CHAPTER- VI

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF SELECT DISCOURSES
Chapter four and Chapter five focuses on the study of values by some selected Indian sociologists and social anthropologists. Indeed, this chapter is an extended part of the previous two chapters. Here, an attempt is made to establish co-relations among the different scholars regarding their value orientations in their works on varied length of subjects. Besides this, their point of departure has been also discussed through the comparative analysis on selected discourses of Chapter – IV and Chapter – V. These scholars are specialized with different areas of research interest and interpreted values of their concern subjects. However, Indian sociologists, despite having specialised areas of interests, there are some commonality and differences in their thought, methods and approaches to understand the social reality with reference to value. For the better analysis of collected information this section is divided into three parts. The first part deals with the comparative analysis of pioneer sociologist who has some major contributions to literature in the study of values that has discussed in Chapter – IV. And the second part deals with the comparative analysis of sociologist and social anthropologists who have contributed to literature on values. Finally the third part deals with the comparative analysis of all the scholars who have the similarity and dissimilarity in their approach to common areas of interest with reference to values.

6.1 Part-I: Comparative Analysis of Major Discourses on Values

This part deals with the comparative analysis on discourses made in the Chapter – IV in this study. Attempts were made in this part to pin point the commonality and differences of selected Indian sociologists whose contributions has been discussed in a value frame.

6.1.1. Philosophy of Art, Crafts and Religion

Ananda K. Coomaraswamy reflected the associated values of religion, arts, crafts and philosophy of life referring to Indian and Ceylonese society. He argued that Indian society is shaped up by the norms and values of Brahmins. He explains the functional values of arts, sculpture, songs and music in utilitarian perspectives referring its historical development. Bose also identified and reflected the differential social values associated with the temple constructions in different parts of India. Coomaraswamy says, Indian philosophy is essentially the creation of the upper class society i.e.
Brahmans and the Kshatriyas. Like Coomaraswamy, Radhakamal Mukerjee and G.S. Ghurye have studied religion, philosophy, art and crafts.

Coomaraswamy argued that the Hindus grasped more firmly than the others in the fundamental meaning and purpose of life. He also says the Brahman value of life is considered as the religion and philosophy in India. Ghurye viewed that Brahmamical ideas performed the central role in the realm of Indian values. Radhakamal Mukerjee analyzes values in a philosophical and theoretical manner and says that values are derived from life, environment, self, society and culture. Values and norms are represented by knowledge, art, morality and religion. Art, religion and morality are concerned with the intrinsic, and science and technology with the instrumental values of life. Like that of Coomaraswamy, Ghurye discusses on the principle of Hindu life and four major stages such as Brahmacharya (student), Grihastha (house holder), Vanaprastha (anchorite) and Sanyasa (renunciate). According to Ghurye the psychological, ethical, and technological aspects of Indian values expressed through triads. Sociologist C. N. Venugopal says that Ghurye gave emphasis on the sacred lore declared to the Rigveda, Yajurveda and Samveda.

Drawing from the Sanskrit literature i.e. Vedas and Upanishads, with logical reasoning and analytical understandings, like G.S. Ghurye, A.K. Saran reflected on the religious and moral values. His whole range of perception on values is very philosophical like the approach of Radhakamal Mukerjee. Saran argues, today we are living at this critical juncture of history when the modern view of man, now spread different parts of world has created danger to survival of humanity. Upholding the view like D.P. Mukerjee, while talking about tradition Saran says, in its true sense tradition is neither old nor new and neither modern nor anti-modern. It is eternal, universal and sacred. D.P. Mukerji revealed that with the major influences of Buddhism, Islam and Western commerce and culture in shaping up of Indian social values. It was through the assimilation and conflict of such varying forces that Indian culture became what is today, neither Hindu nor Islamic, neither a replica of the western modes of living and thought nor a purely Asiatic product.
6.1.2. Values and Civilization

Contextualizing the dimension of values and civilization, Radhakamal states that civilization is the open, self perpetuating interchange between man, values and cosmos in their various dimensions and orders. He establishes an enduring harmony and wholeness of meanings, values and strivings necessary for both the unity of the human person and the integralness of the social and cosmic order. Civilization is value-creation and value-experience. Existence, in its nature, is the upholding of value-intensity. Majumdar states that that, contact with civilization has disorganized and disintegrated primitive life anywhere and the primitive people in India have been detribalized to an appreciable extent in recent times. N. K. Bose understands Indian society and its cultural complexities through civilizational approach.

6.1.3. Values and Disvalues

In the context of values Mukerjee spoke about the disvalues with referring biological instincts. He says that man's excessive indulgence in sex, food, drink and drugs by which he brings about his physical and mental break-downs are over-driven and unnatural. He called it as 'disvalues', 'unvalues' or 'counter-values' based on homeostatic and 'need-reeducation' tendencies that are largely 'defense' rather than 'growth' mechanisms. Certain civilizations and epochs have cultivated such biological 'disvalues' and this is pathological.

6.1.4. Values and Valuation

Ramkrishna Mukherjee made systematic explanation of values and valuation of value based objects in social science research and discussed the theoretical and methodological orientations of some Indian sociologists in a value framework. In his valuation in social science Ramkrishna says, if we examine the role of value in science and technology in its substantive details, we do not encounter a random situation. Radhakamal Mukerjee says, values are integral experiences that touch simultaneously all dimensions of human adaptation, organic, social and cultural, and transcend them all in their 'propriate', forward-orientation. Human nature-in-the social environment is molded by values, ideals and norms unique in humans.
6.1.5. Values of life and spirituality

Radhakamal Mukerjee says that values are derived from life, from environment, from self, from society and from culture, and beyond all, from the ideal, transcendent dimension of human existence and experience. He says social development appear to be polar-opposites in extreme situations. He differentiated material and the spiritual aspects of peace, progress, and prosperity of humanity. The material basis of society denotes a particular form of social existence and upholds the spiritual basis of society. The spiritual basis of society denotes a particular form of social consciousness and upholds the material basis of society. He further says, value has been so much dominant role in every aspect of human behaviour that reflects the experience, goal and value judgment of the value bearer. With the aid of values man delays his satisfaction and fixes his mind and behavior to distant and sometimes unrealizable goals, strivings and ideals. Values guides individual in seeking goals that are adaptive to the external bi-social situation and the transcendent situation or system of which he recognizes himself as an active integral part.

Ramkrishna viewed that, generally all people have the same outlook to their life like wants to survive, security, progress and aspire for material prosperity in life. According to him these four are cardinal valuations for humankind, with which the idealist philosophers are no less concerned than the materialist philosophers. Giving example of Shankara's preaching who says that the world and this human life are illusion (maya), Ramkrishna pointed out that this doctrine attempts to built monasteries at four corners of his society and concerned with the issues of the survival, material security, material prosperity and mental progress of his disciples and devotees.

