reduce these inequalities through legislation, through democratic politics at the national, regional and local levels, and through economic planning."(Ibid: 215)

One of the important constitutional provisions made for the backward class is the reservation in different positions aiming to reduce the disparities among the people. Government of India is trying to implement this programme but yet to get its satisfactory results. The Backward Classes are a very large and heterogeneous category, which may be divided into three broad sections: the Scheduled Tribes, the Scheduled Castes, and the Other Backward Classes. The former two share certain feature in common, and the constitutional provisions for their betterment are more clear and specific than for the third. Beteille pointed out, India has one of the oldest and most comprehensive programmes of positive discrimination. It has been a source of great social dissension and political strife, leading to the fall of the national government in 1990. Explaining positive discrimination with reference to inequality, Beteille stated, "the intended benefits cover a very wide range, but the most important and also the most contentious are reserved positions in political bodies, public employment and education; hence positive discrimination has come to be widely known in India as the policy of reservations or quotas."(Ibid: 216) Beteille argued that the broad basis of positive discrimination is the principle of redress: it seeks to redress the bias of last
generations in the direction of greater equality. Positive discrimination in the name of reservation is one form of conflict that influences the collective psyche of the backward class. To understand the conflicts brought to the fore by positive discrimination, we need to have some idea of the benefits offered by it, and also of its intended beneficiaries. The backward classes deserve the benefits of the reservation policy as the traditional hierarchical order imposed numerous hardships on them, from many of which they continue to suffer. The Other Backward Classes are socially, economically, and politically even more diverse than either of the two other divisions SCs and STs. Again, they are not classes, but an assortment of 3743 castes and communities. Beteille has stated, “The nationwide political turmoil over job reservations for the other Backward Classes revealed dramatically the conflict between equality as a right and as a policy, between formal and substantive equality.” (Ibid: 218)

According Beteille, India has a democratic constitution that stresses equality, liberty and the rule of law within a secular framework. Keeping in view the democratic ethos of Indian constitution Beteille has discussed the problem of creating and sustaining a civil society in the plight of the conflicts over norms, values and interests. The concept civil society is both ambiguous and appealing and there are three components that are essential to understanding civil society, i.e. state, citizenship, and mediating institutions. It is true that state and civil society are often opposed, but it is difficult to give an adequate account of civil society without keeping the state in mind.

For centuries the traditional Indian had thought of himself as a member of a particular kin group, village, caste, sect and religious community rather than as a member of a larger society or civilization. He had little awareness of what lay beyond his immediate geographical and social horizons. Describing the change particularly referring shift from the tradition he is in opinion of replacing the old components. To be sure, there were fairs and pilgrimages, and the depredations of conquering armies that exposed him to the external world. But these were too fitful and intermittent to enable him to incorporate his links with that world as a significant component of his identity. Being a citizen means adding a new component of his social identity, but that cannot be done without some rearrangement, even displacement, of the old component.” (Ibid: 227)
Beteille has very strongly argued that, in countries like India, the real test of the success will be in the performance of open and secular institutions rather than the rigid and hierarchical ones which was the characteristics of the past. Giving the example of traditional strong hold in Indian society Beteille has stated that, “a variety of new institutions – colleges, hospitals, banks and so on – began to emerge in India from the middle of the nineteenth century onwards under the stimulus of colonial rule. Recruitment to these was on a different basis from recruitment to their traditional counterparts; they were open, at least in principle, to all castes and creeds. Their internal structure and functioning were also different, being governed by secular rather than religious principles. These new institutions did not all at once efface the basic design of traditional Indian society, but they opened up new spaces within it.” (Ibid: 229)

Regarding the traditional value changes along with the continuity of norms and values Beteille argued that, modern institutions in India are open institutions where membership is open to all irrespective of caste, creed and gender. However, the modern times also not free from some shorts of inequality that continues to exist in one or other form. “This is in principle true of all public institutions in India. But while they are open in principle, the facts clearly show that recruitment to positions of respect and responsibility in them is generally from a rather restricted social base. The consequences of past inequalities between families manifest themselves in the present distribution of persons in even the most open institutions, to a greater or lesser extent, in all societies. It is this that the policy of positive discrimination seeks to correct in India, and in doing so it has introduced caste and community as criteria of recruitment to public institutions.” (Ibid)

According Beteille, in Hindu society, caste divisions play a part both in actual social interactions and in the ideal scheme of values. Members of different castes expected to behave differently and to have different values and ideals. Initially, these differences are sanctioned by Hindu Religion alone. But due to its influence, the other Indian religion also began to practice the similar or some other type of sanctions along the time of Hindu religion. Betteille has seen two kinds of relationship between the caste and the agrarian class structure in traditional Indian society and he pointed out the antagonistic relationship which is revealed by the fact that landowners belong to
predominantly upper castes and the landless to the lower castes. The second is a deeper relationship in which the hierarchical values of caste sustained and legitimized the unequal relations among landowners, tenants and agricultural labourers. Thus, any attempt to continue the similar trend even after the reformation that has taken place since independence is adding fuel to already once existing conflict. Finally, Beteille viewed that, conflict in values between the generations, and in particular the rapid pace of change, lead to a separation between leaders with a traditional and a modern outlook.

5.7. Tharaileth Koshy Oommen (b. 1937)

Prof. T.K. Oommen, a modern sociological thinker, born in the year 1937 and became a student of sociology by a sheer accident. Prof. Oommen admitted himself in his felicitation seminar in the year 2002, held in Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU) where I was present and listening carefully. He says about his intellectual journey that, literally he was flooded into sociology. He was going for an interview to Tata Institute for Social Science (TISS), Bombay for a diploma course in social service administration from his home state of Kerala. But the train could not go beyond Pune due to terrible flood. Prof. Oommen got off and went to the Poona University and luckily got admission in sociology M.A. course. From there onwards he has started his career in sociology and emerged as one among the great sociologist of our time. Besides his felicitation seminar, being a student of Centre for the Study of Social Systems (CSSS), I got the opportunity to hear many of his lectures on different issues.

