Chapter 1

Introduction
H uman being, despite its many imperfections and failings, is truly unique and remarkable in many aspects. When humans first set their feet on the mother earth, the ambience around was full of struggle and hostility. The odds against it were of immense stature. In sheer brute strength it was no match for a host of fierce creatures around it; followed by the fragility of its female species that in advanced stages of pregnancy and during confinement was relatively weak and immobile. The human infant was born more helpless than the young of many of the species belonging to the different spectrums of biological prism. In addition, the bio-psychological requirements of a prolonged process of maturation fitted humans for adult roles much later than other animals. However, it is much to everybody's amazing that they not only survived, but in an exceptionally shorter duration of time they — one of the youngest living species on the earth — established themselves at the apex of the animal kingdom. Now the question arises what forces are behind the human kind that has led to its rapid progress and ascendancy on this planet; the only plausible reply is its capacity to build and inculcate culture.¹ The culture building capacity that humans have, has earned them all hegemony over others and won them plaudits which no one on earth has before. It could be said that “culture-building ability has been perhaps the most important source of our strength. It has helped us to adapt, to meet challenges, and to solve problems. We have survived through culture, evolved with culture, and acquired distinctiveness all our own because of culture.”²

The above discussions, clearly accentuates the fact that culture is one of the crucial forces that distinguishes human beings from rest of the

2. Ibid. p.11.
animal kingdom. However, at this stage it is perhaps necessary to state explicitly and more precisely what we mean by "culture," however. defining culture is very complex task. In fact, Raymond Williams described "culture" as one of the most complicated words in English language. He puts it that it is very difficult to understand what actually culture is, and if 100 people are asked about the meaning or definition of culture they might give 100 different answers and perhaps none of the answers may be a fully satisfying definition to all interested parties. "At a symposium on culture featured at the 1998 convention of American Psychological Society, one speaker described culture in a manner that seemed perfectly reasonable to some listeners, but wildly off-target to others (one member of the audience was overheard to mutter that it was the, 'wildest, wrongest definitions of culture that I have ever heard). Culture has been aptly characterized as 'elusive' concept."  

The origin of culture is linked to 'cultivate' and 'cultivation' and a list of definitions are cited in the Concise Oxford Dictionary which begins with defining culture as: tillage of the soil; rearing, production (of bees, oysters, fish, silk, bacteria); quality of bacteria thus produced. For this reason, 'culture' for natural scientists is still commonly something found in a petri-dish. During 17th century, the word culture was used in a metaphorical sense, to mean the growth of the individuals or human society. Culture (or kultur), particularly in Germany, by the late 18th century was being used in scholarly works on historical progress, and was also being employed in the plural, to refer to distinct social groups.  

By the turn of twentieth century, 'culture' had already become a concept with a complex of overlapping, but potentially different meanings. Three of these have proved particularly significant in the social sciences:

The broadest meaning related to debates about the theory of evolution-debates which continue up to the present. This argument is about the extent to which human behavior is

determined by biology. For those who maintain that humans are not just another type of primate, the crucial difference between humans and animals is culture. Here culture refers to learned, adapted symbolic behavior, based on a full-fledged language, associated with technical inventiveness, a complex of skills that in turn depends on a capacity to organize, exchange relationship between communities.

A second meaning of culture was more overtly value laden. Culture was again conceptualized as singular, but it was viewed as less pervasive. It was what a ‘person ought to acquire in order to become a fully worth while moral agent’. Some people (i.e., well educated English gentle men) and some human products (i.e., classical music), were understood as having more culture than others.

In contrast, a third meaning was plural and relativistic. The world is divided in to many cultures each of which is valuable. Any particular person is a product of the particular culture in which he or she lived, and differences between human beings are to be explained (but not judged) by differences in their cultures (rather than their race).

Although, differing from each other, these three diverse conceptions have rarely been kept completely separate. In popular discourse about culture and in academic writing there has usually been a shifting between them.