Bose says that some of the Indian values were influenced by spirituality and derived from the natural objects. For instance, "caste names were forsaken and new names given which ended in surname like Tirtha, the Ghat of sacred river; Ashram, Retreat; Vana, Woodland; Giri, Aranya; Forest; Giri, Hill; Parvata, Mountain; Sagar, Ocean, Sarasvati (the name of sacred river, also of the goddess of learning); Bharati, the goddess of learning, and Puri, city. Saran says that in the Hindu tradition man has a five fold constitution, each order being called a kosa, sheath or envelope, the Beatific envelope (anantamaya kosa), the vital envelope (pranamaya kosa) are hierarchically organized orders keeping at the top the beatific envelope (anandamaya kosa). It is really
transcendent and corresponds, in some ways, to moksha in the hierarchy of cardinal ends of human life.

6.1.6. Value and Hierarchy

Coomaraswamy says, the nature of the difference between a Brahman and a Shudra is indicated in the view that a Shudra can do no wrong, a view that must makes an immense demand upon the patience of the higher castes, and is the absolute converse of the Western doctrine that the king can do no wrong. If a Vaishya commit wrong the legal punishment should be twice as heavy as that of the Shudra. If the Brahman commits wrong, the punishment should twice or even four times as heavy again in respect of the same offence for responsibility rises with intelligence and status. Radhakamal talks about the hierarchy of values keeping spiritual values in the top of the hierarchy followed by social and biological values in a descending order. He has identified the dimension of values and classified as Biological – health, fitness, efficiency, security and continuity, Social – wealth, status, love and justice, Spiritual – truth, beauty, harmony and holiness. Ghurye characterized Indian society by broadly four Varnas in a hierarchical arrangement i.e. Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaisa and the Shudra with several castes and sub-castes. Keeping Brahmins in a top ladder of the hierarchical arrangement other three have less chance over the top most positions except few relaxations in some cases. Caste based occupation was strictly hereditary and especially lower caste were not easily allowed to come out from the clutches of unclean hereditary practices of their ancestors. Marriage as a social institute was also governed by the caste principles where lower caste were not allowed to marry the women from the upper caste, but no such restriction was imposed upon the upper caste. In a value preference Ghurye, hierarchically arranged the principle of Hindu life and divided into four parts such as Brahmacharya (student), Grihastha (house holder), Vanaprastha (anchorite) and Sanyasa (renunciate).

6.1.7. Values: Caste and Race

According to Ghurye, Indian society was broadly characterized by four varnas in a hierarchical arrangement i.e. Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaisa and the Shudra with several castes and sub-castes. While performing religious rituals in a temple other caste are not allowed to perform the job of a Brahmin and untouchables were even not allowed to
enter inside the temple. Ghurye's analysis of caste and race relation is based on six anthropometric division of caste while describing the Hindu population in India society. These are Indo-Aryan, Pre-Dravida, Dravida, Western, Munda and the Mongoloid. Ghurye says, The racial composition and distribution in India is perhaps the inter-mix of different racial groups who gradually entered into India and settled in different parts of the country. Like that of Ghurye’s racial inclination, Majumdar has studied races through comparing the different blood groups and physical attributes. According to N. K. Bose, the root of persistence of the caste system is to be found in the economic and cultural security provided by the non-competitive, hereditary, vocation based productive organization, which operated in isolated village communities and were guided by a general norm of inter-ethnic cultural tolerance.

6.1.8. Tribal Values

Upholding tribal values Ghurye deals with British government’s administration plan and policies in tribal areas and defined the various problems and cultural traits of the tribes. Ghurye strongly reacted to Verrier Elwin’s stands on tribal isolation theory, and openly supported assimilation and integration of tribal to mainstream of Indian society. Ghurye realized the various problems related with the tribals and gave a stand on humanistic values, he argued for tribal ‘assimilation’ and ‘integration’ of tribal societies with non-tribal societies of the surrounding regions. Realizing the various problems associated with the tribals, Ghurye stood in the support on humanistic values and argued for tribal ‘assimilation’ and ‘integration’ of tribal with non-tribal societies.

Adding literature on tribal values, Majumdar has conducted extensive anthropological and sociological surveys of many tribes, and caste in Bihar, M.P., Uttar Pradesh, Gujarat and Bengal. Drawing heavily on the published work of S.C. Roy, Bose has discussed extensively about the tribes of Chota Nagpur. In his various insightful papers on tribes, Bose attempted to highlight the tribal values associated with their economy, culture and absorption into the Hindu caste system, and the roots of tribal separatist movements. His brief field study on tribes provided the basic information on how tribes follow a relatively primitive technology like swidden, cultivation for agricultural production etc.
6.1.9. Values and Tradition

Unlike Ghurye and Radhakamal Mukerjee, D.P. Mukerji, emphasizes on the tradition. In his socio-economic analysis, D.P. Mukerji used the term like, the value of a commodity, its use value, exchange value and durability. According to him, the history of the theory of values originally began with the classical economists. But in course of time, the market value becomes the only dominant value. In the socio-cultural sense D.P. Mukerji says that India still possesses a frame-work of rural culture and even our modern values are tied up with the rural area.

Both Ghurye and D.P. Mukerji are concerned with the larger national issues, about the developing economic features of India reflecting on going planning and development programmes. Holding the statement of Radhakamal Mukerjee, D.P. Mukerjee viewed that there can be no escape from norms and a value in India's planning and development. D.P. Mukerjee says, in the social world, the source of mundane values is the relation between the state and the society. If the very base of society is consists many societies, composed of many strata, many groups and classes, then the state cannot represent all of them. D.P. Mukerji and Nirmal Kumar Bose both have discussed about the value endowed personalities of Gandhiji. However, D.P. Mukerji states that the norms and values implicit in Gandhiji's economic views and the corresponding practices do not fully square with the historical demands of the time. N.K. Bose was a political activist and in most of his work, he has reflected about the relevance of Gandhian values. D.P. Mukerji says that Gandhian values huge upon traditionally fixed needs of the immediate and wantlessness as the fine goal, whereas everything which the Indian is doing or expecting and which he is being made to expect by the plan, by the state, by the market, by every agency working on him means increase of wants without limit. D.P. Mukerji speaks about the importance and relvance of Gandhian values like satyagrah, sarvodaya, truth, peace and non-violence and the concept of swadeshi. He also reflected on the value endowment of the personalities like Nehru and Tagore.