When Prof. Oommen started his career in the 1960’s, there were a large number of themes left untouched. In his Ph.D. theses, entitled Charisma, Stability, and Change: An Analysis of Bhoodan-Gramdan movement in India, (1972), it was the first book by an Indian sociologist on social movements. Similarly, His work on Doctors and Nurses, A Study in Occupational Role Structures, published in 1978, six years later, was the first book-length study of modern occupation or profession in India. It is evident from this, that Prof. Oommen can stake some claim to have initiated this ‘new themes’ in Indian sociology. His value orientation in conflict approach has been already discussed in the Chapter – III. As per the limitation of the study it is not possible to discuss his vast areas of concern. However, it is attempted to concentrate on some of his works in a value frame in this discourse.
5.7.1. Some Highlights about Prof. T.K. Oommen

At the age of 39 T.K. Oommen was appointed as full Professor at the Jawaharlal Nehru University in the year 1976 and retired from the Centre for the Study of Social Systems/School of Social Sciences in the year 2002. He put Indian Sociology on the World Map. He was Secretary General of the XI World Congress of Sociology, the quadrennial Congress of the International Sociological Association (1990-1994), in New Delhi in 1986 and the only scholar from Asia and Africa to be elected as the president of International Sociological Association, a fifty-year old body sponsored by UNESCO. He is the recipient of all the three Indian awards for sociologists/social anthropologists. These are (1) Prof. V.K.R.V. Rao Prize in Sociology (1981), (2) G.S. Ghurye Award in Sociology, and (3) Social Anthropology (1985) and Swami Pranavananda Award for Sociology (1997). Prof. Oommen was also the President of Indian Sociological Society. So far, he has published twenty-one books: among those who published his books are Polity Press, Oxford University Press, Macmillan Press and Sage Publishers. Besides this he has been writing in newspapers such as The Times of India, The Hindustan Times, Indian Express and The Hindu on social, cultural and political issues. He is also associated with thirteen journals as editor or as a member of Editorial Advisory Board, eight of them are from foreign and five from Indian. He is visiting Professor to several Universities/Institutes including, Deptt. Of Sociology, University of California (DSUC), Berkeley (USA); Research School of Social Sciences (RSSC), Australian National University (ANU), Canberra; Institute of Advanced Studies (IAS), Budapest, Hungary; and the Scandinavian Institute of Advanced Studies (SIAS), Uppsala, Sweden.

At Present Prof. Oommen in his capacity as Chair, Schumacher Centre (SC), Delhi is involved in rural development, employment generation and livelihood projects and engages in translating into practice the ideas of M.K. Gandhi and E.F. Schumacher. He is also Member of Prime Minister’s High Level Committee for preparation of Report on Social, Economic and Educational Status of the Muslim Community of India since March 2005.
5.7.2. Hierarchy and Values

According to Prof. Oommen, in Indian society the hierarchy was clear and sharp only at the polar points of the caste system. He pointed out that, "hierarchy manifested itself not only in the system of caste and sub-caste stratification based on the notions of ritual purity and pollution acquired by birth, but also in the Hindu concept of occupational life-cycles and age-grades (asramas) and moral duties (dharma). Marrying within one's own caste was superior both to hypergamy and hypogamy, that is, the practice of a male seeking his spouse from a lower caste and that of a female marrying into a lower caste. Of the triple objectives of marriage, religious duty (dharma) had precedence over securing progeny (praja) or sexual pleasure (rati). The one who renounced the world (sanyasi) was morally superior to the one who still remained mundane." (T.K. Oommen: 1990: 101)

Besides this, explaining hierarchy in Indian society, Prof. Oommen stated that, the Brahmin who emerged from the mouth of the creator occupied an admittedly exalted position as compared to the Shudra, who emerged from the feet of God. Thus, the notion hierarchy was omnipresent and all-powerful in regulating human conduct in every minute aspect of life. He further explained that "while the ideology of hierarchy institutionalized inequality in every conceivable aspect of human life, it allocated a secure and definite place to each individual and caste group. The valuation of individuals and groups and the distribution of societal resources were based on status and status was ascriptive, even though birth into a group was believed to be based on moral merit gathered during the previous birth, as implied in the theory of karma and renunciation." (Ibid)

5.7.3. Traditional and Modern Values

T.K. Oommen in his book State and Society in India (1990) has discussed on the Indian experience of traditional values and modern values. He has analyzed the structural and functional continuity along with conflicting tendencies in comparison with the traditional and modern Indian values. According to him, traditional society in India was organized on the principles of hierarchy, pluralism, holism, renunciation, tolerance, among others. The value themes listed here are by no means exhaustive but only illustrative and we will deal with the first three as these appear to be the cardinal ones.
and also encompass several others. Hierarchy implies the ordering of the units which constitute a system in relation to the whole in a superior-inferior gradation. “The tradition-modernity dichotomy was almost universally endorsed in the 1960s and modernization is still viewed as a homogenizing process. The underlying assumption behind this perspective is that there is a wide variety of traditional societies and the series of ‘isations’ industrialization, urbanization, bureaucratization will eventually bring about multiple modernities rent the air of social science.” (See T. K. Oommen: 2004: 233)

The dialogues of nation building perhaps begin with the occupation of territory. According to Oommen, “there are several routes through which a people come to identify themselves with a territory: birth, immigration/colonization and conquest. The first is the most natural in that the legitimacy of such identification is not contested. The last is the most problematic in that one has to gradually convert a claim based on physical force into a moral claim; the conquerors will not succeed if the conquered do not acquiesce or accommodate.” (Oommen: 1990: 11) In this context Oommen argues that, “given the fact that India is a multi-national state, it is but natural that the different nationalities would be eager to assert their cultural identity. But these identity assertions are often wrongly perceived as posing threats, both by the state and by the cultural mainstream.” (Ibid: 13)

Prof. Oommen explained about upholding their internal consistency to understand the possibility of effecting and consensus not only between tradition and modernity but also within each of the value packages, which is mentioned below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Traditional Values</th>
<th>Modern Values</th>
<th>Prerequisite for Realization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. (a) Pluralism</td>
<td>(b) Secularism</td>
<td>Tolerance and respect for other style of life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. (a) Hierarchy</td>
<td>(b) Socialism</td>
<td>Status base allocation of roles and resources for II(a) and need-based allocation for II(b)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. (a) Holism</td>
<td>(c) Individualism</td>
<td>Renunciation of self-interest for III(a) and assertion of self-interest for III(b)</td>
</tr>
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(For more details see T. K. Oommen: 1990: 106)

Oommen has stated about some of the modern Indian values with reference to Indian Constitution. He observed that, most of the modern values practiced in India today have its western origin. “The fundamental values that the Indian state pursues
today are embodied in the Constitution. These values are embedded in the basic goals of socialism, secularism, and democracy. Although this value package is Western in origin, it is applied to the Indian context with the requisite adaptations and reinterpretations.” (Ibid: 103)

He has particularly discussed on the practices of three major modern Indian values i.e. socialism, secularism and democracy. He states that, secularism in the Indian context meant in practice tolerance of other communities—particularly religious communities. The import of secularism as a primary value in the Indian constitution should be seen against the backdrop of the circumstances which let to the split of the Indian subcontinent. India is a multi-religious nation in terms of its ideology and existential realities, but its birth was coterminous with that of Muslim nations in the world with a population of over 80 million Muslims. In his assessment, the emergence of multiple modernities between the Sixteenth and the Twentieth Century created the context of globalization. It was marked by (a) bourgeoise revolution and colonialist expansion of Europe, (b) a proletarian revolution and the Cold War, and (c) anti-colonial and nationalist movements and revolutions of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. According to Prof. Oommen colonialism has evolved itself through several patterns which are informed by eurocentricity as well as the construction of various Others. He further explained that, during the cold war period there is a trichotomy of three revolutions and three worlds with various permutations and combinations around the imperatives of modernization with different consequences for different regions, religions, and cultures - therefore “Multiple Modernities” came up.

