Chapter 1

Socio-cultural Dualism: Theoretical Perspectives of the Study

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CHAPTER - 1

Socio-cultural Dualism: Theoretical Perspectives of the Study

Social change and economic growth are not only mutually interdependent, but are organically related parts of a single process of development. Dualism and pluralism have been fascinating subjects for independent social research among many economic theorists. Social dualism was broadly discussed in both developed and underdeveloped countries. The contemporary economic scene in many underdeveloped countries tells a pathetic story of increasing contradictions and conflicts between the new ideas and forces and the established political, social, and economic structures. The present study of socio-cultural dualism makes an attempt to assess the significance of such social dualistic tendencies and attitudes, which have changed the socio-cultural arena of Indian society, in particular, the Kerala society. The overall purpose of the study is to examine critically the dualism that has got ingrained in the structure of family, religion, castes, beliefs, institutions, languages, legal system and culture with its impact on the social and economic growth of country in a positive and negative manner.

1.1 Introduction

In recent times social scientists have made unprecedented studies to examine the pluralistic nature of different societies in their cultural and social aspects. Many of these pragmatic scholarly works have gained enviable acceptance in the international intellectual circles. Social structure and institutional values play vital roles in determining the economic growth of a country. But the ethnic and racial changes have produced a lineal effect in the cultural spheres of both the developed and underdeveloped countries of the world. Developing countries present many paradoxes and complex problems in the process of transition from a traditional to a modern life style.
The colonial influence in underdeveloped countries has provided the lead to turn from the aboriginal or primitive civilization to a world of new refinement. The inclination towards modernization, post-modernization and anti modernization has propelled developing countries to move according to the incoming tide from the west. Now ‘the subject of social change in modern India is vast and complex and an adequate understanding of it will require the collaboration, for many years, of a number of scholars in different fields such as economics, social and cultural history, law, politics, education, religion, demography and sociology.’¹ The western educated elite of India, drawing its energy from the British power politics, has emasculated a change in the indigenous concepts of life. “India’s encounter with the west in the form of British rule is the responsible root for laying ‘the foundation of a modern state’ in the subcontinent and other ‘radical and lasting changes in Indian society and culture.’”² Indian western-educated elite took advantage of the conflict between the old and the new systems of life and spear headed what may be called a restructuring of the existing social system. They emancipated indigenous concepts, traditional ethos, in born life styles from the host society and developed a western pattern of life to build up their power base in these parts of world. The change in the institutional domain of Indian society stratified and cemented the dualism in modern India with stronger bias in Kerala. “India’s long history, its multi-linear cultural process, its ethnic as well as cultural and religious diversity, the differential exposure of the various sections and segments of the population to foreign cultural influences, and the varied paths taken by the renaissance of modern India make the identification of the core elements of its tradition difficult”.³ India’s encounter with European imperialism sprouted a new search for cultural identity, which grew at an accelerated pace. Religious beliefs and social customs had now to meet the challenges of ‘reason and humanity’

². Ibid. 46.
emanating from the ‘British-Western’ attack on traditional culture which led to a ‘reinterpretation of Hinduism at both ideological and institutional levels’. The onset of flexible trend in Indian religious beliefs and cultural ethos is the consequent effect of the process of this transition.

Thus colonial influence acted as a strong force in creating westernization in India. “The socio-cultural imperatives of economic development and the social structural transformations demanded by the Western Model pose a threat to the cultural autonomy and identity.” Traditionalism rooted in the Indian indigenous society has started waning owing to the influence of the colonizers in this land. It compelled the native population to move away from their own social and institutional framework and even to embrace a new social, cultural and political spirit in their spheres. The socio-cultural imperatives of economic development and the socio-structural transformation contrived by the western community reflect a grass root picture of the dualistic nature of the society, which calls for an analytical study on socio-cultural dualism in all its ramifications.

1.2 Westernisation in the form of Globalization

The effects of modernization and globalization produced radical changes in the social spheres of developing countries. These changes in the third world countries paved the way for the emergence of new economic and social systems outwardly progressive. “Difference persists even the age and in the face of globalization, and it may very well be said that globalization is, in very important ways confrontation and (re-) organization, (re-) arrangement of difference.” While analyzing the effects of globalization one has to identify that

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4. Ibid. 49.
5. Ibid. 5.
it has produced far-reaching and conflicting repercussions in world societies especially in developing countries. In a sense globalization has made every effort to transplant a western social order in developing societies. “Globalization is a matter of increasing long-distance interconnectedness, at least across national boundaries, preferably between continents as well. That interconnectedness has a great many aspects.”7 This interconnectedness between tradition and modernity in the modern world is a productive topic for making an analytical study and to understand the challenges of modernization and globalization in third world countries is crucial indeed. The backlash of colonialism generated a spirit of globally organized capitalism to conquer the heights in many of the third world countries. So while explaining the theory of socio-cultural dualism one has to make a probe into the effects of globalization and modernization in developing and underdeveloped countries.