6.1.10. Values: Village Studies

D.N. Majumdar's approach on values is quite different than that of the Radhakamal Mukerjee and D.P. Mukerji. Like G.S. Ghurye, D.N. Majumdar, has vigorously carried
out research in both physician and cultural anthropology. Majumdar has extensively conducted anthropological and sociological surveys of many Indian tribes in different parts of India and provides the heterogeneous socio-cultural complexities of tribal values. He also undertook a study of the physical growth of children in Uttar Pradesh. His major concern was the problem of culture change. His empirical study referring socio-economic, political and cultural life of the people of “Mohana” village is an ethnographic account that reflects associated values in a village setting. It is mainly an agricultural village with rigid caste distinctions and caste based professions. Like Ghurye, Majumdar also found the various values associated with the caste principles that govern the Indian social relationship since long. However, Ghurye found the racial elements with the castes whereas Majumdar adopted the technique of distribution of blood groups to test the interrelation of racial groups which is genetic in character. Unlike Ghurye’s emphasis on sanskritic and religious text, Majumdar’s anthropological analysis clearly gives a picture of social values in relation to primitive men. Majumdar revealed that, “a primitive man is subject to the powers of nature, to its wealth, its flora and fauna, to the hills and valleys, rivers and forests. Primitive men developed a code of social life based on his interpretation of his environing conditions. His tools are those which he can shape well from the materials available, and his interest in his environment is that of ‘survival in health and vigour’ and not the gain or profit which is efforts and application may bring forth. Majumdar explain about the criminal tribes and reflects their deviant behaviour appropriately fit into conflicting values. Ghurye revealed the associated values of Mahadev Kolies. They were perhaps the largest well-known non-Brahmanic non-dominant aggressive and militant ethnic groups in Bombay state. According to N.K. Bose, the villages emerged based on the values associated with the traditional occupations and have continued to be what they are from a distant past. Bose found that Indian villages were never been attained 100 percent self sufficiency. There was no village or small territory within which all the needs of the local community could be satisfied.

6.1.11. Values: Modernity, Science and Technology

Radhakamal says that science and technology enlarges man’s practical skill to control the occurrence of values and use of objects. Saran, worried about the pathology of science and technological development in the current juncture of modern world in
which the situation has led to major and minor wars, proliferation of nuclear and
strategic weapons, mad race for military, political and economic supremacy ever
wasteful consumption, mindless exploitation of nature and dreadful pollution. And
moreover, at the individual level it promotes egotism, restlessness, uncertainty,
selfishness and unhappiness among the people.

Ramkrishna Mukherjee says, science consolidates knowledge, and technology
applies the body of knowledge for one purpose or another. Obviously, this purpose is
not value-free and we must regard it as "desirable" or "undesirable", "good" or "bad".
That is why we assign distinct value significance to scientific and technological
development. The role of value in science and technology is thus multifaceted. In
exploring the impact of science and technology on the quality of life and cultural values
of Asian peoples, Saran says it would be of great values to see the ways in which the
unities and harmonies inherited by us have been undermined and forgotten, and how
the quality of life is deteriorating under the impact of the science and technology
remained unresolved and worse is that often falsely resolved antithesis. Saran believes
that the keys of knowledge are the gifts of divine love and says truth is inseparable
from reality and it is independent of acceptance by everybody.

6.1.12. Values: Caste, Race and Culture

G.S. Ghurye, D.N. Majumdar and N.K. Bose have significantly contributed to the
growth of Indian sociology. Bose stated that language, race and culture are independent
and yet historically linked variables. Bose functional approach to understand culture is
a clear expression of the 'Adaptive function of Culture' and of 'The Soul of Culture'.
Every individual lives his brief span of life upon the earth. He is subject to needs and
desires which are satisfied in co-operation with groups of greater or less extent, while
his motivations are moulded in conformity with values and patterns which are current
in his time.

Holding the similar view with D.P. Mukerji, Bose understands India's unity in
diversity and tried to identify the organizing principles of Hindu society which ensured
its continuity for centuries and the forces by which it was ultimately weakened. Having
Arguing firm believe with the view of D.P. Mukerji and Radhakamal Mukerjee, Bose
has argued that the new economic force which was introduced during the British rule in
India have steadily eroded the traditional division of labour based on caste. Bose’s career as an anthropologist virtually began with his field work among the Juangs, Kharias and Savaras when he revisited on a number of occasions. Bose has pinpointed the cultural history of Indian peninsula in its geographical settings. He has given emphasis on uniqueness of India’s unity in diversity, different languages belonging to northern and southern families, cultural unity and social inequality practiced in the name of caste. In continuation of India’s established cultural values and tradition, Bose has stated that, one of the outstanding facts of India’s educational institutions, remnants of which have survived to the present day, has been the role occupied by her wandering mendicants, as well as by Brahminical priests and story tellers, belonging to several castes, in the dissemination of a common store of traditions all over the land. He has explored the inherent values that lying within the caste relations in India. Majumdar says whatever the values known as Indian today are not purely an Indian origin but it is the mixture of different cultural background of different races that has groomed in Indian soil and played vital role in value formation.

His study on Durgapur town Mukherjee found that, the caste organization remains qualitatively the same in cities, towns, and villages; with variations in degree to suit the exigency of the nature of settlement but not to do away with the caste structure of society either in the urban or in the rural area. In the case of caste relations and practices and caste ideology in Indian society are concerned, there are evidences of internal changes within the caste system without denouncing the institution as such abounds in India’s history. There was the tendency, more especially among the educated sections of the upper classes, to abandon or modify caste customs, but there is no general revolt against the system. Forms may be changed, but fundamentally caste remains the same.

6.1.13. Values: Status of Indian Women

Coomaraswamy found Hindu religious stereotypical normative behaviours in their role performance of Indian women. While talking associated values of Indian woman he referred to the duties of woman which are created in the rites of weddings, in the presence of the nuptial fire in a Brahmin social order. A woman becomes the associate of her Lord (husband), for the performance of all righteous deeds. She is expected to be beautiful and gentle, considering her husband as her god and serving him as such in
fortune and misfortune, health and sickness, obedient even if commanded to unrighteous deeds or acts that may lead to her own destruction. She should rise early, serving the gods, always keeping her house clean, tending to the domestic sacred fire, eating only after the needs of gods and guests and servants have been satisfied, devoted to her father and mother and the father and mother of her husband.

6.1.14. Culture and Tradition

Coomaraswamy says, the later Vedic books show knowledge of the metals like copper, iron, tin, lead, and silver that had advanced. The use of cotton, linen, silk and woolen garments were known. Besides this, linen robe used in the Rajasuya (a type of royal) ceremony was embroidered with representations of ritual vessels. According to Ghurye, Asvamedha or ‘horse-sacrifice’ since its earliest mention has been a sacrifice associated with paramount sovereignty. The sacrificial horse when let loose to roam way to be accompanied by hundred old horses surrounding it. Roaming about at will for a year or a year-and-a-half when the horse returned it was yoked to a chariot carrying a fluttering flag and was driven round the sacrificial ground. D. P. Mukerji was opinion that Indian cultural heritage and cultural values lies with its tradition. With this firm believe he has carefully tried to understand India’s tradition.