The complexity and variance involved in defining culture is so much that Alfred Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn in their famous work have given over 160 different definitions of culture. A composite definition by Alfred Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn is that “culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behavior acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievements of human groups, including their embodiments in artifacts; the essential core of culture of traditional (i.e. historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached

5. Tracey Skelton, et.al, op.cit, pp.2-3.
values.” 7 Lesile A. White defines culture as an “extra-somatic, temporal continuum of things and events dependent upon symboling. Specially and concretely, culture consists of tools, implements, utensils, clothing, ornaments, customs, institutions, beliefs, rituals, games, works of art, language etc.” 8 and British Anthropologist Sir Edward Burnett Tylor, defines culture as that “complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society.” 9 William Graham Sumner writes that “culture results from the frequent repetition of petty acts.” 10 However, some definitions focus on the essential role of human influence on human physical and psychological reality. For example, the anthropologist Melville Herskovits stated simply that culture is the man-made part of environment, 11 elaborating on this theme, psychologist Harry Triandis wrote that “culture is a set of human-made objective and subjective elements that in past have increased the probability of survival and resulted in satisfactions for the participants in an ecological niche, and thus became shared among those who could communicate with each other because they had a common language and they lived in the same time and place.” 12

Some definitions about culture more focus explicitly on the collective nature of this human-made thing, as modern music composer John Adams believe that, culture is a combination of the “symbols that we share to understand each other.” 13 The anthropologist Geert Hofstede wrote that culture is, “the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one group from another.” 14 Famous anthropologists Margaret Mead writes that, “Culture...is an abstraction from the body of

12. Loc.cit.
learned behavior which a group of people who share the same traditions transmit entire to their children and in part to adult immigrants who became members of the society." Malinowski reflect to culture as the 'social heritage' and believes that, "if society is taken to be organized set of individuals with a given way of life, culture is that way of life. If society is taken to be an aggregate of social relations, then culture is the content of those relations. Society emphasizes the component of accumulated resources, immaterial as well as material, which the people inherit, employ, transmute, add to and transmit."  

Adding to already mentioned definitions of culture, we could define the concept of culture as, "everything that people have, think, and do as members of a society." It could be further streamlined as everything people 'have' involves the material possessions; everything people 'think' includes things the people carry around in their heads - ideas, values, attitudes - and everything people 'do' refer to behavior patterns. Thus, all cultures comprise material objects; ideas, values and attitudes and patterned ways of behaving. This can be shown in figure below:

1.1. Nature and the Features of Culture:

1.1.1. Culture is Shared:

Culture is a set of shared ideals, values and standards of behavior; it is the common denominator that makes the actions of individuals intelligible to the group.\(^19\) It is this shared nature of culture that makes our lives less complicated. As people are sharing common cultural moorings, they are often able to predict, within limits how others will think and behave. Since the people of same culture are exposed to similar cultural conditioning; they easily predict one another's behavior.\(^20\) However, it needs a proper admission that people are influenced by their cultures, but they are not to be treated as 'unthinking robots' or "cultural dope or homunculi" \(^31\) who live out their lives exactly according to cultural dictates, (rather share power to accept or reject things).

It is amply clear that although majority of the people conform to most of the cultural norms, there will always be some segment of culture's population whose behavior remains unwholesome. The deviation from cultural setting may be the fallout of biological reasons — hormonal imbalances, mental disorders — or it could be because some personal history (someone who may have faced a trauma),\(^22\) they in common parlance are called 'eccentric,' 'crazy,' or 'queer' and are excluded from participating in the activities of the group, if their behavior becomes too idiosyncratic. Such exclusion acts to keep what is defined as deviant behavior outside the group.\(^33\)

1.1.2. Culture as learned Process:

Another feature of the culture is that it is learned rather than passed on through genes. It is the thing that prompted Ralph Linton to call it as humanity's 'Social heredity.'\(^34\) The process by which a