“A post-modern version of globalization is as intensification of multicultural encounters and increased flows of global culture. In this account globalization is associated both with the diversification of culture and its accessibility anywhere in the world. We can then envisage equally global culture, globalization of local cultures and localization of global”8. Globalization of western culture imposed by the highly advanced capitalist countries generated a new strand of social and economic thinking both in the developing and underdeveloped countries of the world. This cultural metamorphosing can be cited as a paradigm shift or the adaptation of a new culture and gradually the indigenous or traditional civilization may be

washed away from the society. The scope of ‘global studies’ or ‘development studies’ have got pertinent value in conveying such an agenda in front of the world. A vivid explanation on globalization proves that ‘it concerns not only the incorporation of more and more people in an encompassing politico-economic system; globalization also refers to socio-cultural encapsulation processes. We see the world turning into a global village’.9 Now the question is are we facing a challenge of westernization in the form of globalization or can we safeguard our traditional social values so gravely threatened by globalization?

1.3 Theoretical Perspectives of the Study

Social scientists have developed different nomenclature in defining the coalescent of the global culture with a local one. Social scientists Roland Roberston, a sociologist at the University of Pittsburgh described it as ‘glocalisation’10, Ulf Hannerz, Professor of Social Anthropology at the University of Stockholm in Sweden defined it as ‘creolisation’11 and Jan Nederveen Pieterse, Professor in sociology at University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign developed the phrase ‘hybridization’12. American sociologist George Ritzer called it as ‘McDonaldization’13 of society. He refer it in terms of ‘Americanization’ of world markets, i.e. role of Coke, Pepsi and chain food companies in developing market economies and how it influence human interaction and social structure and his study investigate the changing character of contemporary societies. There are number of similar terms originated to define the socio-cultural transformation of world and concepts

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like syncretism, cultural globalization, pluralism, transnationalism, diaspora, cosmopolitanism and multiculturalism etc. are widely used terminologies among sociologists. Thus various scientists with their own terminology to ascertain the clash of civilizations in developing and underdeveloped countries have defined the concept. They all agree that massive global exchange of people, goods, services and images takes place by this change. ‘Life styles, consumption patterns, and other forms of cultural expressions are exchanged more rapidly between more and more locations. Developments of a political, ideological, religious, or cultural nature which originally appear to be connected with a specific region, culture or period, are being echoed in large parts of the world.’

Hybridization of culture brings enormous changes in the living standards of people and institutional framework of a nation. “Individuals and groups confronted with the uprooting of many existing local identities, feel an increasing need to construe or ‘invent’ new identities.” The traditional ethnic identity has been transposed through acclimatization of a variety of imported culture of other areas, which will force the indigenous, or the orthodox group to move away from their traditional customs, patterns, views, interests and histories. The following theoretical perspectives help to explain socio-cultural transformation in societies in greater detail.

1.3.1 Creolization - Ulf Hannerz

The word ‘creole’ and ‘creolization’ have been used in different contexts and generally in different ways. ‘Creole’ is derived from Latin word creare, which means ‘create originally’. The most popular historical use of the

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word is the Spanish *criollo*, which refers to the children of Spanish colonizers born in the Caribbean. However, the racially exclusive definition, which confined the term to the whites in colonial societies, had already been challenged in the early 18th century and the term was made to refer also to indigenous people and other immigrants who had acquired metropolitan manners, cultures and sensibilities. Creolization can easily be distinguished from *indigenization* where global threats re-authenticate local cultural forms, from homogenization, where dominant cultural forms flatten everything in their path and from *multiculturalism*. Ulf Hannerz introduced the concept of cultural creolization in anthropology and he attributes it to ‘intermingling and mixing of two or several formerly discrete traditions or cultures.’ Hannerz says ‘world is in creolization’ and ‘creolization increasingly allows the periphery to talk back. As it creates greater affinity between the cultures of the centre and the periphery, some of its new cultural commodities become increasingly attractive to global market.’ The concept of creolization has primarily been used within linguistics, where it refers to pidgin languages becoming native languages. For example, the dialects of local languages used in the North East of India with their roots in English, i.e. Manipuri, Khasi and Garo etc.

1.3.2 Glocalization - Roland Roberston

According to Roland Roberston, “Glocalization means creation products and services intended for the global market, but customised to suit the local cultures.” It is mix of global and local culture. According to the Oxford Dictionary of New Words, the term “glocal” and the process noun

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“glocalization” are “formed by telescoping global and local to make a blend”\textsuperscript{19}

The term was modelled on the Japanese word *dochakuka*, which originally meant adapting farming technique to one’s own local condition. Thus *glocalization* means integration of global and local culture in a local atmosphere.