According to Prof. Oommen, the traditional value of pluralism and the modern value of secularism are reconcilable in that both attest tolerance and respect for others’ religion language and style of life. In contrast, the deeply entrenched traditional value of hierarchy and the status based allocation of roles and resources which it implies is in direct contravention to the modern value of socialism which insists on need-based allocation of resources and competence-based allotment of roles. If, from the perspective of the modern value frame, the widespread corruption and nepotism in independent India are absolutely unacceptable, they merely meet the obligations expected of one in the traditional value frame.
Anticipating the role performance in a value frame, Prof. Oommen argued that, “in terms of the traditional value of holism the individual is expected to renounce his self-interest for the collectivity but the collectivities concerned were those in which the individual was immediately and intimately involved-joint family and kin, caste and village. (Ibid: 18-19)

5.7.4. Socialism and Democracy as a Modern Value

According to Oommen, Indian socialism is different in theory and practice as compared with socialism elsewhere. Referring the concentration of economic resources among the few he viewed that, Indian socialism does not attempt collectivization of private property but only seeks to limit it. For instance the legitimacy of private property as an institution is not yet fundamentally questioned. He has pointed out some of the evils of practicing socialism in India today. He argued in a value frame that, the Indian socialism is based on the principle of allocation of resources and roles that based on merit. Moreover, the traditional Indian social system, with its all-pervasive institutionalized inequality that allocate resources and distribute rewards on the basis of status based on birth. As a result, the sudden breakdown from the past institutionalized extreme inequalities does not taking place easily and the considerable inequality is in evidence. In other words the Indian society has successfully passed its practices of inequalities in different sphere of social life to generation after generation.

Oommen discussed at length about the practice of “democracy” as one of important modern Indian values with referring traditional as well as modern Indian society. Indian democracy shares its form with other democratic societies and emphasizes equality of opportunity; its substance is certainly different. According to Oommen democracy assumes the existence of autonomous and independent individuals capable of participating in the decision-making process. In the traditional social system of India the individual as an autonomous entity making decisions for himself was non existent. Indian tradition did not in fact admit the concept of the individual and the Indian individual emerged only when renounced the world by assuming the role of sanyasi or leaving the family life or become ascetic. This all-pervasive holism was not conducive to the operation of democracy which presupposes the existence of autonomous individuals. Oommen has pointed out that, this is the reason why Indian democracy has primordial loyalty to traditional structures such as religion, caste, and
linguistic groups. The ideological polarization is nebulous, often incomplete, and frequently mediated by traditional values and rigid institutional structures. Oommen states, the democratic man, insofar as he wants to combine the values of socialism and secularism should develop a collectivistic orientation. At the same time this collectivistic orientation should be qualitatively different from existing primordial linkages; it should be based on universalistic values and should have a trans-local orientation. One of the basic dilemmas in bringing the traditional and modern values closer lies precisely in this.” (Ibid: 105-6)

5.7.5. Values and Globalization

Prof. T. K. Oommen, in his presentation on the approach to cultural, political, and social aspects of the process of globalization in the Sociological Department, Albert Ludwigs University (ALU), Freiburg (Germany) on May 23, 2000 states that, it is important to recognize the historical dimensions of the process of globalization to initiate any attempt of analysis for adopting a political sociological perspective.

Upholding the values Prof. Oommen states, the essence of globalization can be appreciated by recognizing the presence of four interrelated processes, i.e. homogenization, pluralization, traditionalisation, and hybridization. According to Oommen, sociological analysis of globalization and the underlying processes needs to be based upon the sociology of multiple modernities, which can be conceptualized by a critical reference to the contributions of four eminent sociologists - Emile Durkheim, Max Weber, Karl Marx, and George Simmel. The concepts of structural differentiation (Durkheim), rationalization (Weber), history making project (Marx), and modern city life setting (Simmel) are particularly important for conceptualizing the realities of globalization. Prof. T. K. Oommen argues that there is a new world society in the making and the process has been accelerated with the new technology of communication, but there is no possibility of global culture. Because of simultaneous and contradictory influences and consequences of homogenization, pluralisation, traditionalisation, and hybridization of the components of culture - material (food, clothing, leisure, etc.) and non-material/symbolic items (value system, institutions, etc.).
Contextualizing the global stage Prof. Oommen has discussed about the quadrilateral relationship among the ethnicity, citizenship, nationality and globality. According to him, these four are basic contextual imperatives of social interactions. They influence the social actions of individuals and the groups in various permutations in the realm of civil society, state, and market. And in the principles, he explained the quadrilateral relationship among the class, race, ethnie and nation. According to Oommen, these are the four organising principles of human aggregations. They interact with each other in local, national, and global frameworks of social institutions and processes. In the processes of globality, keeping ethnification at the centre, he discusses about the quadrilateral relationship among the processes of colonization, internationalization, nation-building and migration. According to him ethnification is a critical process of the global age. It is necessary to recognize the relationship between it and the other four dominant processes of contemporary world system. The relation to territory is basic in this complex. In his discussion on identity formation Prof. Oommen is concern about the triangle relationship among the citizenship, nationality, and ethnicity. He explained that, residency in a national territory without citizenship leads to ethnification. Finally, in the context of problem and limits of globalization, Prof. Oommen has discussed about quadrilateral relationship on deepening global disparities, centralized global governance, decline of human concern and lack of global ethics.

According to T. K. Oommen, today globalization largely means the movement of capital. We cannot hold back the movement of human beings too long; it is bound to come into being. Therefore, the mode of conceptualizing ethnicity I have attempted will help us to understand the process of cultural globalization. The processes of cultural pluralization, hybridization and even traditionalization become relevant because many of the immigrant communities create their own cultural enclaves.