\(^{19}\) William A. Haviland, \textit{op.cit.} p.30
\(^{20}\) Garry Ferraro, \textit{op.cit.} p.23.
\(^{21}\) For details see, Irving M. Zetlin, \textit{Rethinking Sociology; A Critique of Contemporary Theory}, New Delhi, Rawat Publications, 1995, pp. 186-188.
\(^{22}\) Garry Ferraro, \textit{op cit.} p.34
\(^{24}\) \textit{Ibid.} p. 35.
society's culture is transmitted from one generation to the next is called 'enculturation.' We acquire our culture (ideas, values, and behavior patterns) by growing up in it. Through enculturation, one learns the socially appropriate way of satisfying one's biologically determined needs, we could say that, the need to sleep, eat, drink and sex is determined by biology; the way it is satisfied is cultural. When a child is born, he or she enters a cultural environment in which many solutions already exist to the universal problems facing all human populations, which Schutz defines as “efficient recipes for the use of typical means for bringing about typical ends in typical situations.” The child merely needs to learn or internalize these solutions in order to make a reasonable adjustment to his or her surroundings. The process of learning is crucial for all societies to survive, irrespective of what cultures they belong to.

1.1.3. Culture based on Symbols:

Culture for its existence is based on people's skill to create and manipulate symbols. A symbol can be defined as a thing that stands for or suggests something else by reason of association, or any thing given representational meaning by the members of a cultural group. The words, numbers, drawings, photographs and any other attempt at representation include in symbols. Symbols are necessary for ease and convenience of communication. By using symbols, we can transmit complex information rapidly and can both create and learn our culture. Likewise, "symbol not only represents reality, but it is also a

26. Here it is apt to remark that the learning process leads to the formation of self, a communication of 'I' and 'Me' according to Mead, where 'I' represents the spontaneous, unique, and natural characteristics of each individual such as the unrestrained motivations and drives found in every human child, and 'Me' represents specifically the social components of the self — which is a combination of internalized demands of the society. The 'Me' usually acts as a censor to the unbridled needs of 'I', and the continuing thrill between 'Me' and 'I' is what Mead called as 'Minding', for details see, George Herbert Mead, Mind, Self, and Society, Charles W. Morris, (ed.), Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1934.
way of pre-defining, or of conveying a certain attitude toward, that reality. Some symbols become so familiar to us that we overlook or distort the reality for which they stand. Lesile A. White mentions that man as an animal possess a number of attributes that qualify him for culture. Whether it is erect posture, an apposable thumb, stereo-sopic, chromatic vision, gregariousness, among all stands high his ability to symbol. He further writes,

we call the ability freely and arbitrarily to originate and bestow meaning upon a thing or event, and correspondingly, the ability to symbol. Holy water provides us with a good example of this. Holy water is a liquid that exists in nature plus a meaning or value derived from man. This meaning or value cannot be grasped or appreciated with the senses. Symboling, therefore, consists of trafficking in meanings by non-sensory means keep sakes and fetishes provide us with other examples of symboling.

Lesile White believes that art, religion, money involve symbols. "The fervor and devotion that religions can elicit from a believer; a cross, an image, any object of worship may bring to mind centuries of struggle and persecutions or may stand for a whole philosophy or creed." He believes that whether it is the knowledge of man, his lore and beliefs, his social systems, his institutions, political and economic, his rituals, paraphernalia, and forms of art, his traditional attitudes and sentiments, his codes of ethics and etiquette and his technology every element of culture is possible and dependent upon his symbolic faculty. But he believes that, "the best example of all [symbols is his power of] articulate speech or language; at any rate, we may well

28. Ibid, pp.75, 76.
29. Lesile A. White, op.cit, p.3.
30. Loc.cit.
regard articulate speech as the most characteristic and the most important form of expression of the ability symbol.\(^{13}\)

1.2. Significance of Culture

There is hardly anything as a human nature independent of culture. Without culture men could hardly be the "clever savages of Golding's lord of the files thrown back upon the cruel wisdom of their animal instincts; nor would they be nature's noble men of enlightenment."\(^{31}\) What is the man's position in the living system as a whole has been one of the absorbing human interest. It has intrigued both lay people as well as scientists on equal yard sticks because it involve the answer that touches upon man's estimate of his own basic worth. Notwithstanding the fact, it arouses two polarized views; the man as merely the most 'complex and intelligent animal' that has been evolved to date and the other that thinks man as a 'brute, set apart from the brute creation — unique in both nature and destiny.'\(^{35}\)