**1.3.3 Hybridization - J. Nederveen Pieterse**

Dutch Sociologist J. Nederveen Pieterse calls a "global mélange" or "hybridization" to determine the social integration of societies and culture. According to him “hybridization the ways in which national identities become mélange identities, a combination of peoples, and their genetic and cultural contributions to the society in which they live. It is that diverse mélange that is capable of creativity, of giving civilization its error.”\textsuperscript{20} He continues, in a multicultural society we have three choice of perspective, i.e. convergence, divergence and hybridization. The third mostly takes place in developing societies.

**1.3.4 McDonaldization-George Ritzer**

‘*McDonaldization* is the process by which the principles of the fast food restaurant are coming to dominate more and more sectors of American society as well as rest of the world.’\textsuperscript{21} The main components of *McDonaldization* are:

*Efficiency*: the search for the optimum means to a given end and includes streamlining processes, simplifying goods and services and using customers to perform work.

\textsuperscript{19} The Oxford Dictionary of New Word, 1991, 134.
\textsuperscript{20} Op. cit. no. 12, 1390-1393.
\textsuperscript{21} Op. cit. no.13, 25.
Calculability: emphasis on things that can be calculated, counted, quantified. Quantity, or illusion of quantity, becomes a surrogate for quality.

Predictability: emphasis on things such as discipline, systematization and routine so that things are the same from one time or place to another. Achieved through replications, offsetting, use of employee scripts, routinization of employee behaviours, and offering uniform products.

Control: replacement of human with nonhuman technology, including machines, materials, skills, knowledge, rules, regulations, procedures and techniques.

1.3.5 Arjun Appadurai

Arjun Appadurai, an Indian sociologist and Professor of University of Chicago define five dimensions in global cultural flows. He termed it as “a) ethnoscapes, b) mediascapes, c) technoscapes, d) financescapes and e) ideoscapes”. The suffix scape allows us to point to the fluid, irregular shapes of these landscapes, shapes that characterize international capital as deeply as they do international clothing styles. These terms with common suffix-scape also indicate that these are not objectively given relations that look the same from every angle of vision but, rather, that they are deeply perspectival constructs, inflected by the historical, linguistic, and political situatedness of different sorts of actors: nation-states, multinationals, diasporic communities, as well as sub-national groupings and movements (whether religious, political, or economic), and even intimate face-to-face groups, such as villages, neighbourhoods, and families. Indeed, the individual actors it the last locus of this perspectival set of landscapes are eventually navigated by agents who both experience and constitute larger formations, in part from their own
sense of what these landscapes offer.” 22 “Ethnoscape means the landscape of persons who constitute the shifting world in which we live: tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, guest workers, and other moving groups and individual constitute an essential feature of the world and appear to affect the politics of (and between) nations to a hitherto unprecedented degree.” 23 “Technoscape mean global configuration, also ever fluid, of technology and the fact that technology, both high and low, both mechanical and informational, now moves at high speeds across various kinds of previously impervious boundaries.” 24 “Financescape as the disposition of global capital is now a more mysterious, rapid, and difficult landscape to follow than ever before, as currency markets, national stock exchanges, and commodity speculations move mega monies through national turnstiles at blinding speed, with vast, absolute implications for small differences in percentage points and time units.” 25 “Ideoscapes are also concatenations of images, but they are often directly political and frequently have to do with the ideologies of states and the counter ideologies of movements explicitly oriented to capturing state power or piece of it, These ideoscapes are composed of elements of the Enlightenment worldview, which consists of chain of ideas, terms, and images including freedom, welfare, rights, sovereignty, representation and master term democracy.” 26

He argues that electronic media and migration have caused an epochal rupture between the modern and the post modern, creating trans-national, trans-territorial, and trans-local solidarities of taste, opinion, and

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23. Ibid. 33.
24. Ibid.34.
25. Ibid. 34-35.
26. Ibid. 36.
pleasure, and radically weakening the control of the nation-state over subjectivities and discourses decentered, mobile, and de-territorialized in nature. Globalization is not the story of homogenization; modernity at large is modernity fragmented, differentiated and uncontainable by definitive boundaries.27

1.3.6 M. N. Srinivas

M. N. Srinivas, a leading Indian sociologist used the term ‘westernisation’ to mean subsume changes occurring at different levels: technology, institutions, ideology and value. “Westernisation results not only in the introduction of new institutions (for example newspapers, elections, Christian missions) but also in fundamental changes in old institutions.”28 Implicit in westernisation are certain value preferences. A most important value, which in turn subsumes several other values is what may be broadly characterized as humanitarianism, by which mean an active concern for the welfare of all human beings irrespective of caste, economic position, religion, age and sex.29

All these arguments are trying to explain the interaction of world societies and how it has made implications in underdeveloped, developing and developed societies. According to my research socio-cultural dualism can appear in two forms in developing societies. The first one is a group or section of a society that has higher economic background follow customs and values of western civilisation and on the other side there is another section of society that has lesser or no economic achievements in the society, follow traditional pattern of life with limited resources and wants. The second one

27. Ibid. 12.
29. Ibid. 51.
consists of people with a solid economic background; i.e. upper class, middle class or lower class, and who follow both western and traditional pattern of life in an indigenous society with the influence of western elements in the society.