Similarly Ghurye tried to establish the linkages with the historical accounts and attempted to explore some of the Vedic values how successfully continue to exist through different periods and became influential to shape up the present values of mainstream culture in Indian society. Ghurye has highlighted about the associated values of Indo-Aryan ritual practices of Bull-complex and Horse-complex. According to Ghurye. Bull-complex, i.e., magico-religious or sacrificial importance of the bull appears to have been a feature of culture or cultures of Indo-Europeans, European Indo-Europeans evincing it perhaps the earliest, through very much later than that met with in the middle East Cultures. As per the available sources these practice has been also seen in the other cultures. Besides bull-complex the horse-sacrifice was prevailing among the Rigvedic Indo-Arans and the institution of horse-sacrifice appears to have put into shade the bull-complex. Ramkrishna Mukherjee has defined culture as ‘an aggregate of values and traditions which is deeply linked to everyday life of the people, and in that sense, it is a matrix of perception which allows one to apprehend the world.’
6.1.15. Values: Quality of life

Explaining on Ghurye’s engagement with values, Venugopal referring the mental side says that, Ghurye concern with three categories i.e. mana, budhi, ahankar and three qualities known as sativa, rajas and tamas. On ethical side he has mentioned about self control (dama), charity (dana), and compassion (daya). Radhakamal Mukerjee says, the supreme values for mankind, from the perspective of evolution, are openness, wholeness and transcendence within man, between man and with the cosmos/openness. He further says, wholeness and transcendence are as much within the personality as in society and in the cosmos/these are holistic, integrated patterns of human life-sustenance and life enhancement, the social modes of interchange and communion which find expression in the evolutionary process. Ramkrishna Mukherjee, has broadly spoken about four cardinal human values that applicable to all humans, these are survival, security, prosperity, and progress. The cardinal valuation of human kind is differently interpreted in the content of what is appropriate or inappropriate, desirable or detestable, good or bad for humankind. These are ordinal valuation with reference to how (and not why) to survive, be secured in life, ensure material prosperity, and progress.

In the context of philosophy of life, Coomaraswamy says Indian mind differs most from the average mind of modern Europe in its view of the value of philosophy. He argues that, in Europe and America the study of philosophy is regarded as an end in itself, and as such it seems of but little importance to the ordinary man. In India, on the contrary, philosophy is not regarded primarily as a mental gymnastic, but rather, and with deep religious conviction, as our salvation (moksha) from the ignorance (avidya) which forever hides from our eyes the vision of reality. Drawing the ideas from the religious texts like Ghurye and A.K. Saran, Bose has suggested some values associated with human qualities such as Satva, Raja, Tamas and Dharma, Artha, karma and Moksha and it may be utilized in the classification of cultures. According to Bose, there are four distinct categories of behavior that may be identified in any culture. These are: (1) Vastu (Material Object), (2) Kriya (Habitual Action), (3) Samhati (Social Grouping) and (4) Tattwa (Knowledge). Emphasizing Indian thought, Coomaraswamy suggested that India has nothing of more value to offer to the world than her religious philosophy, and her faith in the application of philosophy to social problems.
6.1.16. Value and Social Change

Ghurye was interested on the larger national issues and various social problems of Indian society with reference to the process of social change and social transformation. D.P. Mukerji was in view of revolutionary change and states that, "a revolutionary change in the Marxist sense, poses sharper issues and offers clearer answers that a 'natural' evolutionary change. Referring social change in India Ramkrishna Mukherjee stated that, we have not yet been able to identify the soft spots in the social organism that we are dealing with. Without such identification we shall not be able to crystallize our vision from sporadic expression of progress to the social formation. Therefore our immediate task is to distinguish which we may be able to breakthrough the imposition and affect the stipulated course of change. In the context of changes in family structure Ramkrishna argues that, any change in the value system of a people takes a longer time to be crystallized into their organizational structure than detected in their attitudes and beliefs; and this would, evidently, be particularly true with respect to the primary social institution of the family. Ramkrishna has differentiated rural and urban India in terms of culture, economic arrangements, and location (distance from the urban centers including road, transportation, and communication) of the rural villages.

6.1.17. Values and Nationalism

In the issues on nationalism Coomaraswamy has pointed out the ideological differences among Brahmins and Kshatriyas and respective patriotism with reference to nation building. He says Indian Nationalism is essentially concerned upon the fate of India as a nation depends. Our struggle is a wider one, the conflict between the ideals of Imperialism and the ideals of Nationalism. Nationalism is inseparable from the idea of internationalism. At the juncture, D.P. Mukerji explained patriotism and the values of nationalism with referring the division of India into a two nation i.e. India and Pakistan. He also explains how western values are influential in India even after its independence. In this context, basically he reflects how religious values became a driving force behind the division of the India.

6.1.18. Conflicting Values

D.P. Mukerji says, tradition occupies an important analytic place in the practice of Indian sociological analysis because the dialectics of class formation, class conflicts
and the structural tensions in Indian society bears the stamp of historical contexts of its traditions and symbols. Mukerji strongly viewed that, Marxism help one to understand the historical developments to human problems and its satisfactory solution. D. N. Majumdar attempted to explore the social and economic life of some of the principal criminal tribes and caste that reflects mainly the negative values which is also an another form of conflict that has been associated with different castes and tribes who are scattered all over India. These tribes consciously and deliberately subject them to a strict and systematic course of education and training in crime. Radhakamal Mukherjee, also aware about the conflicting values and in this context of value conflict, Mukherjee says, history has shown that a powerful valuation of the masses, contrary to the dominant ordinal valuation of elite, may lead to civil war in the attempt of humans to realize the cardinal values, under either of these two circumstances, sociology in the context of social science enters into the ordinal value space constructed by the scholars on the one side, in terms of what the people need, and, on the other, in terms of what the people themselves declare to be what they want to have or to get rid of.

6.1.19. Values: Rationality

D.P. Mukerjee says human rationality was extended to politics in the American and the French revolution. It was responsible for the capitalist spirit; and it also made for its decay and the growth of scientific socialism. It is true that this type of rationality was yet confined to the west. It is equally true that irrationality, rather than rationality, was the impulse of imperialism. Even, today, irrationality is not dead; it is playing a rearguard action against the forces of rationality. Racialism, war-mongering, mass-hysteria and waves of fear are, alas, too well-known to us. However, Saran considers human needs as the determinant of changes in the technological order. Science and technology form part of systems of knowledge that man at different times in history has inherited. Modern science and technology are part of the ‘modern’ system of knowledge.