The notion that man is merely an animal has gained wide acceptance in scientific circles since the time of Darwin. The reason for this is not far to seek. The biologists have tried to prove that like 'fishes', 'amphibians', 'reptiles' 'birds' and 'mammals', man falls in the group of 'vertebrates'. Although they have placed him in the highest order of mammals, more interestingly, he has been placed with the apes and monkeys in particular mammalian order known as 'primates'. Amidst huge amount of evidence, it is proved that (although a hypothesis) man and such of the great apes as the 'chimpanzee' and the 'Gorilla' arose from a common ancestor. In bodily functions and form man is not far too different from his ape cousins. So in view of such important evidences of genetic kinship, it is little wonder that man is not treated unlike as a mere animal.\(^{36}\)

Another view point appears somewhat contrary to the biologists. Unlike the arguments based on stiff scientific and empirical evidences,

33. Ibid. p.3.
34. Chris Jenks. op.cit. p.5.
36. Ibid, pp.1-2
they are content to rest their case upon the simple assertion that anyone can see that man is something more than an animal. Among those with theological biases are contend that man holds a position far high and apart, because he possess the ‘soul’. But such mere vague and mystic attempts could be bogged down by the fact that human superiority has its genesis in the possession of a genuine ‘culture’. “Of all the animals, only man domesticated himself and thereby originated a culture that has since evolved along exceedingly complex lines.”38 Human beings have the longest period of socialization than any other species, and it therefore reflects the importance of culture for their dependency on it. “The cultural pattern of the group is super-imposed upon the individual from the moment of earliest infancy onward. By the time of maturity is reached, the whole gamut of organic activities have been re-patterned by cultural influences. This applies to the biological functioning of the body, as well as the more complex form of social adjustment.”38 As Geertz has argued that, “humans are born into an “information gap” — that is, there is pronounced discrepancy between the amount of institutional information that is hard - wired into us at birth and the amount of information that we need to survive. [Our] survival depends on [our] ability to successfully learn the language, technology and customs of [our] surrounding cultural environment.”39

The influence of culture is so potent that it not only influences individual after entering this world but even before his birth. It is seen that the activities performed by the mother, during the intra-uterine life of the infant, are culturally determined. The infant is ushered into the world at birth by a more or less definite round of cultural routine. The influence of culture could be seen phase wise in the life of an individual. The first phase of the direct cultural process consists essentially in the proper domestication of the infant. The basic (elementary) bodily functions are brought in congruence with values, and norms of the group by imposing simple habits of restraint. Activities like, ‘feeding’.

37. Ibid.p.3.
38. Ibid. p.5
elimination', 'crying', 'sleeping' and rest are patterned as to time, place and mode of performance — during this phase of 'enculturation' many primate tendencies, such as thumb-sucking etc. are suppressed as a prelude to turn a biological being into a 'cultural being.' The culture further accelerates impinging human beings thousand fold when they reach 'language-age.' It is a kind of complex set of bodily habits which replaces the 'simple and inarticulate gibberish of the infant,' into a patterned manner to explain his or her feelings and emotions. Language helps to broaden the 'cultural contacts' between a child and wider community. It involves expressing desires, understanding and heeding others, making social distinctions, learning attitudes and beliefs.

As one approaches to maturity, the cultural regimen becomes more and more expressive and enacting. Since, the phase of 'adolescence' is marked by animal impulses, it is the culture which regulates the behavior. Moral sentiments are inculcated and many additional duties and obligations are imposed. The imposition continues to affect the adult life, through customs, laws and institution and even the end of life — death and burial — is marked by the influence of group mores. In short, the whole pattern of human life, from cradle to grave, is cast in a cultural mold from which there is no escape. Our nature is ultimately that of a 'cultural being.' Culture less human only appears to be inconceivable, "as the process of becoming human is contingent on the orientation of oneself within, and the seizing of meanings from a particular [any] cultural environment." 40

1.3. Functions of Culture:

The functions of culture are many and multi-dimensional from 'food', 'drinking', 'warmth', 'shelter', 'sexual gratification' and 'reproduction' to 'affection' and 'encouragement' or developing the concept of 'self' to the 'society' and 'god; culture seems to facilitate everything. 41 However, perhaps the best acknowledgement to the functions of culture in a detailed manner has been given by Lesilie A.