1.4 Meaning of Social Dualism with Specific Reference to J. H. Boeke

As mentioned before this study concentrates on the dualistic nature of socio-cultural changes in Kerala society with special attention to J. H. Boeke theory of socio-cultural dualism. "Dualistic economics in general is not only different from the western system, but also more complicated, because we are dealing with groups that touch and influence each other, two social systems, one of which answers to western economic influences, while the other does not."\(^{30}\) To differentiate such a study a comparative analysis of cultural anthropology and human development is necessary.

"It is possible to characterize a society, in the economic sense, by the social spirit, the organizational forms and the technique dominating it. These three aspects are interdependent and in this connection typify a society, in this way a prevailing social spirit and the prevailing forms of organization and of technique give the society its style, and appearance, so that in their interrelation they may be called the social system, the social style or the social atmosphere of that society."\(^{31}\) In any society in the world, social, organizational and institutional factors play a dominant role in setting up a particular economical and social system.

Economists have developed several terms to explain the theory of social dualism. They apply it to those countries with ‘colonial economies’ or

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\(^{31}\) Ibid. 3.
‘western economies’ as having a western philosophy of life. It is also defined as ‘eastern economies’ or ‘pre-capitalistic societies’ those with the characteristics of a western pattern of life. ‘Eastern” lands are those which may be regarded as typically pre-capitalistic, but at the same time as lands that have come into contact with the “West”, which the ‘West’ has penetrated but not absorbed culturally or socially”. Eastern societies demonstrate the features of both indigenous and modern culture. Eastern economics is essentially different from western economics. Eastern economy features the primitive system of life with agriculture as the main occupation.

Every social system has its own economic theory. A social economic theory is always the theory of a special social system, which has been historically determined. Therefore the economic theory of a dualistic, heterogeneous society is itself dualistic. The theory of social dualism was propounded by Dutch Economist Prof. J. H. Boeke, Professor of Eastern Economics at Leiden University and is based on the social development of underdeveloped countries. He developed the theory based largely on Indonesian experience. According to him it is the simultaneous existence of two systems in a society, i.e. traditional and the modern. 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, as for instance, pre capitalism and high capitalism by early capitalism and which there do not coincide as contemporary dominating features”. Dualism is the simultaneous existence of two systems in a society. It is the co-
existence of both traditional indigenous and modern systems. “In so far it even will have to be three economic theories combined into one: the economic theory of a pre-capitalistic society, usually called primitive economics, the economic theory of a developed capitalistic or socialistic society, usually termed general economic theory or summarily social economic theory and the economic theory of the interactions of two distinct social systems within the borders of one society, which might be called dualistic economics, it this term had not better been reserved for the combined economic theory of a dual society as a whole”. It is not necessary for a society to be exclusively dominated by one social system. Where this is the case or where, at least, one social style prevails, the society in question may be called homogenous; where on the contrary, simultaneously two or more social systems appear, clearly distinct, the one from the other, and each dominates a part of the society, there we have to do with a dual or plural society. Boeke explains the system as a society that maintains its homogenous character gradually supercedes the features of the capitalistic society.

Boeke defines it more clearly anyone else: ‘social dualism is the clashing of an imported social system with an indigenous social system of another style’. In a dual society, on the other hand, one of the two prevailing social systems, will always be 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 characteristic

35. Ibid. 5.
36. Ibid. 1.
for that society as a whole. This is the core content of the theory. Western capitalism imported to a pre-capitalistic agrarian economy and where the original social system – be it not undamaged- has held its own, the imported system will not have even able to practise capitalistic principles and put them into full practice. Thus a discernible clash exists between the two systems. In general, most of the underdeveloped countries try to practise or adopt principles of western economy; this itself causes a blend of capitalism and pre-capitalism. ‘Most frequently the imported social system is high capitalism. But it may be socialism or communism just as well, or a blending of them. Nevertheless even in that case it remains advisable to keep the term social dualism because this emphasizes the fact that the essence of social dualism is the clash between an imported and an indigenous social system of divergent character’. Nevertheless even in that case it remains advisable to keep the term social dualism because this emphasizes the fact that the essence of social dualism is the clash between an imported and an indigenous social system of divergent character. “It is a form of disintegration, (which) came into existence with the appearance of capitalism in pre-capitalistic societies”. Boeke establishes a vivid picture of dualism which illustrates the social and economic practices of underdeveloped or pre-capitalistic countries and identifies that the reasons for the growth of western social practices in developing world. The pre-capitalistic economy has ‘limited needs’; the western economy has the feature of ‘unlimited needs’. So the difference in consumer habits and behaviour is one of the factors to reflect on while exploring the concept of ‘socio-cultural dualism’ in Kerala context. The basic principle of Boeke’s theory is that dualism is the product of the clash between the ‘East’ and ‘West’. A schism between traditionalism and modernism exists in the indigenous society and this is the key fact to be examined when analyzing socio-cultural dualism.