6.2. Part – II: Comparative Analysis of Minor Discourses on Values

The previous part deals with the comparative analysis of discourses on discussed scholars in the Chapter – IV. Attempts are made in this part to highlight the comparative analysis of discourses on values that has discussed in the Chapter-V.
6.2.1. Values: Nationalism and Social Transformation in India

A.R. Desai 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 have developed within the Indian society under the conditions of the British rule and the impact of the world forces. A.R. Desai emphasizes that Marxian approach 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. According to him, the different phases of social transformation of Indian society has resulted the rise of Indian nationalism. The nationalist movements with its various forms like social, religious, economic, political and cultural complexes have constituted a most fascinating theme for the study of social science and history. He further argues that, the transfer of power from British to the Indians has a long history of struggle. He asserted that, it was the Indian capitalist class who has secured political power after independence and is utilizing the political power to expand Indian capitalism.

Discussing the values of 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. Basically Desai’s writings were aiming at to critically examine the revolutionary Marxist thought pursued by traditional communist parties and their followers.

6.2.2. Values and Social Science Discourse

S.C. Dube firmly supports application of new methods and techniques in social science research by strictly following the value neutrality. He believes that the social sciences must play a role in reshaping the social order, which is cracking. He viewed 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. 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.
6.2.3. Values: Science and Technology and Development

According to Dube, 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. Both A.R. Desai and S.C. Dube were well aware about the Western influence along with increasing consumerism in fast growing materialist society. In this context Dube has 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 be 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.

Both S.C. Dube and T.N. Madan were very much concerned with the development initiatives that have taken by the government of India after its independence. Development and modernization were intended to transfer Western technologies, institutions, and values to the Non-Western World, but this did not mean that the later would become the equal of the west. Madan’s views on the impact of Western culture and values on Indian society are quite similar to that of the view of A.R. Desai. Explaining shift of tradition to modernity, Madan states that, a westernized Indian 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 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. Unlike S.C. Dube’s views on multiple existence of modernity Madan states, this fact alone is enough to generate fears that modernity can become the new colonialism. However, in a similar view with Dube, Madan very clearly indicates 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.
6.2.4. Values and the Village Study

A.R Desai in his village studies referred to caste, economy, culture, and pointed out that the self sufficient village as the basic economic unit which 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. In his further observation he states, the pre-British Indian society was almost completely subordinated the individual to the caste, the family and the village panchayat, throughout its centuries old existence. 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.

Like that of Desai, S.C. Dube also has given the macro view on under going changes in Indian villages. Dube found the rigidity of inter-caste relations has been relaxed considerably and subsequently make room for flexible patterns of social interaction. Another dimension of change in the caste system is the delinking of caste and occupation which made people easier for their social mobility. In the sphere of family and kinship has also not remained static in Indian villages. Desai revealed 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.

In his ethnographic village study, Dube reflects the micro-sociological views on values. He argues that, the village was never placid, tranquil and nor was it uniformly friendly to all. He has realized the importance of studying village communities from different parts of the country covering the many divergent patterns of organization and ethos. His ethnographic study on Shamirpet village provides all possible details covering important aspects of the culture and values of the village community. However, unlike S.C. Dube and A.R. Desai, Srinivas has revealed that, the concentration of land holdings and other assets in the hands of a tiny minority of landlords and rich farmers there is the increasing pauperization and proletarianization of the bottom has emerged as a distinct trend after independence. This inequality in
distributions of resources and monopoly over the capitalist class in their economic activities has sharpened the existing tensions among the different groups in Indian society. Moreover, Srinivas’s assessment about 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. Even the educational opportunities are also designed in such a manner that very few influential sections who have resources can only afford leaving behind large section of people to out of its reach. Comparing Indian and Western developed society in the analysis of social values, A.R. Desai says 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.

Dube’s village study reflects the socio-economic and political changes in village life whereas A.R. Desai address the issues of village locating its historical background. He says that the pre-British Indian society almost completely subordinated the individual to the caste, the family and the village panchayat, throughout its centuries old existence. The approach to understand village situation by M.N. Srinivas is some way different with the approach to Andre Beteille’s village studies where he made an attempt to focus the caste, class relationship and power structure in Tanjore village in the form of social stratification. He has identified the values associated with “caste structure”, “class structure” and “power structure” of Sripuram village in Tanjore District in south India. The similar pattern of caste, class and power structure is found in different parts of Indian villages which have been also studied by Yogendra Singh, A.R. Desai, S.C. Dube, M.N. Srinivas, T.N. Madan and some others according to their own frame of reference. Beteille noticed that the values represented in the distribution of space in Sripuram are largely those of its traditional order, in which positions in the class and power structures were on the whole governed by positions in the caste structure.

Dube and Srinivas held the similar view in their ethnographic account of village. Both are concerned with the changing scenario of Indian villages in their intensive field studies. M.N. Srinivas saw the importance of values and norms in defining social relationship. 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. Since the dominant castes were wealthy, powerful and enjoyed high status, lower groups were not permitted to take over their customs, manners and lifestyles. Srinivas 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. Like that of A. R. Desai, Srinivas in his study on the Coorgs, has revealed the historical existence of the village. Srinivas believes that whatever changes taking places today in Indian society has its own historical roots.

6.2.5. Caste and Value System

A.R. Desai, 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. It has a continuity of history and cultural heritage, which extends back to millenniums. Its heritage includes legacy from the Huns, Saks, the Scithians, the Bactrians, the Greeks, the Muslims, the Christians and the others. As a result, 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.

6.2.6. Values and Value Conflict

Recognizing the significant role of conflict in capitalist societies A.R. Desai has viewed, they further presume that the rolling group in contemporary society is the power-elite, and not the capitalist class. In the process of modernization the social mobilization and major clusters of old socio, economic and psychological commitments are eroded and people now available for new pattern of socialization and behavior perhaps the root cause of value conflict. Thus, gradually modernization applied in the sphere of political, economic and in the cultural changes. Social anthropologist T.N. Madan has been taught by D.P. Mukerji, Radhakamal Mukerjee and D.N. Majumdar in Lucknow University. He learnt from D.P. Mukerji that anthropologist must study history and philosophy and give up their writing headed posture of value neutrality.
6.2.7. Kinship Values

Majumdar was confused to undertake field study on “Kinship Study Among the Pandits of Rural Kashmir”. It was only after the advice of D. N. Majumdar and S. F. Nadel, Madan has 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. His ethnographic sketch on the “Kinship Values” among the pandits of rural Kashmir, focuses on caste, inter-caste relation among both Hindus especially pandits and non Hindus particularly Muslims. He found the caste relation among the Muslims along the line of Hindus.