40. Ibid. pp.308-309
White when he states:

Specifically the functions of culture are to relate man to his environment — his terrestrial habitat and the circumambient cosmos — on the one hand, and to relate man to man, on the other. Man is related to his habitat by means of tools, techniques, attitudes, and beliefs. Tools are employed to exploit the resources of nature; clothing and dwellings provide shelter from the elements; and utensils of many kinds are used in the process of living and survival. The life process in the human species is carried on collectively, as well as individually, and it is the business of culture to organize human being for this purpose.

He further writes that the function of the culture is:

...to serve the needs of man. These needs may be divided into two categories: (1) those that can be served only by exploiting the resources of the external world; and (2) those that can be served by drawing upon the resources of the human organism only. But man has inner, psychic, social and "spiritual" needs that can be fed and nourished without drawing upon the external world at all. Man needs courage, comfort, consolation, confidence, and companionship, a feeling of consequence in the scheme of things that life is worthwhile, and some assurance of success, it is the business of culture to serve these needs of the "spirit" as well as the needs of the body.

Life is continued only [through] effort. Pain, suffering, lonesomeness, fear, frustration, and boredom dog man's steps at almost every turn. He requires companionship, courage, inspiration, hope, comfort, reassurance and consolation to enable him to continue the struggle of life. Cultural devices serve man here. Mythologies flatter, encourage and reassure him. By means of magic and ritual he can capture the illusion of power and control over things and events: he can "control" the weather, cure disease.
foresee the future; increase his food supply. Various devices relate him to the spirit world so that he may enjoy the blessings and avoid the wrath of the gods. Cosmologies give him answers to all fundamental questions, of life and death and the nature of all things. Thus culture gives man a sense of power and of confidence. It assures him that life is worth living and gives him courage to endure it....In short, culture gives man the illusion of importance, omnipotence, and omniscience. These inner spiritual — or intra organismal — needs of man are of course as real as those for food, shelter, and defense; in fact, they might be felt even more keenly. And these needs must be served if man is to succeed in the struggle of life.42

1.4. Elements of Culture:

Often culture has been described and composed of various elements, consisting of various layers. Usually, culture is described as ‘ordered into’ three main layers. In fact, it can be better compared with an onion, where one layer is to be peeled off to find another. The outer layer in which the artifacts and products, is the most explicit of all layers; including language and food, architecture and style etc. The second inner layer composed of norms and values, norms are humanly created rules for behavior and values can be defined as anything that members of culture aspire to or hold in high esteem. Then follows the inner most layers which manifests the core assumptions of what life is, assumptions about how to handle everyday problems that have become self-evident.

However, in order to streamline them we can broadly classify culture as composed of material and non-material elements. Culture is a group’s total way of life and includes the interplay of both these elements.

1.4.1. Material Culture:

Material culture includes all the tangible elements (from the Latin, meaning “touchable”) of human creations called artifacts.43

These tangible elements of culture have evolved over the period of time to meet the needs and to solve the problems of human beings.  

Marx believes that we produce objects not only to satisfy our needs for them, but because "free, conscious activity" and "productive life" stand important in making us humans. We could say that material culture is often a collective response to the pressures of population and ecology. As populations grow up, they require new methods for satisfying subsistence needs and these methods in turn often creates the need for further innovation. The material culture of any society reflect the underlying cultural values of that society and indicates a society’s level of technology — knowledge that people apply to the task of living in their surroundings. The more complex a society's technology, the more its members can shape the world around them. The major elements of material culture include:

a) Food Habits/Eating Styles:

All living beings and people are no exception, must satisfy certain basic needs in order to stay alive. Among these needs food and water enjoy pre-eminence. The habit of taking food and water may be taken for granted, but if we start starving, say for a day, a week or perhaps a month, the symptoms of starvation, like weakness, fatigue or permanent damage to our organs or death would be no surprising. Humans may not live by bread alone, but nobody can live long without any bread at all, the need for food may be highly instinctual; how we take it is highly cultural. What foods are eaten, in what manner, how often, and with who are all factors that vary culturally. Every culture uses the sharing of food in one way or another to maintain social ties; a good illustration of it could be some Hindu’s in India who are strictly forbidden from eating with the members of other castes.

