Preface

Introduction

Human society is pluralistic in nature and culture from time immemorial. Christian theology is vehement in its assertion that the creation of man was effected in duality as man and woman with innate differences intended to complement with each other. When our first and most celebrated Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru championed the cause of a Single World State, many people branded him a visionary, swimming upstream against the current of history. Utopian theories have come and gone but the world still remains rooted in some fundamental realities of life, many of which are invulnerable to an idealistic approach. The emergence of nationalism and the formation of Nation States in Europe and elsewhere could be interpreted as well-meant efforts to bring about unity in diversity. In spite of all parochial and regional differences there remains an inherent bias for solidarity as evidenced by the variety in the distribution of natural resources and latent potentialities. Barring a few preposterous and ill-conceived wars and confrontations, prudence and the basic instincts for survival and progress have, more often than not, impelled man to evolve a mechanism not merely to achieve co-existence but to establish abiding and enduring harmony on a global basis. In recent times, the incursion of foreign life-style on the in-built system and the resultant clash between the two, have become evident in every walk of life. In a multi-racial and multi-lingual country like India the impact of this discordant dualism is so sweeping that it can hardly be ignored.

Social Dualism is an issue widely discussed and debated in both developed and underdeveloped countries. The economic growth of a
Country or a State depends on its social, political and cultural attributes and these driving forces play a dominant role in transforming a society and an economy. This research study on social dualism is a probe into the dualistic nature of a society in its social, cultural and economic spheres. Dualism implies the simultaneous existence of two systems in a society—the traditional and the modern. There have originated several developmental theories based on the concept of social dualism. They all define it in different ways but by and large it is viewed as a clash between the traditional indigenous system and the modern system, a clash between an imported system and an existing system, a conflict of the pre-capitalistic system with the modern capitalistic system or the differences between the Eastern and the Western patterns of life.

**Scope of the Study**

The proposed research study is development-oriented and as such closely bound with modernity. The process and effects of globalization in developing countries are always challenging subjects for social scientists. The main purpose of this study i.e. ‘Socio-Cultural Dualism: Process of Growth of Westernization and its Impact on Kerala Economy’ is to identify the changing characteristics of Kerala society on its social, cultural and economic grounds; and to analyze the reasons—historical and current—for the increasing popularity of western social elements in the modern Kerala society.

The study is very important from a sociological perspective, because Kerala is often referred to as a melting pot where the cultural assimilation of traditionalism and modernity takes place at the fastest pace compared to any other State in India. Rapid changes are taking place in Kerala’s social structure, especially within family life, conjugal relationships, sexuality,
ageing generation, education, arts and literature, science, technology, agriculture, industry, food, dressing pattern, religious and spiritual life and, above all, in the attitude towards terrestrial pleasures and the prime purpose of the research is to identify these changes. A picture of duality or an element of division is obvious when we examine these aspects; and this study is particularly relevant in our social background where the effects of globalization and westernization are visible both in the urban and the rural segments of the society.

So far most of the studies on the “Kerala Model of Development” have paid their attention to the economic indicators of development. These studies have focused on population growth rate, higher education, better health and infrastructural facilities of people, public distribution system, poverty, social security system, human rights etc. paying little attention to socio-cultural factors that act as a ‘driving force’ behind all these indicators of economic development. This study is an attempt to analyse the invisible ‘driving force’ that has led to an imbalance in the process of economic development and is also responsible for masterminding a society towards the direction of westernization.

Civilisational transformation has become a common phenomenon in the modern world. We are living in a world where social, political and cultural exchanges occur every day all over the world. In fact, people, goods and money moved around the globe in the nineteenth century as never before, as did political ideas and cultural notions. Besides the free flow of goods and services, social and cultural exchanges are widely experienced in Kerala than anywhere else in the country. Hence it appears more relevant to have an academic debate on this topic and in a sense to have an empirical analysis of the changing face of Kerala society pertinent to the context.
In fact, we as human beings have often been attracted to the western way of life quite for long. S. Ramachandran Nair in his book ‘Social and Cultural History of Colonial Kerala’ points out the impact of colonialism in our society. He says ‘English education had changed the taste of the educated people. They longed for everything western—house, food, dress, manners, luxuries, professions, family organization etc. Western institutions and fashions really fascinated them.’ As a result socio-economic organizations, social institutions and values have undergone tremendous changes; growing individualism and the erosion of social and family ties are the end result of this change. Hence, this study aims at unveiling the growing western attitudes in the Kerala society with special emphasis given to J. H. Boeke theory of Social Dualism.