37. Ibid. 4.
38. Ibid. 4.
Boeke contends that the significance of village aristocracy and tradition is a deep influence in the social and economic needs of traditional society. ‘Many of our manners and customs, our fashion, dress and other external elements are merely a conforming to standards set by the community and may be explained as a feeling of dependence on social norms. This dependence may express itself in either of two ways: namely, in following a social pattern, fashion or habit, or in the opposite, namely in departing from that pattern, launching a daring novelty, a piece of fireworks to evoke admiration or envy.’

This elucidates that social customs and manners of indigenous people move away from their native bond by the predominance of western capitalism. This western predominance in underdeveloped countries is more discernible in urban or metropolitan areas than in rural areas. Boeke states it more clearly that ‘western influence tends to divert the attention of the leading classes from their own society to the new and promising western power’.

There are different types of dualism. It can be socio-cultural, ecological, technological or financial etc.

In 1963, Geertz developed the theory of ecological dualism. According to him, the climatic conditions and natural resources of different regions create elements of superiority and inferiority. He gives the example of Indonesia to prove his theory. Inner Indonesia is an example for a labour intensive ecological system typified by the intensive cultivation of rice and sugar as they require more water and semi-tropical climatic conditions. On

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41. Ibid. 39.
the other hand outer Indonesia has adopted capital-intensive techniques, e.g., mining products etc.

1961 Prof. Jorgenson propounded the theory of technological dualism by giving the distinction between modern and traditional sectors on the basis of input used in the modern sector, land and labour as productive factors. It shows difference between capital intensive and labour intensive methods of production.

Myint and Bottomley developed the theory of financial dualism by giving emphasizing the significance of capital markets as the basis of dualism. The industrial and commercial sector remains capital intensive as long term capital is available at low rate of interest in world markets, while domestic sector can borrow only from “non-institutional” lenders such as village money lender, landlord, shopkeeper etc at a high rate of interest.

The basic argument of Boeke’s theory is that dualism is the product of the clash between East and West. In this way, he quotes the famous phrase of Rudyard Kipling who says, “East is east and West is west and never the twain shall meet”42. It is the clash of an imported social system with an indigenous social system of another style. Accordingly it can be the clash between East and West. Accordingly, dual society is a society “where one of the two prevailing social systems, 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 to assimilate the divergent social system that has grown up there, with the result that neither of it become general and

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characteristics for that society as a whole”\textsuperscript{43}. This phenomenon of contradictions and complications can be seen wherever western culture has penetrated eastern lands without blemishing primitive or eastern culture. Application of Boeke theory is very much relevant in Kerala context. In a sense, western imperialism and affinity towards western forms of social life promoted syncretism in Kerala society.

1.5 Multiculturalism and Paradigm Shift

Classical social theorists like Herbert Spencer, Emile Durkheim, Karl Marx, Maxmilan Weber and Vilfredo Pareto have made comprehensive studies to find out the nature, causes and consequences of social and cultural changes in societies. All of them noticed the tendency of every culture to absorb and grow. Culture is dynamic. “The term ‘culture’ refers to human behaviour which is learned. Culture consists first of all of social organization through which members of the society are grouped together into such entities as family, community, and state. It consists of the particular ways in which members of the society react to one another. It is based upon language spoken, written or both. Every culture contains some artefacts, usually known as its materials aspects such as houses or canoes.”\textsuperscript{44} However, culture enters into the process of social change in many forms at various levels. ‘It is manifested in the technological, mental, moral, social, aesthetic and spiritual achievements of humankind.’\textsuperscript{45} Cultural change is a continuous and evolutionary process and this will lead to social and political change in a society.