5.7.6. Values: Communalism and Nationalism

Referring colonial experience Prof. Oommen has discussed about the communalism and nationalism in a value frame. In the colonial situation, communalism and nationalism were juxtaposed; if the latter was sacralized as a sentiment and an ideology, the former was stigmatized. But the content of nationalism, which was predominantly political, was elaborated with freedom; it also came to mean cultural identity, economic development and political consolidation. "The phenomenon of internal colonialism
within India was articulated through a wide variety of movements. Ignoring the change in the historicity of context, many analysts erroneously label such protests and mobilizations as communal, parochial and even anti-national.” (T. K. Oommen: 1990: 20)

He says, “Secessionist variety of communalism is an explicit threat to a multi-religious nation-state in that it attests the position that the specificity and integrity of a religious collectivity can be preserved only under a ‘political roof’ exclusive to itself, that is, a sovereign state. Secessionist communalism is widely disapproved in India, while assimilationist communalism regarded as ‘genuine nationalism’, particularly by a section of Hindus in India. Although no political party in India explicitly endorses this view, there are a few Hindu organizations Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangha (RSS) & Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) which unambiguously advocate the formation of a Hindu Rashtra (polity) and establishment of a common life-style for all Indians.” (Ibid: 20)

The concept of secularism too has multiple meanings. In the contemporary West, secularism is used in at least three different senses. According to Oommen, these interpretations are neither conceptually sustainable nor empirically viable in the Indian situation.

5.7.7. Pluralism as a Value: Language and Nation-Building

Prof. Oommen spoke about the multiple existence of pluralism like, political pluralism, cultural pluralism, religious pluralism, and technological pluralism. Considering pluralism as a modern value, Prof. Oommen has discussed about the importance of nation building in terms of language and linguistic region. According to him apart from religion and ethnicity, similarly, language is the most important vehicle of their cultural expression. For these reasons, it is desirable to constitute an administrative unit, which is based on language. But in doing this one has to keep in mind optimality of size and viability of finance. (For more details also see T. K. Oommen: 2002: 06) he states, “Democratic plural societies have a consensual value system enshrined in their constitution and articulated through their institutions.” (T. K. Oommen: 1990: 92)

Referring political pluralism, Prof. Oommen states, political integration entails a sense of belonging to the nation-state. But this psychological attachment in a vast and
multi-national entity such as India is not so simple. We feeling has different levels and contexts. This is the rationale behind the advocacy of constituting administrative units - panchayats, districts and states - based on mother-tongues. This step would help in realizing the constitution promises of providing compulsory universal primary education to all children through their mother-tongues and institutionalizing the participatory process at the grass-roots. In Oommen’s view all this measure would reinforced nurturcultural pluralism.

Prof. Oommen elucidates multiple existence of pluralism like cultural pluralism, religious pluralism and technological pluralism. According his opinion, first, cultural pluralism is the only viable option for India. This following part has been abstracted from the works of Prof. Oommen’s State and Society (1990), and tried to explain his views on nation-building in a value frame with reference to pluralism. “Second, given the recent history and experience of the Indian subcontinent, reconstruction of Indian polity based on religion is not only undesirable but dangerous. In fact, all persisting secessionist movements (also see T. K. Oommen, 2004. Nation, Civil Society and Social Movements: Essays in Political Sociology, New Delhi: Sage Publications Pvt. Ltd.) Which challenge and question the legitimacy of the Indian state are triggered off and sustained by religious collectivities. Third, it is not realistic to expect the vast majority of the people to operate in a free-floating and unattached manner. Fourth, the most desirable basis for reconstructing Indian polity is language, as it is invariably linked to territory. Reconstructing administrative units based on mother-tongues would facilitate adequate and appropriate communication, a prerequisite for participatory development, political integration and cultural pluralism. Fifth, the reconstruction of the Indian polity should be based on a value framework which explicitly draws from and builds on both traditional and modern values.” For more details see (T. K. Oommen: 1990: 22)

Emphasizing technological pluralism, Prof. Oommen has viewed that “the role of technology is widely regarded as the most crucial in the onward march of human progress. At the same time the continuous and indiscriminate application of high technology has resulted in environmental degradation. He proposes technological pluralism as an important policy option in the nation-building. But this advocacy in turn implies the acceptance of cultural pluralism as an essential component in this value
frame. Technological pluralism, although recognizes the need to protect the environment, does not attest the cult of environmentalism, the preservation of nature at all costs in its pristine purity. He pointed out that the indiscriminate application of high technology leads to the destruction of the environment and often we need technology to cope with such hostile environment. According to Oommen, “that is, the symbiotic relationship between man, environment and technology needs to be recognized, keeping in mind the Gandhian dictum: man is the supreme consideration.” (Ibid: 24)

Oommen states that the appropriation of new roles such as development, modernization and social transformation by the state, and the institutionalization of democratic pattern of governance gave birth to the ideology of popular participation. Besides this, Oommen was aware of the role of technocrats in building modern nation states, “it is widely recognized that nation-building in the contemporary world is not possible without the central involvement of trained manpower, particularly scientists and technologists. India is among the countries with a large scientific manpower pool, but the vast majority of them are not a very high caliber, a substantial section of them prefers to work outside India, particularly in Western capitalist countries.” (Ibid: 25)

In the nation building process, for Oommen, “religious pluralism should be recognized as a fact of Indian social reality. “The two most important obstacles in nation building posed by the religious communities are the tendencies to (a) claim and appropriate certain languages (and conversely other religious groups tending to dissociate themselves from these languages) and (b) claim the whole or parts of India as their homeland. Both these claims are prerequisites to projecting particular religions as nations, and hence the need to de-recognize and de-legitimize these claims.” (Ibid: 27) He has considered religious pluralism as an important ingredient of cultural pluralism of India, is well-known and ancient. Almost all major religions of the world are professed in this country. One may categorize them into two: religions of Indian origin and religions of alien origin. (For more details also see Oommen, T. K. (2002)- Pluralism, equality and Identity: A comparative Studies, New Delhi: Oxford University Press)

Finally, Prof. Oommen says, “Indian nationalism is a product of colonialism and not industrialization; although India is predominantly agrarian even today, it has succeeded in building a modern state. The fact that communication throughout India
(one-sixth of humanity, speaking over 1,6000 mother-tongues) cannot be undertaken through one language has been proved several times over, although some groups and persons still nurse that illusion." (T. K. Oommen: 1990: 92)

5.7.8. Values: Ethnicity, Identity Nationalism and Nation Building

Prof. Oommen emphasizes that, the issues relating to primordial collectivism arise essentially in the context of cultural pluralism while dealing with the problem of nation building. According to him most discussions of ethnicity focus on a wide variety of attributes of ethnic groups – religion, sect, language, region, caste, race, colour, etc. These attributes, singly or in different combinations, are used to define ethnic groups and varies under different circumstances. “The fact that India is a multi-national state does not mean that ethnics do not exist in India. Given the vast size, cultural diversity, disparity in development between regions, and freedom of migration ensured through single citizenship, ethnics do emerge and exist. Further he states, “Indian nationalism is a product of colonialism and not industrialization; India remains predominantly agrarian even today and yet has succeeded in building a modern state.” (T. K. Oommen: 1990: 41)