Statement of the Problem

As already mentioned, the process of cultural assimilation, westernization and modernization is taking place in the society of Kerala at a rapid pace. Naturally, socio-cultural values of Kerala society are adversely affected in this process, which in turn leads to vast changes in economic arena too. Consequently, the research work is directed to spot out and fathom the factors responsible for the fast pace of westernisation, in the light of socio-cultural dualism. The cardinal aspect of the research is a thorough search with a view to find out which segments of social structure are more vulnerable to this change. Since only limited qualitative and quantitative data is available now, it is indeed an arduous task. All the historical factors also have to be analyzed to find out the accelerating forces of this social change—the impact of colonialism, influence of European missionaries, role of migrant communities, growth of tourism and the media etc. Although this
study is to concentrate its focus on the region of Kerala, efforts should be made to evaluate the growth of dualism in overall national perspective.

Research Design

Research Issues

1. What role did European colonialism and Christian religious missionary activities play in accelerating westernisation in Kerala society?

2. Does the dualistic nature of Kerala society is being positively influenced by socio-cultural factors? What is the impact of westernization in Kerala and whether there is a clash between two social systems, i.e. traditionalism and westernization? Is the attitude of modern generation pro-western?

3. What is the economic impact of socio-cultural dualism on life in Kerala?

Research Objectives

The following are the main objectives of the study.

1. To assess the extent of influence exerted by European colonialism and Christian religious missionaries in westernizing Kerala society.

2. To analyse the socio-cultural dualistic nature of Kerala society drawing inspiration from J. H. Boeke’s theory of Social Dualism. To analyse the impact of westernization on the social life in Kerala and to find out whether there is a clash between traditionalism and westernization in Kerala society. And to study the pro-western attitude of the present generation.

3. To analyse the economic impact of socio-cultural dualism in Kerala.
Hypotheses

The hypotheses of the study are that socio-cultural dualism exists in Kerala society, that the growth of westernization triggered off dramatic changes in socio-cultural spheres of Kerala society and that there exists a clash between the two social systems; to be more specific, the elements of the western social system and those of the traditional indigenous system. The pro-western attitude of the present generation is the obvious manifestation of the resultant socio-cultural dualism. The following are the main hypotheses of the study.

1. Westernization in Kerala has been largely brought about by European colonization and Christian religious missionary activity.

2. The dualistic nature of Kerala society is being positively influenced by socio-cultural variables.

3. Growth of westernization bears both positive and negative effects on the economic front in Kerala.

Research Methodology

The study is based on both primary and secondary methods of data collection. Both qualitative and quantitative methodology is used to prove the hypotheses.

Data Sources

1. Primary data were collected from sample study analysis. A sample survey was conducted across the northern, southern and central parts of Kerala. Data samples were collected from the Districts of Trivandrum (south), Kottayam (central), Cochin (central) and Calicut (north). The study was focused on three different age groups; viz.
group between 25 and 35, group between 35 and 45 and group between 45 and 55. Sample questionnaire was randomly distributed to people of different age groups in these Districts and 300 data samples were collected; i.e. 100 each from three age groups, equally representing the four Districts, and subjected to data analysis. Chi-Square Test and simple percentage analysis on dataset were conducted to substantiate the hypotheses.

2. Secondary data have been collected from the published works of Indian and foreign sociologists and developmental economists.

3. The researcher also had to depend on leading journals and publications related to the studies of sociology, development economics, development studies, survey reports, etc.

4. Based on the sample study questionnaire the researcher interviewed 150 people to elicit their views on the various variables used in the study. The researcher also conducted discussions with many members of immigrant communities and some social scientists to seek their opinion with regard to the topic and the issues involved.

Data Requirement

The reference period of the data used for analysis is taken between the years 1998 and 2005. Published and unpublished data during this period were used to substantiate the hypotheses and to identify the persisting trend. Information and data sources from various publications and organizations also were used for data analysis.

Chi-Square Test analysis is conducted on sample study datasets. A starting point for many univariate analyses is the frequency distribution table, which shows how many times each value of variable occurs. The two
variable extension of this procedure is called cross tabulation. Cross tabulations are found to be the most appropriate method for analyzing the relationship between two categorical variables. For analyzing the relationship between two categorical variables we have used the statistical inference technique: Chi-square Test. This test combines basic ideas about probability and hypothesis testing with a theoretical sampling distribution called Chi-Square distribution. Independence is the usual null hypothesis for cross tabulations. For this Chi-Square test we calculate a test statistic, $X^2$ to compare with the theoretical Chi-Square distribution.

The $X^2$ statistic measures how closely a set of expected frequencies fit with those actually observed.

$$X^2 = \sum \frac{(O - E)^2}{E}$$

Where $O$ and $E$ are the observed and expected frequencies respectively. The summation is over all cells in the table. The greater the disparity between observed and expected frequencies the larger the value of the $X^2$ statistic.