\textsuperscript{43} Op. cit. no. 30, 3.
\textsuperscript{45} Yogendra Singh, Cultural Change in India, Identity and Globalization, (Jaipur: Rawat Publications, 2000), 25.
'Globalization concerns not only the incorporation of more and more people in an encompassing politico-economic system; globalization also refers to socio-cultural encapsulation processes’.\(^46\) Thus the tune of globalization embodies the multiculturalism or pluralism in the world social order. So an analysis of socio-cultural imperialism will elucidate the reaction of the common man to western attitudes and multiculturalism or dual cultures in societies. ‘Sociologists have been studying culture since from the beginning of sociology in India, which roughly corresponds with the establishment of British rule and the rise of the national movement. The trauma of the colonial experience inspired them to undertake a critical appraisal of indigenous cultural traditions, and also made them conscious about the strong points of western culture.’\(^47\) This indicates that a permanent shift in Indian indigenous culture has occurred with the arrival of colonial people in India. This shift in original identity caused by western re-construction of Indian culture and cross-cultural developments affected a major part of the country. Indian culture and civilization has been greatly influenced by western elites. ‘Life style and leisure time activities of the people have changed. The mode of consumption, styles of dress, use of synthetic material or artefacts, modes of transport and weakening of the traditional interdictions about the consumption of meat, fruits, vegetables and milk products etc.’\(^48\) A considerable section of the original inhabitants supervened this shift or change. But the emergence of pluralistic religious groups, faith and practices and social groupings like tribe, caste or minority could not stem the tides of such changes in society. In fact, diverse forms of cultural and social identities flourished under the huge spectral umbrella of


\(^{48}\) Ibid. 28.
Indian civilization. Local and regional culture mutated its original form. Basic institutions like family, community, educational structure and the industrial sector imbibed this spirit and moved towards the goal of global culture. Thus ‘we witness a conjuncture of cultural institutions and values belonging to the pre-industrial, agrarian society with those which coincide with the cultural values of industrial capitalism.’\textsuperscript{49} The aggregate effect of this process is far-reaching. The revolution in information and communication technology, together with the rapid advancement in the means of transport, extended networking of markets, of culture industries, such as tourism, intercultural exchanges, institutionalized exchange of cultural objects, etc., contribute greatly to the globalization of culture. It may also lead to institutionalized modes of intercultural contacts through tourism, marketing of cultural objects, leisure time attractions such as hotels, tourist resorts etc. that may prove to be disruptive forces unleashed upon local or regional communities. ‘As a matter of fact, its impact upon values, cultural practices, ecology, mental and physical health and quality of life of the people may be disastrous.’\textsuperscript{50}

Culture is not static. It always undergoes the process of change. It reflects and anticipates political and social development in society; it is a key to the perceptions of change and to the semantics of historical time. ‘It has important aesthetic, psychic, creative, and integrative functions.’\textsuperscript{51} “Multiculturalism conveys the idea of ‘many cultures’; each distinct from each other, implying boundaries rather than continuities; logically followed by separateness and distinctiveness. This contrasts with the conscious mixing

\textsuperscript{49} Ibid. 33.  
\textsuperscript{50} Ibid. 35.  
of language, race and culture in much of contemporary societies. This implies that the boundaries between groups must be formalized and institutionalized.” 52 The diversity in language, race and culture with ethnic support from the colonials, blended or polarized Indian society to change to a world of western culture. In this sense, multiculturalism reflects social and cultural changes in a society making it different from the existing one. Cultural transformation means changes in literature, music, art, fashion, food, mass media, etc. A multi-cultural society displays a shift in original identity to interact with an imported system. “Sociological dualism stresses cultural differences between western and non-western types of economic organization”. 53 Dualism emphasizes the differences in societal objectives with western economies driven by economic goals and eastern societies by social and non-material goals. So defining socio-cultural dualism is intended to find out societal differences in eastern economies or underdeveloped economies due to the influence of western forces. The theorizing of socio-cultural dualism in an Indian context is progress-orientated thinking to distinguish between western economic theory and eastern economic theory. This shift of identities is developed through a long and steady process and it can cause to social and cultural conflicts in the society.

1.6 Historical Reasons for Socio-Cultural Changes

Socio-cultural dualism existed in the Indian Economy prior to Indian Independence. The influence of British colonization and the arrival of foreign missionaries produced vast changes in the cultural arena of our country. “The roots of westernization to India’s encounter with west in the form of British rule which he considered responsible for laying ‘the foundation of

modern state’ in the sub continent and for other ‘radical and lasting changes in Indian society and culture’. These changes were ‘profound, many sided and fruitful’, embracing ‘technology, institutions, ideology, values’. A number of issues have to be discussed when we analyze the term socio-cultural dualism. Religion, caste, traditional fatalistic attitudes, social and group rituals, superstitious practices, legal frameworks, cultural mores, political and linguistic parochialism are main issues which we have go into observed. It will not be easy to discuss these major issues of pre and post independent periods in Indian history. So, an analysis has to be made of the social structure and values of the social and economic organizations in ancient India. The dual nature of the social system of the ancient period and planning era can be perceived when we analyze some major elements. Several major factors like religion and social attitudes, caste hierarchy, samskaras and fatalism against rationality, diverse cultures, diverse languages, public sector and private sector acted in collusion accelerating the process of this dualism. The impact of western industrialism on the traditional Indian economy brought about a social transformation in the early stage itself. The overall purpose of this study is to analyze the problems of economic growth in its historical perspective and critically examine the influence of religion, caste, beliefs, traditional institutions, diverse languages, legal systems, cultures and ideologies on production possibilities based on modern science and technology.