Nationalism is a multidimensional phenomenon and one or another dimension would assume salience depending upon the context. During the anti-imperialist struggle the content of Indian nationalism was predominantly political. After attaining political freedom the historicity of context changed and the cultural content of nationalism was predominantly political. The coexistence of a large number of nations under one ‘political roof’ as in India may lead to mobilizations by deprived collectivities for a better deal within the polity. Most of the movements which have been labelled parochial, regional, separatist, secessionist and anti-national in independent India are actually nationalist movements- if nation and nationalism are defined as they ought to be.” (Ibid: 42)

Primordial collectivism is an important aspect of nation building, in his understanding about tribal state of Jharkhand he found a sub-region within the state and exemplified the case of Chottanagpur. How the tribal population of Chottanagpur claim that they are the original inhabitants and there is a hierarchy of outsiders or dikhus: Bengalis Marwaris and north Bihar. He also advocated the formation of local
political parties such as the Shiv Sena (SS) in Bombay and Kannada Chaluvaigars (KC) in Bangalore to assert, in particular, the right to employment and admission to educational institutions for the ‘sons of soil', is the typical response in such cases. In addition to it he says, the situation of conflict is found within the same state formed on the basis of linguistic and cultural homogeneity. The typical examples of such a situation are the Telangana Regional Movement (TRM) in Andhra Pradesh, the Vidarbha Movement (VM) in Maharashtra, the tension between Jammu & Kashmir (J &K) and Ladakh in the state of J & K, and the tension between the eastern, western and hill districts of Uttar Pradesh.

The following sentences are abstracted from Oommen’s work, “our analysis of the cases of foreigners, refugees and outsiders in India clearly indicates that conflicts between them and the local population-sons of the soil-emerge when the latter category is dominated by the former. And the intensity of these conflicts depends upon the intertwining of the contexts and velocity of dominance: economic, political and cultural.” (Ibid: 86) In this context Oommen says, most of the industrial enterprises in India’s urban centres are owned by outsiders (including ex-refugees) drawn from specific ‘ethnic’ backgrounds: Marwaris, Parsis, Gujaratis, Punjabis, Sindhis, etc. However, opposition against them is not organized or systematic except in rare cases when the local population perceives discrimination in the employment policies pursued by these entrepreneurs. The conflicts are usually between the local rising bourgeoisie and the entrenched outside entrepreneurs. Basically an economic conflict, it triggers off primordial sentiments which are invoked by the locals to expel the outsiders.” (Ibid: 87)

What T.K. Oommen wanted to make is that neither industrialization nor a common language are prerequisites to building a modern state as the Indian experience clearly demonstrates. “Any attempt to impose a common language would put the societies and cultures of India unbearable strain and the Indian polity will not be in a position to sustain it. The moment this is attempted the widespread feeling among numerous groups and millions of individuals that they are treated as ‘second class citizens’ will increase and be reinforced. Therefore, any effort to establish isomorphism between polity and society would increase the feeling of alienation, thereby posing a threat to India’s integrity.” (Ibid: 92-93)
5.7.9. Values: Social Movements

According to Oommen, “based on their objectives, collective mobilizations in independent India may be grouped into five types: assimilationist, welfarist, separatist, insulationist and secessionist (For details see Oommen 1986: 107-29). The assimilationist ideology is pursued both by the Indian state and a section of the cultural mainstream. Taken to its logical end, this aims at the annihilation of cultures and styles of life of the majority of Indians in one way or another.” (T. K. Oommen: 1990: 95)

Oommen says the ‘separatist’ mobilizations are oriented towards asserting a specific identity for particular collectivities: that is, separatism and identity formation are two sides of the same coin. In fact, these mobilizations are the result of the unfinished, task of state reorganization which began in the mid-1950s. (Also see Oommen, K. 1985. From Mobilisation to Institutionalisation, Bombay: Popular Prakashan) He asserted that, “if handled with care the aspirations expressed through these mobilizations can be accommodated within the Dravidian Movement (DM), the Mizo National Movement (MNM), and to a certain extent, the Naga National Movement (NNM).” (Ibid: 96) (Also discussed in the chapter – V)

5.7.10 Values: Religion and Nation Building

According to Prof. Oommen, all the leading religions of the world – Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, Buddhism, Sikhism, Jainism, Judaism, Zoroastrianism, Baha’I faith- are professed in India, in addition to numerous indigenous pre-Aryan religious cults and practices. “Indian Christianity is much older than European Christianity. Islam came to India 12 centuries ago. Thus, India cannot be identified with any particular religious collectivity. And yet, there is evidence that the Indian state a section of Hindus identify India with Hindu society and culture.” (Ibid: 91)

“The Indian Constitution defines Hinduism to include all religions of Indian origin. The census of India counts STs and SCs as Hindus if they are not converts to other religions, even when some sections from these groups insist and occasionally declare: ‘we are not Hindus’. Oommen states that, if Hinduism pursues the policy of expansionism in the case of ‘Indian’ religions, its policy is one of exclusivism in the case of ‘foreign’ religions. There are two types of alien religions-Islam and Christianity-which are perceived as products of conquest and colonization and the
migrant religions—Jews, Zoroastrians and Baha'is. In this context he argued that, "for any discussion on Hinduism to be adequate, we have no option but to refer to the caste system. While on the one hand Hinduism is characterized by metaphysical tolerance, on the other it is socially frozen through the institution of caste. (Ibid: 51) "Pursuant, it is suggested that the existing 'all-India' elements are derived from the Aryan-Brahmanic-Sanskritic sources the great tradition. The 'little traditions' are mere localized cultural elements with hardly any spatial spread, placed in a vertical relationship constantly emulating the elite norms and continually absorbing Brahminic values.” (Ibid: 52)

According Oommen, all the three categories—foreigners, refugees, outsiders—are products of spatial mobility and are viewed with varying degrees of legitimacy by the people of the nation-state among whom they are present. The foreigners are alien citizens who migrate in search of better economic opportunities to another country; the refugees are those who flee from their country as victims of discrimination perpetrated against one or the other of their identities—religion, language—and whose citizenship status is in dispute; the outsiders are fellow citizens who are perceived as intruders by locals from other administrative units or cultural regions within the nation-state. Referring occupation of territory in the context of identity formation, Oommen argued that, "territory as an exclusive referent of identity is use mainly within a homogeneous linguistic region, e.g., Mulkies and non-Mulkies in Andhra Pradesh, Jodhpuris and Jaipuris in Rajasthan. Language as the referent of identity is used to distinguish a migrant community by the host community: Tamils in Bombay, Punjabis in Madras, Bengalis in Assam. But the migrants themselves press their claims based on residence in the region into which they migrated, a claim usually not acceptable to the host community. Much of the social tensions generated by mobilizations and counter-mobilizations by the sons of the soil on the one hand, and outsiders and foreigners on the other, then, is the resultant of the lack of congruence in definitions and labeling by the contending collectivities.” (Ibid: 70)