44. Murray Knuttila, op.cit. p.50.
47. Garry Ferraro, op.cit. pp.56-57.
b) Clothing:

It is another element of material component of culture. They not only shield us against scorching heat or piercing cold, but help us to look more appealing. However, due to high visibility, often forms an important symbol of group identity, which distinguishes 'us' from 'them'. To maintain the uniqueness of once cultural identity, people often wear their own ethnic or national dress — usually when away from home — for example, Chinese wearing Mao jackets, or American bikers wearing black leather jackets.

c) Music:

Rarely has a culture been reported to be without any kind of music. Bone flutes and whistles as much as 30,000 years old have been found by archeologists. Music (like all art) is an individual creative skill that one can cultivate and feel a sense of accomplishment; or can enjoy the sheer pleasure while performing. Music involves the form of social behavior through which there is communication or sharing of feelings and life experience with other human beings. The study of a society's music in terms of its cultural setting is known as Ethnomusicology.

d) Art and Crafts:

Art is the creative use of the human imagination to interpret, understand and enjoy life. Whatever may be the form of art and craft in a particular culture, it represents the artists attempt to give tangible shape to his or her feelings or perceptions, creating or re-creating symbolically meaningful form out of formlessness; may include anything a ceremonial knife, a decorative pot, a hand-crafted lute, an ornamental gate, a funerary monument or any other figurine; hold out an important place in any cultural ambience.

e) Architecture:

it is the art and science of designing buildings and other physical structures. A wider definition connotes the design of
the total built environment, from the macro level of how a building integrates with its surrounding man-made landscape (town planning, urban design) to the micro level of architectural or construction details. Architecture is often taken as a reflection of material progress, technological skills and artistic endeavors of a particular culture. It also helps to distinguish and define cultures specificity from the rest. Often 'cultural-survivals' in the form of architecture (buildings etc) are symbolic in elucidating a particular cultures past heritage and its richness.

f) Technology:

The level of technological advancement is highly indicative of any society’s progress and development. The use of technology has advanced far too, since its days of yore. The earliest known technology to human beings is hunting and gathering, which involved the use of simple tools to hunt animals and gather vegetation. From the time of our earliest human ancestors 3 million years ago until about 1800 A.D., most people in the world lived as hunters and gatherers. Today, this technology is confined to only Kaska Indians of northwest Canada, the pygmies of Central Africa, and to the Bushman of South-Western Africa. Some 10,000 years back, it was followed by horticulture — the use of hand tools to raise crops. The hoe and the digging stick (used to punch holes in the ground for seeds) appeared first in the regions of Middle East and later spread to Western Europe to China. As far dry regions are concerned people were engaged in the pastoralism — the domestication of animals.

Then followed agriculture i.e., large-scale cultivation, using plows harnessed to animals for more powerful energy sources. It was an indicative of further technological advancement of human beings. In fact this era has been termed as the 'the dawn of civilization.'

where societies replaced the muscles of animals and humans with new forms of power. The introduction of steam power in 1775 A.D. (England) revolutionized the whole world; beyond these four layers of technological advancement is the post industrial stage of economical development. While the focus of industrial societies is woven around the factories which make 'things', post industrial societies more focus on computers and other electronic devices that create, process, store and apply ideas and information.49

1.4.2. Non – Material Components of Culture:

Non –material culture refers to the non-physical and intangible aspects of any culture. They include: language, values, norms, morals, rituals, ceremonies and beliefs etc. these elements are briefly discussed as:

a) Language:

*Clyde Kluckholm* while discussing about the relationship between language and culture wrote that, "every language is also a special way of looking at the world and interpreting experiences. Concealed in the structure of each different language is a whole set of unconscious assumptions about the world and life in it."