The final step in Chi-Square test is to compare the $X^2$ statistic with a table of probabilities for the theoretical Chi-Square distribution. For this we need to specify the degree of freedom.

$$Df=(Kr-1) (Kc-1)$$

Where $Kr$ is the number of categories of the row variable, and $Kc$ is the number of categories of the column variable. Comparing the sample $X^2$ with a table of the Chi-Square distribution gives us the obtained P-value for the test. The lower the P-value, the less chances are to accept the null hypothesis. If the P-value is below a predetermined cutoff point, such as $\alpha = .01/ .05/ .10$, we can reject the null hypothesis of independence. We may say
that relationship between the two variables is statistically significant .01/ .05/ .10 level.

**Conceptual Framework**

Concepts used in the study:

Many social, cultural and economic concepts are used in the study. The following variables are used for the framework of the study.

**Social:** Family, Marriage, Divorce, Sexuality, Ageing Generation, Feminism, Tourism, Education and Migration.

**Cultural:** Media, Language, Literature, Food and Beverages, Dress, Fashion, Habits and Hobbies.

**Economic:** Occupation, Consumerism, Credits, Savings, Deposits, Investments, Foreign Remittance, Foreign Direct Investment (FDI), Foreign Trade and Inflation.

**Other Concepts:** Socio-cultural Dualism, Westernization

**Review of Literature**

The theory of social dualism advocated by the Dutch Economist Prof. J. H. Boeke, is based on the social development of underdeveloped countries. According to him, ‘social dualism is the clashing of an imported social system with an indigenous social system of another style.’ He also states that most frequently the imported social system is high capitalism, socialism, communism or a blend of them. Boeke applies the term dual society to societies, ‘showing a distinct cleavage of two synchronic and full grown social styles which in the normal, historical evaluation of homogenous societies are separated from each other by transitional forms’. This society is society “where one of the two prevailing social systems, as a matter of fact always the most advanced, will have been imported from abroad and have
gained its existence in the new environment without being able to oust or assimilate the divergent social system that has grown up there, with the result that neither of them becomes general and characteristics for that society as a whole.’ This two dimensional habit of a society can be seen in most developing or underdeveloped countries. Knowingly or unknowingly this process of cultural assimilation is taking place in Kerala social structure at a faster pace. It can be described as a clash between an imported system and a domestic one or a clash between the East and the West.

Social scientists have used several terms to define socio-cultural transformation or interaction in different parts of the developing world. Interestingly, they define the interaction of two or more social systems in different ways. Jan Nederveen Pieterse, Professor in Sociology at the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign, specializing in global sociology refers it as ‘hybridization’. He discusses hybrid modernization in Asian society and defines hybridization as ‘cultural effect of globalization’. Ulf Hannerz, professor of Social Anthropology at the University of Stockholm in Sweden describes it as ‘creolization’ and refers it as the ‘intermingling and mixing of two or several formerly discreet traditions or cultures.’ Professor Roland Robertson, a sociologist at the University of Pittsburgh propounded the term ‘glocalization’ to define western social scientific discourses. It is a blend of two words ‘global’ and ‘local’. Robertson used this term to define a mix of social systems or social discourses in developing countries, i.e. mixing of a local culture with the global one. The term ‘McDonaldization’ also represents the cultural imperialism in developing countries. Thus, social scientists have used several terms to determine the intermingling or interconnectedness of social systems. In an era of global mass communication, ‘creolization’ can be identified everywhere in the world.
Indian sociologist Yogendra Singh says, ‘the trauma of colonial experience inspired us to undertake a critical appraisal of the indigenous cultural traditions, and it also made us conscious about the strong point of the western culture.’ This paradigm shift from traditionalism to westernization is visible in every nook and corner of life. There are several reasons for this development. Global imperialism, travelling populations, migration, multilingualism and the influence of global media are the crucial factors responsible for this scenario. Nevertheless, all theories deal with the same ideas under different names. Thus numerous research works have been devoted to the study of dualism-social, cultural, economical and technological in the third world countries and it is clear that developments of political, ideological, religious, or cultural nature, which originally appear to be connected with a specific region, culture, or periods are being echoed in large parts of the world. More and detailed theoretical studies about the dualistic and pluralistic nature of world societies by various social scientists are discussed in the next chapter.