He referred the pathetic of India's religious basis of partition in which several millions Hindu, Muslims and Sikhs either have been moved to India or to Pakistan. In this context he has given the example of Sikh identity and states that, "having successfully faced the economic crisis and psychic damage wrought by partition, the Sikhs were eager to establish their identity as a specific community. Although Sikh
history is 400 years old, Sikh consciousness crystallized only by the turn of the century, with the founding of the Chief Khalsa Diwan in 1902. “The agitation led to the passage of the Sikh Gurudwara Act of 1925, and the formation of the Shiromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee (SGPC) to manage the Sikh Gurudwaras, and the Akali Dal (AD), its arm for political mobilization. Both the SGPC and the AD limited their membership to Sikhs, thereby defining the boundary between Hindus and Sikhs.” (Ibid: 73) He also referred the division of Pakistan that led to the creation of Pakistan and the emergence of Bangladesh. Which was possible only after the defeat of Pakistani armed forces in 1971 with the combined strength of Bengali soldiers, volunteer forces and the Indian army. During that period, “The propaganda that Hindus had massacred Muslims in large numbers in the initial phase of the liberation struggle gained currency and even the Bengali Muslims believed it. Once again a regional linguistic (West Pakistan-Punjabi verses East Pakistani-Bengali) conflict was transformed into a religious (Muslim verses Hindu) confrontation.”(Ibid: 77)

He also referred to the northeast India and says, “Northeast India-Assam, Meghalaya, Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Manipur and Mizoram facing the danger of a massive influx of foreign nationals from Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan and Burma. It is claimed by the people of the northeast that 40 to 50 lakh foreigners are from these neighboring countries have intruded into India illegally. In Assam alone 13 lakh foreign nationals have enlisted themselves as voters. Among the foreign nationals those from Bangladesh are in the majority, followed by a substantial number of Nepalis, and most are found in Assam.” (Ibid: 79) Now the actual figure of population may be more than what it is mentioned above.

In this context Prof. Oommen identified four kinds of situations in contemporary India. First, when the entire state is engulfed by varieties of outside migrants, as is the case with Assam today. This leads to cumulative domination with the outsiders enveloping all aspects of life: the economic domination by Marwari and Punjabi capitalists, the cultural, educational and occupational domination by Bengali Hindus from West Bengal, the domination of the rural economy through agricultural colonization by Bengali Muslim and Nepali Hindu peasantry, and political domination by the majority groups among the migrants, particularly Bengalis.
Summarizing Oommen’s view on nation states referring traditional and modern values, if multiculturality was merely a social fact in the New World settlements in the beginning, it is also a favoured social value in contemporary multicultural polities. Multiculturalism is understood as a value orientation which promotes the coexistence and preservation of a multiplicity of cultural communities within the territory of a state. The issue of national self-determination is not germane to multicultural polities. At any rate linking multiculturalism with national self determination arises out of the confusion wrought by two conflations: (a) between state and nation, and (b) between nation and ethnie, both of which are unsustainable. He says that the most Indian sociologists were seized of the empirical realities of their society, which is incidentally too vast and complex and even staggering. The first generation scientific sociologists of India were involved in analyzing the particularities of Indian social institutions i.e. the caste system and religion, family and kinship in settings such as village and town. Firstly, he refers to the ‘traditionalists’ to whom he also called cultural relativists who took at India’s great pride. Secondly, he refers to the ‘nationalists’ who looked upon the anti-colonial struggle as the great Indian renaissance. Thirdly, he refers to the ‘cosmopolitanism’ who believe Indian society as same as that of the societies in terms of its basic structural features. Prof. Oommen found it difficult to accept any of these orientations in their totality. He inclined to designate his orientation as pluralist paradigm, the salient features of which are the following.

First, it rejects the conventional dichotomisation prevalent in Western Sociology anchored to epistemological dualism and the displacement syndrome implicated in it. Focusing on the processual dimension, the pluralist paradigm emphasizes accretion and reconciliation. Second, it highlights simultaneity as an important feature of social processes in the South Asian civilization region as against sequentiality of social processes in the West. Third, it does not advocate unqualified commitment to nationalism and/or statism but endorses national values and state policy only if they are congruent with basic humanist values and interests. Fourth, it does not reject any cultural item be it religion or technology, because of the locus of its geographical origin but opts for creative dialogue and cautious synthesis of the ‘alien’ and the ‘indigenous’. That is, it advocates the philosophy of selective retention and selective rejection of traditional and modern values depending upon whether they are assets or liabilities.
from the perspective of particular societies. Fifth, it advocates disciplined eclecticism in theoretical orientation and contextualization as the cardinal principle of sociological method. For sociology he sees two tasks i.e. a scientific, and an ideological one. He also suggested that, on the one hand sociologists have to clarify what their object is, how it is, why it is, and what it will be? On the other hand they should oppose cultural homogenization, resist the temptation of cultural relativism, and so nurture cultural pluralism.

5.8 Conclusion

According to A.R. Desai the Marxist’s view is essential to focus on the type of property relationship prevailing in the Indian society as this is crucial to a proper understanding of the nature of the social transformation that has been taking place in India. He has reflected the economy and culture in pre-British India and pointed out that, the self-sufficient village, based on agriculture carried on with the primitive plough and bullock power and handicrafts by means of simple instruments, was a basic feature of pre British Indian society. His reflects about his well structured revolutionary thought with a conflicting value frame work in which he has very critically analyzed the capitalist pattern of economic development through various plans and programmes in India since its independence. He has pointed out inequality in distributions of available resources and monopoly over the capitalist class in their economic activity further sharpens the existing tensions among the different groups in India. Assessing the condition of women, the scheduled caste and scheduled tribes this study reveals further deterioration of economic conditions and growing social oppression as the overwhelming majority of these groups. He has pointed out ideological functions, which are those functions of the state, aimed of ensuring that the dominant values and normative assumptions of the specific society are accepted by the dominated or disgruntled groups and classes without the immediate exercise of repression against them. This dualistic value and normative system eminently serves the proprietary classes both in pursuing their economic and political interests and in confusing and distorting the perceptions and analysis of the masses, and preventing them from locating the real sources of their woes in the type of socio-economic order which is being built in India. In his analysis on the social values of capitalist developed societies, he has pointed out that these developed societies are themselves ridden with tensions, conflicts and are historically
experiencing mighty contradiction and strife which may lead them to various types of debacles. While recognizing the significant role of conflict in capitalist societies they further presume that the ruling group in contemporary society is the power-elite, and not the capitalist class. Discussing the associated values in science & technology and its role in social transformation he made a comparative analysis and pointed out that, capitalist and socialist types of societies have emerged as dominant forms in the history of mankind only after the Industrial Revolution. In capitalist society, the means of production are basically owned privately. This private ownership manifested itself in the form of individual ownership, partnership, just stock companies trusts, syndicates or cartels whereas in socialist society the means of production are socially owned. In capitalist society, the production of goods is carried in for securing profits for the private owners of the means of production. In contrast to this, in Socialist society production is not meant for profit but for the assessed needs of the people and it is not carried on for an anarchic market but for carefully planned out requirements of the society. He also deals with rural social structure, rural economic arrangement, caste, culture, mobility and the social conditions of peasant communities and reflects some of the values which were governing in rural Indian society. In the context of caste and value system of the Indian rural community he says, caste consciousness is stronger among the rural people than among the urban people. Since caste largely determines the ideals and patterns of life of the value systems prevailing in the rural society. The value patterns of the society where extra-caste institutions and ideologies operate.