The age old diverse cultures permeating various regions and sub-regions of the country and operating through a gamut of customs, traditional values and ways of life and institutional complexes have of course, been

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exposed to the materialistic civilization of the British administration. As a result, the changed values of the industrialization such as, the secular ideology of equality, formal and contractual relationships, freedom of choice of the individual and the spirit of utilitarianism replaced the traditional cultural values in the urban areas. These new values have not percolated to the rural areas on a significant scale. The traditional culture and sub-cultures of the rural regions, therefore, remained in tact with all caste barriers, social taboos and rituals and sanctions. In the urban areas the rigour of traditional cultural practices was weakened. Even after independence, the narrow regionalism based on regional cultural values and castes have conflicted with the secular ideology of the country and stifled its economic development. It was not a fertile soil for the evolution of a modern industrial society. So, the impact of modern industry, education and science is not marked in the rural sector and hence the dualistic trends persist in the country. The influence of foreign missionaries effected a change in the institutional sectors like religion, education, legal system and industry of the traditional India. They inculcated a western cultural perception into the minds of the urban people in our country. Though it made a landmark in the economic development of the country, the common people lost their faith in the traditional values. The vast changes occurred in North East India, Goa and also in the metropolitan cities of our country substantiate this theory to a remarkable extent. Subsequent chapters will discuss more about the influence of historical forces in developing divergent socio-cultural attitudes in Kerala society.

1.7 Religion and Indian Traditions

Religion is a strong instrument in influencing the traditional and cultural values of people. The ancient Hindu religion exerted a deep-rooted influence in developing India’s this antique culture. ‘Religious beliefs and
social customs had now to meet the challenges of ‘reason and humanity’ emanating from the ‘British-Western’ attack on the traditional culture leading to ‘reinterpretation of Hinduism at both ideological and institutional levels’. The doctrines of *Karma, Dharma* and *Samskara* coupled with innumerable rituals and social taboos played a major role in evolving this culture. But, the advent of Christianity led to the germination of a varied culture especially in the urban areas of India. Christianity as a modern religion embraced a variety cultures to ensure find its own existence in this country. The western missionaries developed a new educational system in India, which contributed a great deal to the modernization of the country.

The Protestant reformation in the West made great upsurge in the materialistic aspects of life, far more than medieval Catholicism, creating in peoples mind a spirit of daring and adventure, which was reflected in the field of in agriculture, industry and trade. The impact of the Protestant religion on the economic front was manifested economic innovations, which ultimately resulted in drastic social and institutional changes, favouring rapid and marked economic development. In this way religious movements in the west paved the way for the development of the economy in Europe. This is an instance of how religions influence brings about social and economic changes. The long history of India reveals that the Indian religions such as Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism did not give much importance to the terrestrial side aspects of human life. Consequently they perpetuated a static economic order for centuries freezing capital in unproductive, religious ceremonies and stifling energy in innumerable religious activities and its fall out continues to influence the values and attitudes of the people even today.

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55. Ibid. 49.
1.7.1 Impact of Religion on Economic Growth

The institutional structure wields remarkable influence in building up a new culture in a country. Religion and social attitudes act as a "driving force" in the process of economic development of every nation. In fact, economic development in the western countries was greatly helped by changes in the character of social institutions and in the attitudes and motivation of the people, who responded quickly to the numerous technological innovations, played a dominant role with rapid spread of modern capitalist enterprises and to the growth in the economy as a whole.

The social and cultural background created by ancient Indian religion, philosophy, scriptures, rituals, prayers, particularly the doctrines of Dharma, Karma and Samskaras, that imposed many proscriptions and the caste system had tremendous bearing on the economic system of the country. The joint family system and caste panchayats were the structural base with agriculture and handicrafts as predominant occupations. The active role played by traditional sanctions in controlling individual freedom and motivation, the hierarchical conception of human nature and the personality system, and the dominance of a value system of sacred society where the assessment of needs, occupations, interests etc. were important- all these tend to show that the society was oriented towards non-utilitarian and non-pragmatic standards of evaluation. The economic structure and growth of ancient India were largely dependent on the above factors.