Chapterisation

This research is an effort to evaluate the theory of social dualism in the society of Kerala. The study aims at analyzing the dualistic nature of Kerala society in its different aspects of life. Social dualism in India, particularly in Kerala, started with the arrival of European missionaries and colonialists in the sub-continent. The first chapter is devoted to define the theory of socio-cultural dualism with specific reference to J. H. Boeke’s theory of social dualism. It also discusses perspectives of other sociologists, anthropologists and social scientists vis-à-vis social and economic changes in and around developing counties. There have originated several theories and arguments among social scientists about the changing nature of developing
societies. All these discussions focus on interconnectedness or intermingling of cultures, economy or society as a whole. Therefore, this chapter particularly is set apart to discuss the theoretical perception of J. H. Boeke’s concept of dualism and how its application works in Kerala social context.

The second chapter elucidates the historical causes of socio-cultural dualism in Kerala society i.e. the role of European colonialism. The presence of European merchants such as the Portuguese, the Dutch, the Danes and the French brought about the western atmosphere in Kerala society. Though the motives behind their encampments in Kerala were commercial their life and conduct had far-reaching influence on social, cultural and economic sectors of our society. This chapter highlights the historical role of the Portuguese, the Dutch, the Danes and the French settlements in transforming our society.

The third chapter discusses British colonialism and its impact on the various sectors of Kerala society; in particular it analyses the resultant changes in educational, religious, agricultural, economic, infrastructural and cultural areas. British imperialism is a major factor responsible for the growth of westernization in Kerala society. The vast changes in the social, cultural and economic spheres of our society due to British colonialism are examined in this chapter.

The fourth chapter investigates the role of European Christian missionaries; it exposes the role of religious forces in creating an incongruent social situation in Kerala society. It analyses the role of various missionaries in developing a dichotomous socio-cultural situation in Kerala.

In the fifth chapter, we make an attempt to analyse the changing pattern of Kerala society in its social, cultural and economic spheres. The research findings in this chapter corroborate the idea of growing supremacy
of western principles in Kerala social life. Both qualitative and quantitative
analysis conducted to prove the hypothesis and confirm the ongoing
transformation of Kerala society. The findings of the sample study analysis in
this chapter explicate the pro-western attitude of the young generation.
Social, cultural and economic factors such as changes in the patterns of the
family, attitude towards divorces, sexuality, ageing population, education,
migration, art, literature and the emergence of feminism and the
omnipotence of the media are critically appraised to expose the modern
nature of the society.

Chapter six makes an attempt of the economic impact of socio-
cultural dualism on the multi-faceted life in Kerala. The changing socio-
cultural situation has accelerated economic development and raised standard
of living of the people on one hand and created economic imbalance in the
society on the other hand. Recent trends in economic elements like gross
state domestic product, per capita income, Foreign Direct Investment (FDI),
foreign remittance, foreign exchange, export and import, modern
consumerism, credit and saving patterns, employment and growing
consumer price, inflation, etc. provide a vivid picture underlining the growth
of social duality in Kerala society.

Chapter seven comprises research findings, suggestions and remedial
measures, and a note of warning. It also makes an effort to discuss about the
changing social and economic conditions in world societies.

Research Gap

Many people have probed into the nature of European colonialism
and pointed out its effect in the social, economic and political spheres in
Kerala, but no serious efforts seems to have been made as yet to appraise the
part played by colonial rule, Christian missionary activities and increasing migration in creating a dualistic society in Kerala. Most of the economic and development studies in Kerala were focusing on Kerala model of development with undue emphasis on population growth rate, better health, manpower, infrastructure, poverty, human rights etc. and paying little attention to socio-cultural elements. Unlike all the research studies made hitherto, this work seeks to bring to the limelight how the changing socio-cultural conditions act as a key factor in the process of economic development. No researchers have so far made any attempt to identify and assess the socio-cultural dualistic situation in Kerala society applying J. H. Boeke’s most acclaimed theory of social dualism. In that sense, the relevance of the study in the present social context is unquestionable and indisputable.

**Limitations of the Study**

The study is based on primary and secondary data. The researcher has had limited resources in securing secondary data on certain socio-cultural variables used in the study. Experience has taught him that it is quite difficult to retrieve actual data regarding certain social variables like marriages, divorces, sexual behaviour, abortions etc. as no recorded information is available from traditional sources such as authoritative manuals and governmental agencies. Though this study is based on Kerala context, the researcher has had to look into the subject on a national perspective with regard to colonialism and its aftermath in particular.

**Conclusion**

The economic development of a country is not only the result of human effort and economic resources, but is conditioned also by social values, attitudes of the people and the social structure. According to Robert
Garner, “Economic development or its deficiency primarily results in variations in tendencies, customs, traditions and their own political, educational, social and religious institutions”. Socio-cultural elements of any society are not constant. Internal and external forces always influence them. And these changing elements are the real indicators of economic development and modernisation.