According to M. N. Srinivas the caste principles and religious practice plays an important role among the Indians in their social life and integral part of the Indian social structure. It is not possible to understand Indian social values without reference to the structural framework in which value formation takes place. He also emphasizes Indian social structure and cultural pattern, which is characterized in terms of its unity as well as diversity. Considering the values, norms and behavior of people in a country like India, one cannot ignore the influence of the scriptures and the epics. He says values are a difficult subject to discuss with respect to any people but the difficulty increases enormously when dealing with a country as vast, diverse, stratified and complex as India where values vary from one section of the people to another on the basis of region, language, religion, sect, caste, class and ethnicity. In his village studies
he tried to find the importance of values and norms in defining social relationship. He says values and norms varied from group to group. Referring multiethnic character of Indian Society he states that, India has been hospitable and accommodative to numerous ethnic groups of immigrants from different parts of Asia and Europe, and the culture of each group has undergone many changes over the centuries to become an integral part of the present day mainstream Indian society. In the later stage these social values have significantly influenced by family, marriage, kinship and economic relationship among different groups and communities residing in India. In course of time social values have undergone many changes due to the impact of external as well as internal forces of social changes. He believes whatever changes taking places today in Indian society has its own historical roots. The introduction of British law and judicial process became an instrumental in bringing in new legal and political values having potentialities of profound change in the centuries old Indian social structure. He said that another essential element in secularization is rationalism, a comprehensive expression applied to various theoretical and practical tendencies. Rationalism is aim to interpret the universe purely in terms of thought or to regulate individual and social life in accordance with the principles of reason eliminating irrationality. He has pointed out corruption has grown phenomenally and no area of life is free from it. Over the years corruption has come to be accepted as a fact of life, and it is widely known that the citizen has to pay officials and politicians for permits, licenses and other favours. Government officials have to pay bribes, for instance, to be transferred out of a place or to stay where they are. Transfers appear to be a major source of income for higher officials and their bosses, the political masters. Referring social change he spoke about sanskritisation, westernization and modernization. Analyzing social change in India, he says, there has been tremendous increase in all kinds of violence, organized violence against the state, inter-group violence, intra-familial violence, and an increase in the general climate of violence and finally, as in the case of corruption, a tacit acceptance of violence and a growing insensitivity of murder, bloodshed, gang wars and rape. Some of the violence is directly related to the politico-economic system if it does not stem out of it as, for instance, in booth-capturing during elections. Besides this he states consumerism is the recent phenomenon and speedily spreading by the
participation of talented people in the advertising industry and encouraging consumerism.

Values being one of the important areas of concern in the study of social science in India, S.C. Dube was well aware about the origin and growth of modern social science in India. In his views on value-neutrality in social science research, he has stated that the case for value-neutral social science represents at its worst, unashamed hypocrisy at its best, it provides an example of misplaced emphasis. The blunt truth is that there is no such thing; nor is it possible. Value-neutrality often manifests itself as a disguised apology for an uncritical acceptance of the established order. Discussing on different value bearers in the society, he has stated that humanity has been evolved from lower forms of life. Contemporary human life has many carry over from its evolutionary heritage. Men have animal ends, but realize them through cultural means. Nutrition, sex and procreation, nurture and upbringing of progeny shelter and other forms of physical properties, which are all basic need, are all ends that we share with other animals. The micro-sociological views on values have been analyzed in the framework of Dube's studies on Indian village which is an ethnographic study on Shamirpet village. This study provides all possible details covering important aspects of the culture and values of the village community. He has truly pointed out that exploitation and discrimination have existed for centuries in the villages. Explaining structural changes he says the roads, buses, electricity, tube-wells, piped water, and brick houses were not there twenty-five years ago. Tractors and harvesters will perhaps surprising by their presence and efficiency. In the village dialect one will find several unfamiliar terms such as 'hybrid', 'chemical fertilizer', and pesticide', 'seed multiplication, and so forth. In the village market one will find many goods quite unfamiliar to people. Many traditional crafts of the villages either have died or are gradually eroding. He has pointed out changes in family that, the unbroken joint family was the normal or standard pattern in the country, especially in the villages and it is breaking down under the impact of urbanization and industrialization. The classical joint family of India was rarely an unbroken joint family. He has noticed most dramatic changes in the arena of politics. The traditional political brokers have lost their hold over their erstwhile vote banks in the villages. Now there is a heightened awareness of the main issues of national, state, and local politics. In many ways, local level politics
has forged links with district, state and even national level politics. Factionalism continues unabated but factions and faction-chains have been incorporated into the established channels of political communication. Consumerism has proved to be a senseless, futile, and undesirable philosophy in the developing world. He says science and technology cannot and must not be rejected, but they should not be allowed to generate problems that pose a major threat to us. He has pointed out that, the notions of good, satisfying and desirable lifestyles are implicit in the normative structures, schema of value and cultural emphasis societies of larger scale and civilization-small and large have been more explicit in this regard.