Madan also pointed out that, like all over the Muslim world, sharia is the basis of social and personal life among the Muslims of India. Sharia means the unity of God and finality of the prophet are the foundation of Islam. With referring the principles of sharia and tariqa Madan has attempted to explain Muslim religious practice and their associated values 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.

6.2.8. Values and Religion

T.N. Madan says India is the home of many world religions apart from its indigenous religions. He stood with the similar view that S.C. Dube holds about the world view on religion. Madan says the followers of major world religion are found in India. Referring Hinduism 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.

Upholding the values Madan and Srinivas held the similar view on religion and caste ideology in Indian society. In his study on Kashmiri Muslim, interestingly Madan has found the existence of caste among the Muslims. According to Srinivas, 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 transformed and significantly influenced by family, marriage, kinship and economic relations among different groups and communities residing in India.

T.N. Madan and Y. Singh both have differentiated Hindu and Muslim values as per their visible signs and religious practices, socio-cultural life and economic institutions. Hindu and Muslim Community are different in their value components but it took time to shape up as mainstream Indian society. Despite 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 social organization.

6.2.9. Values: Rationality and Secularism

Madan has attempted to locate secularism as a value premises in the religious practices in South Asia where majority of the people are in their own eyes active adherents of some religious faith. Madan has observed secularism in Indian scenario and analyzes that, Indian secularism has been an inadequately defined “attitude” of “good wills towards all religions,” sarvadharma sadhava which is also enshrined in its constitution. In a narrow formulation it has been a negative or defensive policy of religious neutrality on the part of the state. He was convinced in his study on South Asian secularism referring some major religions 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. Like S.C. Dube’s views on Value rationality in social sciences, in his study Madan 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.

Having the similar approach of S.C. Dube and T.N Madan, Srinivas believe that the essential elements in secularization is rationalism, a comprehensive expression applied to various theoretical and practical tendencies which 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. M. N. Srinivas has viewed that, in the process of secularization no purely rational element is seen in Indian society. Y. Singh, S.C. Dube and M.N. Srinivas cover a wider range of research areas such as culture, social change, tradition, modernity. Yogendra Singh also concern with the post-modernity, globalization, social stratification, sociological theory and methodology and issues on globalization. Most of his works are based on value preferences that reflect Indian social reality. Yogendra Singh gives an insight into origin, growth and practices of sociology in India. He focuses on the Indian social realities through a comparative analysis putting forward the views of different scholars like D.P. Mukerji, Radhakamal Mukerjee, Louis Dumont, S.C. Dube and some others.

6.2.10. Values and Social Structure

There is some similarity between the ethnographic work of both the social Anthropologists S.C. Dube and M.N. Srinivas. Srinivas emphasizes that Indian social structure and cultural pattern is characterized in terms of its unity as well as diversity. According to Srinivas values are difficult subject to deal with a vast, diverse, stratified and complex society like 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. 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 transformed and significantly influenced by family, marriage, kinship and economic relations among different groups and communities residing in India.

6.2.11. Values: Social Change (Modernization, Westernization & Sanskritization)

Srinavas holds the similar view of A.R. Desai and S.C. Dube on changing values. According to Srinivas, the important changes occurred during British rule were qualitatively different from those which had occurred previously in Indian society. The introduction of railways, steamships, and telegraph, printing and superior armaments enabled Britain to integrate the vast territory of India politically as never before in its history and subsequently brought in structural changes. According to Srinivas, the
British slowly laid the foundations 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 pointed out that, in course of time social values have undergone many changes due to 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 of day-to-day life. Things associated with high castes, their houses, clothes, manners, and ritual, tend to become symbols of superior status. Srinivas 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 lead to any structural change. Sanskritization, is not confined to Hindu castes, but also occurs among tribal and semi tribal groups like Gonds, Oraons, Cheros of Central Indian and the Pahadis of the Himalayas. These usual results in the tribes are undergoing Sanskritization claiming to be a caste and are the Hindus.

Srinivas 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, Sanskritization seems to have occurred throughout Indian history and still continue in some cases with added momentum in independent India. According to Yogendra Singh, 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. Srinivas has also distinguished conceptually between the Westernization and the two other processes i.e. urbanization and industrialization. The most westernized groups are generally found in big cities, but a 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.

In *Modernization of Indian Tradition* (1986) Yogendra Singh has very systematically discussed at length about various issues of 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.

6.2.12. Traditional and Modern Values

In a similar manner those of Srinivas and Dube, Yogendra Singh also tries to differentiate between the traditional and modern values. Yogendra Singh made the distinction between modern values and traditional values on the ground that the 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. He argued that, acculturative processes which contribute to modernization, in purely a historical sense, do not operate in isolation with other syncretic processes. Y. Singh holds the similar view with A.R. Desai and S.C. Dube on the impact of Western culture in Indian society. He states that, 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. Tradition, by which Yogendra Singh mean value-themes encompassing the entire social system of Indian society prior to the beginning of modernization, which 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). Unlike A.R. Desai, who has located communalism in the historical context and at the backdrop of growth of India’s nationalism, Yogendra Singh states, 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. According to Singh, the principle of transcendence also posited that

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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.

Yogendra Singh, A.R. Desai and S.C. Dube hold similar view on regarding India's tradition and modernity. In this context Singh has made a comparative statement on value components of Indian and western society. According to him, 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 divergences between these two traditions, however, have resulted from their unique social heritage, existential situations and historicity of circumstances. Like T.N. Madan, Yogendra Singh has pointed out that, the Hindu and the Muslim are the two major religious traditions in India which give the differential value relationship between these two communities. Singh emphasizes that the earlier encounters with Islam only reinforce the tradition since 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.

6.2.13. Values and Globalization

Keeping in pace with M.N. Srinivas's views on social change through Sanskritization, Westernization and Modernization, Yogendra Singh is also 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 Y. Singh, Globalization is a composite process. 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. 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'. Y. Singh focuses on what extent cultural globalization has influenced on cultural identity at the local, regional and national levels. Like M.N. Srinivas, Y. Singh viewed that, 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.

6.2.14. Values: Traditional Agrarian vis-à-vis Modern Industrial Capitalist Society

The way how M.N. Srinivas, S.C. Dube and Y. Singh has differentiated society, Beteille has also 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. Beteille pointed out that any attempt to bring socio economic change will not be effective unless brought change in values. He argues that, 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. S.C. Dube, M.N. Srinivas, Yogendra Singh and Andre Beteille have stand with similar view on the traditional Indian society. According to Beteille, 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. S.C. Dube and Andre Beteille have given emphases on the conception of development in a value preference. Beteille states that, 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. Beteille observed a significant 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. Beteille observed a significant 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.