The occupational structure of the country was mainly based on the caste system. It was primarily a regional unit, which comprised people who followed the same profession. The rigid caste system was at the core of the division of labour and lent social and economic stability to the Indian society.
It created a division into the privileged and the unprivileged classes and enforced immobility between caste groups. The economic activity and the production of wealth were mainly confined to the lower caste groups. They devoted themselves to agriculture, industry and commerce. The upper caste groups higher in status in the social cadre kept themselves away from manual labour and productive activity. Brahmins formed priestly class, immersed in the studies of higher learning. The *Kshatriyas* were in charge of defence. Thus the traditional caste system of ancient India dictated the social and occupational status of individuals. Each community worked within the hierarchical constraints. Apart from agriculturists, there emerged weavers, various brands of craftsman as carpenters, blacksmiths, mat-weavers, cobblers, goldsmiths, potters etc. producing a variety of consumer goods. The caste system of ancient India gives us a vivid picture of the occupational structure of the Hindu community. They considered the profession as a part of their culture and tradition. Neither Buddhism nor Jainism could shake this structure. Thus the economic organisation of ancient India was based on a rigid caste system and the joint family set-up, which, in turn, created a hierarchical and irreproachable occupational structure. Ancient agriculture did not have the modern western methods of mechanised farming; the farmers were ignorant of such techniques as the use of fertilisers, the rotation of crops, extensive and intensive cultivation, and large scale and small-scale farming.

1.8 Impact of Western Industrialism on Traditional Economy

Nineteenth century witnessed a slow process of change in this traditionalism. Western civilization in India through British colonialism and the arrival of Christianity marked the beginning of the industrialism and the features of western society in Indian social intercourse with the urban elite in
the vanguard of change. ‘It is necessary to distinguish conceptually between westernisation and other two processes usually concomitant with it – industrialization and urbanization.’ The process of westernization accelerated industrialization and there by urbanization in the eastern societies. The industrial revolution in the west promoted urbanization in Europe. So the western influence in the Indian society paved the way for industrialization in India and Kerala and nation witnessed the breakdown of the traditional pattern of economy, which had repercussions on the social structure from top to bottom. It led to a confrontation between two cultural traditions. The confrontation or encounter was that of a new born industrial society with the traditional agrarian society. As a result the Indian economy backed up by increased production of finished goods in large factories using superior techniques, huge capital, mechanised production and entrepreneurial talent flourished and prospered. And it resulted in ever widening and deepening the gulf between the urban and the rural societies. For considerable period of time the villages, which were engaged in subsistence farming and traditional crafts, true to the occupational status handed down by caste constraints, remained unresponsive to changes brought about by industrialisation in the urban centres. The vast majority of the people in rural areas were reluctant to get involved in a social interaction with their counterparts in the urban areas. In short cultural outlook of the people proportionate to their exposure to the modern production oriented economy. The British identity in India became more pronounced partly due to its efficient productive organisation and partly as a result of its hostility towards the indigenous handicrafts. These incongruities forced many people to juxtapose between a lure for the glamour of sophistication and an emotional attachment and loyalty towards

ancestral legacy. The net result is the emergence of dualism both within the individual and society leading to spiritual conflicts and regional and social confrontations. The 19th and 20th centuries were destined to witness and bear the brunt of the inevitable clash between the native and alien cultures, between the rich and the poor and between greed and need.

The growing industrialisation centered on a few cities led to mass migration from rural areas to the cities in search of employment. People started acquiring new skills and developing a rational outlook. Caste, religion and traditional sanctions were relegated to the back door. People belonging to different religions, castes and regions joined together in protecting their common interests. The social habits, the consumption pattern, and the trends of savings and investment underwent phenomenal changes. A new spirit of individualism developed in the family circle as well.

Now the cities have become centres of large-scale industries of science and technology, of modern education and increasing trade. Thus the Indian cities have acquired all the characteristic features of an industrialised Western society, although they constituted a small island surrounded by a sea of the unorganised sector. So the onslaught influence of western industrialism made deep-rooted changes in the traditional economy of India. Though it created strife between tradition and modernity, the occupational structure of the urban community could greatly benefit by this process.

“Social change in its most recent usage implies here the processes of change manifest in Indian society in the late twentieth century; it is to be distinguished from its earlier connotations which included a cultural renaissance, spread of education, emancipation of women, awareness of
political freedom and an associated consciousness of rights and privileges, social and political movements, adult franchise etc."

1.9 Conclusion

We have examined various theories about the intermingling and interconnectedness of various cultures in the world scenario. All these theories arrived at the conclusion that duality or plurality is perceptible in developing societies owing to the incursion of various external forces in the form of colonialism, migration, multi-national enterprises, etc. from developed or western societies. Eastern or indigenous societies of the world have been highly influenced by industrialized or commercial powers of the West in their social, cultural and economic fronts. Scientific and systematic studies by several social scientists have succeeded in establishing this fact.

Notes and References


----------, *Indian Anthropologists and Study of Indian Culture*, Economic and Political Weekly, March 16, 1976.