T.N. Madan attempted to pinpoint India’s religious values. According to him, India is the home of many world religions apart from its indigenous religions. The followers of major world religion are present among the people of India. In Hindu religion some of the values like dharma, karma, kama, varna, guna, artha and makshya plays a very dominant role in many sphere of social life. Madan has pointed out Hindu orientation of values and mentioned that, being a concept of multiple connotations, dharma, as Hindus perceive it, includes cosmological, ethical, social and legal principles that provide the basis for the notion of an ordered universe. In the social context, he spoke about social status (varna), stage of life (ashrama), and inborn qualities (guna). For every person there is an appropriate mode of conduct (svadharma) defined by his or her caste, gender, age, and temperament. Religious values (such as ‘purity’ and ‘pollution’) are being diluted or displaced by secular values, and religious practices (such as life – cycle rituals) are being abridged or abandoned. He studied kinship values in Kashmir and pointed out the characteristic groups include ‘brotherhood’, lineages, clans, tribes, castes, or caste-analogues, and socio-economic, classes. It was Islam religious values and ideologies that have constructed different types of social organization and shape up the Kashmiri society. He has differentiated the Kashmiri Muslims and the Pandits through some of the visible signs. Like any other parts of Hindu dominated region in India, the notion of purity and pollution is clearly visible even among the Muslims in Kashmir. Besides this Madan states development and modernization were intended to transfer western technologies, institutions, and values to the non-western world, but this did not mean that anybody believed that the later would become the equal of the west. Being aware about the associated values of
modernity and secularism. He has views modernity is generally regarded as a practical necessity and a moral imperative, a fact and value. Modernity for Madan does not mean a complete break with tradition. Tolerance is indeed a value enshrined in all great religions of mankind, but he has not underplayed the historical roots of communal antagonism in South Asia. Giving emphasis on secularism Madan says secularism must be put in its place finding the proper means for its expression.

Yogendra Singh discussed at length about various issues on values in the context of social change with reference to tradition and modernity. He pointed out that the distinction between modern values and traditional values may be maintained on the ground that modern values, like science, being evolutionary universal, might not be typical to any one particular cultural tradition, whereas traditional cultural values may be particularistic and typical. Tradition, by which we mean value-themes encompassing the entire social system of Indian society prior to the beginning of modernization, was organized on the principles of hierarchy, holism, continuity and transcendence. These four value-themes were deeply interlocked with other elements of Indian social structure. Hierarchy was engrained not only in the system of caste and sub-caste stratification but also in the Hindu concepts of human nature, occupational life cycles (ashrams), and moral duties (dharma). The principle of transcendence also posited that legitimation of the traditional values could never be challenged on grounds of rationality derived from the non-sacred or profane scales of evaluation. The organization of tradition based on these value-components could not be called typical only of the Indian society, since at one level similar phenomenon also existed in the traditional West. Historically, social structure and tradition in India remained impervious to major elements of modernity until the contact with the West began through colonization. He says though the Hindu and Muslim Community are different in their value components but it took time to shape up as mainstream Indian society. Despite these dissimilarities in value-themes, there took place a synthesis between them which reinforced the traditional character of Indian society without significant breakdown in its organization. The changes occurred were confined to differentiation within the framework of traditional social structure and values. However, structural changes were very few, and those, which took place, were limited in respect of the types of roles. He has pointed out that each cultural system tends to integrate culture
traits into a configuration, which is guided by its cultural values, and these values impose logic of selectivity, which defines the limits of acceptance or rejection of alien cultural traits. He says that the revolution in the mode of communication, travel, Internet, electronic-mail, e-commerce, fax and many other new modes of international and inter-cultural interactions in one hand have resulted paradoxically the intensification of consciousness of identity. The new forces of social change, politicization and media exposure have changed youth's values and social psychology throughout the country, from the village to the town and to the metropolis. Youth are disenchanted from the present state of things around them and seek opportunities outside. The rural youth wish to migrate to the cities, whereas the urban youth, particularly those from the middle classes and the upper castes (for whom reservation policy has now made access to government jobs limited in scope), wish either to seek employment in lucrative private sector jobs or migrate outside the country. He has also pointed out that the traditional family values of loyalty towards parents, parental support to children or the traditional values concerning marriage and customary rites or rituals have withered away. Through selective incorporation of the western values, ideas, technologies and institutions, etc., the Indian tradition itself underwent transformation. He says that cultural patterns in each society are historically conditioned and comprise values at two levels i.e. instrumental and categorical. He has pointed out that, cultural changes begin with changes first in instrumental values like economy, technology, patterns of consumption and living styles, etc. but changes in the core values of the culture which belong to the independent or categorical structure of values of a society, and constitute cultural identities of its people, do not undergo total transformation. It changes slowly as it adapts itself to new values.

Andre Beteille attempted to focus the caste, class relationship and power structure in the form of social stratification. He has identified some of the major values associated with "caste structure", "class structure" and "power structure" of Sripuram village in Tanjore District in south India. He has also differentiated between the traditional agrarian and modern industrial capitalist society according to their organizational pattern with reference to values. He has pointed that, in addition to particular modes of organization, societies have also their characteristic patterns of values. Referring social change he says, we have comported values and organizations
that are interrelated, the former being often more resistant to change than the latter. He argued that any attempt to bring socio-economic change will not be effective unless brought change in values. Traditional societies place a high values on ‘personal’ relations in the sphere of work, but the bureaucratic organizations which are the major instruments of planned rural development require a certain commitment to impersonal values and norms. Despite several reformatations, the deeply rooted traditions of inequality continue to exist in one or another form in Indian society. He also focuses on the conflicting norms and values in Indian society. According to Beteille diversity in ideas, beliefs, and practices was encouraged by the system of values, and the tolerance of diversity had an ethical basis in Hinduism. Dharma, commonly translated as ‘religion’ but better regarded as ‘right conduct’, is classified into varnashramadharma, or rules appropriate to particular stations and stages in life. The sadharanadharma, or rules common to all far more stress is given to the former than to the latter. Beteille says the turbulence that is endemic in contemporary India is often attributed to the decline of moral values or their displacement by the pursuits of narrow personal or sectional interests. There is a constant refrain that values have gone out of politics, civics life, the professions and education. Indians believe that rightly or wrongly, the tolerance of diversity was a core value within the Indian tradition, which has for that reason a great deal to contribute to the growth of a pluralist democracy in India. The tolerance of diversity can accommodate the conflict over norms and values only up to a certain point. Modern Indians sometimes say that the acceptance of diversity as a core value in Indian civilization gives Indians a special advantage in building a democratic society. According Betolle, in Hindu society, caste divisions play a part both in actual social interactions and in the ideal scheme of values. Members of different castes expected to behave differently and to have different values and ideals.

T. K. Oommen’s insider and outsider debate, language and religious ideological orientation in nation building, social movements, ethnicity and pluralism deals with conflicting tendency in Indian society. According to him, apart from ethnicity, language and religion, the major problem associated with nation building in India is the conflict between the traditional and modern values. He says traditional Indian society was anchored to the values of hierarchy, holism and pluralism. Modern Indian polity is wedded to the values of socialism, democracy and secularism.