Many scholars have failed to notice but it was Andre Beteille who 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. Discussing the continuation of these inequalities Beteille has very briefly given the example that, 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 and acquire new forms of inequalities. Inequality is never been a neglected area of study in sociology and other than Beteille, Scholars like A. R. Desai, M. N. Srinivas as well as Yogendra Singh and T. K. Oommen have discussed about one or another form of social inequality and discrimination.

6.2.15. Values and the Conflicting Tendencies

M.N. Srinivas and Yogendra Singh have identified the conflicting tendencies in their sociological analysis. M.N. Srinivas in his general essay on *Changing Values in India Today* focuses on the existing tension in terms of religion, caste, ideology etc. how leading to the conflicting tendencies in Indian society. Like M.N. Srinivas, Yogendra Singh also gives an insight into the conflicting tendencies in the name of social change, identity and globalization. Conflict became a part and partial affairs among the Indian social life that exist since long in different forms and continued even after its independence. A.R. Desai has revealed that the growth of nationalism along with its conflicting attributes and linked it with historical perspective. A.R. Desai and Beteille and T.K. Oommen have discussed about the conflicting values in Indian society. Beteille has 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.

Beteille 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 aware about 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. T.K. Oommen’s work on ethnicity, religion, social movements, nationality, citizenship and identity, etc. gives a clear picture of conflicting values in Indian Society.

6.3. Part-III: Comparative Analysis of Major and Minor Discourses on Values

In the context of values that has associated with caste and economic relations, tribe, religion and culture on functioning of Indian society, there are many similarities and differences in the approaches of sociologist and social anthropologist which were discussed in the discourse analysis. G.S. Ghurye, A.K. Saran, M.N. Srinivas, N.K. Bose hold the similar view on religious values in Indian society. Ghurye has argued, in Indian society the Brahmanical ideas and values performed the central role in the past and Brahmanical culture relates to the realm of Indian values. Though Radhakamal Mukerjee has very comprehensively analyzes values with philosophical and theoretical orientation and linked it with intrinsic values and religion to understand the quality of life. Ramkrishna Mukherjee found cardinal and ordinal values to define the quality of life. D.P. Mukerji analyzes Indian tradition to find the associated character of social values. There are many similarities in G.S. Ghurye, D.N. Majumdar, S.C. Dube, M.N. Srinivas, Andre Beteille and T.N. Madan’s ethnographic sketch that based on the scheme of anthropological approach in their village studies. Radhakamal Mukerjee states, art religion and morality are concerned with the intrinsic, and science and technology with the instrumental values of life. Yogendra Singh deals with the instrumental values in the context of social change and reflects the trend of changes in the present era of globalization. Radhakama Mukerjee spoke about the disvalues with referring biological instincts. He also deals with ‘disvalues’, ‘unvalues’ or ‘counter-values’ based on homeostatic and ‘need-reeducation’ tendencies that are largely ‘defense’ rather than ‘growth’ mechanisms. Andre Beteille speaks on hierarchy of values with referring caste whereas Radhakamal Mukerjee talks about the hierarchy of values keeping spiritual values in the top of the hierarchy followed by social and biological values in a descending order.
D. P. Mukerji, deals with the use of the term values in the history of economics initially and how it has predominantly reflects the value of a commodity, its use value, exchange value and durability. He states, originally the history of the theory of values began with the classical economists. Radhakamal Mukerjee states, values are essentially social products, and at the same time involve the individual’s assumption of certain common goals and purposes of the social milieu that have become a part of him.

There are differences in D.N. Majumdar’s approach on values in comparison to Radhakamal Mukerjee and D.P. Mukerji. There are similarity between G. S. Ghurye and D.N. Majumdar, who vigorously carried out research in both physician and cultural anthropology. Like Ghurye, Majumdar also found the various values associated with the caste principles that govern the Indian social relationship. There are difference between Ghurye and Majumdar’s approach as Ghurye found the racial elements with the castes whereas Majumdar adopted the technique of distribution of blood groups to test the interrelation of racial groups which is genetic in character transmissible by heredity and follows Mendelian laws of inheritance to describe racial elements that being seen in different parts of India. Majumdar reflects the conflicting values associated with some of the major criminal tribes in India whereas Andre Beteille pointed out general conditions of conflicting values in Indian society with reference to religious scripture and modern constitutional values. Saran held the view like D. P. Mukerjee while talking about the values associated with the tradition. Like that of Ghurye, Saran’s religious values are basically derived from Sanskrit literature of Vedas and Upanishads.

N.K. Bose held the view of D.P. Mukerji to understand India’s unity in diversity and tried to identify the organizing principles of Hindu society. Like G.S. Ghurye, Bose’s interest in the study of caste system in India was never been a neglected areas of study. Bose found that Indian villages were never been attained 100 percent self sufficiency, but A.R. Desai viewed village as self sufficient unit. Bose argues there was no village or small territory within which all the needs of the local community could be satisfied. Like that of Radhakamal Mukerjee and D.P. Mukerji, taking into account the importance of the values in relation to culture Ramkrishna has defined culture as ‘an aggregate of values and traditions which is deeply linked to everyday life of the people, and in that sense, it is a matrix of perception which allows one to apprehend the world.’
Unlike others Ramkrishna Mukherjee has classified some of the pioneer Indian Sociologist like Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, B.N. Seal, B.K. Sarkar, G.S. Ghurye, D.P. Mukerji, Radhakamal Mukerjee, S.V. Katker, B.N. Dutt and K.P. Chattopadhyaya about their engagement with value preferences, theoretical approaches and methodological orientation in their studies. S.C. Dube has extensively deals with the values in social science research whereas Ramkrishna Mukherjee has systematically attempted to analyze valuation in social science. D.P. Mukerji and A.R. Desai emphasizes that Marxian approach 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. But Dube was in opinion of applying new methods and techniques in social science research by strictly following the value neutrality. Dube also states value-neutrality often manifests itself as a disguised apology for an uncritical acceptance of the established order. A.R. Desai and S.C. Dube hold similar view about the western influence along with increasing consumerism in fast growing materialist pursuit in Indian society. In order to understand tradition and modernity in Indian society Dube talks about multiple traditions, Yogendra Singh speaks about how Indian tradition are being modernized and M.N. Srinivas, D.P. Mukerji, Radhakamal Mukerji, A.R. Desai, and some others locate the Indian modernity in relation to western impact.