Language can be defined as a, “system of symbols that allows people to communicate with one another.” Language not only facilitates communication, it also ensures the continuity of culture. Language — whether spoken or in written format — is a cultural heritage in coded form. Language facilitates the process of cultural transmission from one generation to the next. Languages are usually spoken by the people, who are members of societies, each of which has its peculiar culture quite distinctive from others.52 The language of any group is directly connected to the worldview

49. For details see, *ibid.*
52. William A. Haviland, *op.cit* p.93.
of the group. Edward Sapir and Benjamin-Whorf (or Sapir-Whorf theory) holds that "the real world is to a large extent unconsciously built on the language habits of the group. No two languages are ever sufficiently similar to be considered as representing the same social reality. Thus worlds in which different societies live are distinct worlds, not merely the same world with different labels attached." Whorf further states, "The linguistic system...of each language is not merely a reproducing instrument for voicing ideas but rather is itself the individual's mental activity, for his analysis of impressions, for his synthesis of his mental stock in trade...."53

Every language is a combination of two elements: a collection of words and a set of rules - syntax and grammar - that governs the arrangement of words to express thoughts. Language develops from the interactions of group life, and those who share a culture use its language to represent reality.54 Language is more than a system of communication, language fulfills four basic social functions:

i) Our language allows us to assume that those who share it with us (our speech community) know what we mean when we talk or write. It is precisely in our expectations that when we talk to strangers, they will understand what we say and thus makes it social.

ii) Secondly, the common language of a speech community allows its speakers to distinguish themselves from their community. It helps them to maintain group boundaries and solidarity.

iii) Thirdly, social function of language is that it acts as a substitute for physical contact: we often stay in touch by telephone, letter and small talk that often appear bizarre, for example, when we meet someone and ask how are you? We rarely expect more than 'Fine' or 'OK' but it often

delivers a fantastic job of reaffirming our existence in the eyes of others: language is used also as a symbolic substitute for physical violence.

iv) Fourthly, some utterances which are called as 'performative language' constitute meaningful actions simply by being spoken. For instance, to say 'I promise' is to make a promise, just as 'I do' seals a marriage.55

b) Values, Norms and Beliefs:

Values, Norms and Beliefs are the important constituent of non-material culture. Values can be defined as, "culturally defined standards by which people assess desirability, goodness, and beauty and which serve as broad guidelines for social living."56 Values are anything members of a culture aspire to or hold in high esteem and prestige. Values are things to be achieved, things considered of great importance and value.57 For example, most of the people attend the educational institutions, because they share the value that education, as an end in itself, is inherently desirable, irrespective of whatever amount of hardships they will face to get it, they consider it "good" to be educated, and more education is better than less, many share the value that being able to use our brains well is more desirable than being able to use our hands well.58 Personal freedom, egalitarianism could be cited as other examples.

Norms on the other hand mean, "rules and expectations by which a society guides the behavior of its members."59 Norms guide the individual behavior and makes the encounter between the individuals more orderly and predictable. Learning cultural norms enhances the individual's capacity to judge their own behavior. If some one bristles sometimes from the cultural norms, it evokes 'shame' — the painful sense that

55. Ibid. 61-63
57. David Popenoe, op.cit, p. 84.
58. Allan G. Jhonson, op.cit, p.67.
others disapprove of our actions – and the feeling of ‘guilt’ – a negative judgement we make of ourselves, and both of these elements fall in the jurisdiction of cultural standards. Norms are expressed in societies through a number of different forms.

The basic types of norms are ‘folkways’ which as the set of manners and customary acts that are involved in everyday life in a society. As a set of norms, folkways regulate behavior whose consequences are relatively trivial and where the breach of the norms would involve sanctions – a reward (positive – sanctions) or penalty (negative sanctions) directed at a person or group to encourage or enforce conformity to social norms – correspondingly mild.60 On the other hand, society’s ‘mores’ focus on more serious expectations about behavior; unlike folkways. They can be defined as the norms that reflect deeply held cultural ideas about how people are expected to behave. They carry the norms about the moral standards of the group or whole society, which are strictly enforced. While folkways distinguish relatively between unimportant categories; polite and impolite, clean and neat, sophisticated and vulgar, mores on the other side, make more important distinctions, such as, ‘good and bad,’ ‘virtuous’ and ‘sinful’, ‘laudable’ and ‘repugnant’. As norms, both folkways and mores involves sanctions, norms with formal sanctions are called ‘laws.’ Laws could be defined as the norms that governing body of a society officially adopts to regulate behavior; they are formal and standardized expression of norms.