T.N. Madan has reflected about India’s religious values and says India is the home of many world religions apart from its indigenous religions. Along the line of similar view with S.C. Dube about the world view on religion, Madan says the followers of major world religion are present among the people of India. 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. Like Dube’s village study which reflects the socio-economic and political changes in village life and A.R. Desai’s views on village locating its historical background the pre-British Indian society almost completely subordinated the individual to the caste, the family and the village panchayat, throughout its centuries old existence. Madan’s ethnographic sketch on “Kinship Values” among the Pandits of rural Kashmir, focuses on caste and inter-caste relation among the Hindus especially Pandits and non Hindus particularly the Muslims. Madan’s views on the impact of
Western culture and values on Indian society are quite similar to A.R. Desai. S.C. Dube has spoken about multiple existence of modernity but Madan worried about the Western impact and states that, this fact alone is enough to generate fears that modernity can become the new colonialism. However, in a similar view with Dube, Madan very clearly indicates how the developmental process in India through modernization activities became an instrumental to impart Western Technologies and Western values that has threatened the possibility of emergence of new form of colonialism in third world countries. There are some similarity between the ethnographic work of both the social Anthropologists S.C. Dube and M.N. Srinivas. Both of them held the similar view in their ethnographic account of village and have given the changing scenario of Indian villages with their intensive field studies. M. N. Srinivas in his village studies tried to find out the importance of values and norms in defining social relationship. A.R. Desai attempted to locate growth of India’s nationalism within the frame of historical perspective similarly Srinivas in his study on Religion and Society among the Coorgs of south India attempted to reveal the historical existence of the village. Srinivas believes whatever changes taking places today in Indian society has its own historical roots. Madan and Srinivas held the similar view on religion and caste ideology in Indian society. Srinivas hold the similar view of A.R. Desai and S.C. Dube on changing values. According to Srinivas, the important changes occurred during British rule, changes which were qualitatively different from those which had occurred previously in Indian society. Srinivas 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. He has also attempted to understand caste mobility and change in Indian society in terms of concepts like Sanskritization, Westernization, Dominant Caste and Secularization. Like the approach of S.C. Dube and T.N Madan, Srinivas also believes the essential elements in secularization are rationalism.

A.R. Desai, emphasizes on the rise of India nationalism. He held the similar view of D.P. Mukherjee about the India’s uniqueness of unity in diversity which was the strength nationalism. Desai 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. Like Nirmal Kumar Bose, Desai has revealed 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. G.S. Ghurye, D.N. Majumdar, Nirmal Kumar Bose, A.R. Desai, M.N. Srinivas has conducted the village studies with referring caste, economy and culture. A.R. Desai has pointed out that the self-sufficient village as the basic economic unit which 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. He has further pointed out that, within the village, the economic life based on primitive agriculture and artisan industry was on a low and almost stationary level. Apart from the village study he referred to three kinds of towns these are of political importance, those of religious significance and others of commercial values.

M.N. Srinivas, S.C. Dube and Yogendra Singh have been attempted to differentiate between the traditional and modern values. According to Y. Singh have 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.

Holding the similar view with A.R. Desai and S.C. Dube, Y. Singh states that, 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. A.R. Desai has located communalism in the historical context and at the backdrop of growth of India's nationalism but Yogendra Singh states that, 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. In a similar view like T.N. Madan and Yogendra Singh has pointed out that,
the Hindu and the Muslim are the two major religious traditions in India which has given the differential value relationship between them and coexisting together despite having conflicts in several occasions of two communities. T.N. Madan and Y. Singh have differentiated Hindu and Muslim values as per their visible signs and religious practices, socio-cultural life and economic institutions.

M.N. Srinivas views on social change through Sanskritization, Westernization and Modernization, whereas Yogendra Singh deals with the unprecedented changes that are occurring in different spheres of social life with the arrival of globalization. Like M.N. Srinivas, Y. Singh has also viewed that, 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 need to provide us insights into the contemporary forms of socio-cultural changes that is taking place in Indian society.

The village study of S.C. Dube and M.N. Srinivas reflects some differences than the approach of Andre Beteille. Beteille's approach on village India, where he made an attempt to focus the caste, class relationship and power structure in Tanjore village in the form of social stratification. The similar pattern of caste, class and power structure which Beteille has studied in Tanjore village is found in different parts of Indian villages. These relationships have been also studied by Yogendra Singh, A.R. Desai, S.C. Dube, M.N. Srinivas T.N. Madan and some others. Holding the similar idea of M.N. Srinivas and S.C. Dube, Beteille has also differentiated between the traditional agrarian and modern industrial capitalist society according to their organizational pattern with reference to values. In addition to the particular modes of social organization, these agrarian and modern societies have also their characteristic features and value patterns.

Beteille has 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. S.C. Dube, M.N. Srinivas, Yogendra Singh and Andre Beteille have stand with the similar view on the traditional Indian society. Beteille found that the traditional societies place a high value 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. S.C. Dube and Andre Beteille both have given importance to the concept of development in a value preference.

Unlike other sociologist and social anthropologist, Beteille has very interestingly pointed out, 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. M.N. Srinivas and Yogendra Singh have also identified the conflicting tendencies in their sociological analysis. Conflict was part and partial affairs among the Indian social life that exist since long and continued even after its independence. A.R. Desai has revealed that the growth of nationalism along with its conflicting attributes is linked with historical perspective. Like A.R. Desai, Beteille pointed out that, an account of the conflicts in contemporary Indian society has to begin with the different phases of social transformations during the past hundred and fifty years, and particularly since independence. Beteille’s 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 aware about the India’s socio-cultural complexities 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 texts provide little authority for one single and uniform normative standard for all sections of society. A.R. Desai held the Marxists view of D. P. Mukerji and Ramkrishna Mukherjee and argues that Marxian approach 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.

Prof. Oommen says, to recall the familiar cliché, India’s is an old ‘society’ and a new state. 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. According to most commentators the task of nation-building in India is one of rejecting old values and institutionalizing new ones. According to Oommen
three prominent factors create the disjuncture between citizenship and nationality within a nation-state. These are ‘race’ (used loosely mainly to refer to colour), language (including dialect) and religion (including sect). If there is complete congruence between these factors there would be hardly any tension between citizenship and nationality. He asserts that most of these conflicts are the result of erroneous conceptualizations arising out of misplaced polarities which juxtapose nation and state, political nationalism and cultural nationalism, ‘Indianism’ and ‘Localism’.

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. T.K. Oommen says 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. This view about hierarchy by Prof. T.K. Oommen establishes linkages with the works of other scholars like Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, Radhakamal Mukherjee, G.S. Ghurye, D.P. Mukerji, D.N. Majumdar, N.K. Bose, Ramkrishna Mukherjee, A.K. Saran, S.C. Dube, M.N. Srinivas, T.N. Madan, Yogendra Singh and Andre Beteille where all of them have dealt with hierarchy in the contextual issues in their areas of concern.