c) Beliefs:

These are the ideas or theories about the natural or supernatural world that are not supported by any objective, factual or empirical evidence.61 Like other cultural elements, they are created by humans. They are the collective social agreements produced during interaction and reified over. What

60. Allan G.Jhonson, op.cit.p.69, see also, William G. Sumner op.cit.
61. David Popenee, op.cit. p.78.
is true or factual for a given people is what they collectively agree to be true at that point in time. A belief is cultural only if the ultimate authority for its validity lies outside of individual — in our assumptions that others share in particular belief. When the Copernicus observed the heavens and concluded that the earth was not the center of the universe, his sole authority rested in his own observations (at least initially), he was persecuted not because his belief was objectively incorrect; but because it contradicted those of the surrounding culture and struck at the heart of an entire system of religious beliefs and sentiments.62

d) Religion:

One of the important sources of belief is religion. We can define religion as, "the [combination] of the beliefs and patterns of behavior by which humans try to deal with what they view as important problems that cannot be solved through the application of known technology or techniques of organization. To overcome these limitations, people turn to the manipulation of supernatural beings and powers."63 Religion may also be defined as a "unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and forbidden — beliefs and practices which unite in one single moral community called a church, all those who adhere to them."64

Religions serve varied amount of social functions. They help in the reduction of anxiety by explaining the unknown and making it understandable, they solace in the belief that during the phase of crisis there is always some supernatural being to rescue. They underlay normative structures and prescribe and proscribe certain behavior and transfer the burden of decision making from individuals to supernatural powers. Finally, religion glues the society and enhances the

62. Allan G. Johnson. op. cit. p.64.
social solidarity.

Rituals and ceremonies are one of the important elements of religion. Some Anthropologists like Wallace regard rituals as the primary phenomenon of religion or "religion in action." They can be defined as, "standardized repetitive activities, oriented towards the sacred." Various scholars postulated that through rituals, individuals in primitive and traditional cultures established and affirmed their common bond. Likewise, some see religious rituals as the place where, "cultural ideas (thought) and social dispositions (actions) are integrated and can be observed in such a manner as to inform our understanding of a culture." Rituals are not only the means by which the social bonds of a group are tied strong but also a way of celebrating many important events. It also helps to cushion the moments of crisis like death.

Durkheim believed that rituals are structured in such a way that when people gather together and perform necessary acts as a group; the result is an intense emotional experience called — effervescence, he maintained that, although participants describe their experiences in terms of the power of God, in fact God is the power of the group. For Durkheim, "the idea of God in a ritual is a symbol for society." e) Oral Traditions: Folklores, Myths, Legends, Tales:

A great wealth of cultural values is transmitted through oral tradition whose origin is lost in antiquity. Oral tradition was great source of handing down of all primitive inventions — the use of fire, the wheel, levers, ropes, knots, spinning, wearing, weighing and all the rest traditional crafts and skills. Besides, various earlier ideas and beliefs have survived through

67. Loc.cit.
68. Ibid. p.77.
this source.\textsuperscript{69} One of the important elements of oral traditions is folklore — a nineteenth century term first used to refer to the traditional oral stories and sayings of European peasants, and latter extended to those traditions preserved orally in all societies. It helps to preserve many of a society’s subtle cultural values.

i) Myths:

A myth is generally a story that takes place in an imagined, remote, timeless past and tells of the origins of humans, animals and the supernatural. Myths mainly fulfills three functions; fables, which instruct; etiological tales, which explain; and a folk tales, which entertain. Myths may deliver anyone or all the functions; but they play a critical role in how a culture constructs its sense of time. \textsuperscript{70}

ii) Legends:

They are the semi-historical narratives coming down from the past that recount the deeds of heroes, the movement of peoples, and the establishment of local customs, typically it involves the mixture of realism and exaggeration of the episodes. They not only entertain but are inspirational and bolsters up pride in family tribe, or nation when the stories of supreme acts and scarifies are told. In the literate societies the function of legends is over taken by history. Unfortunately, history tell people what they sometimes do not want to hear or conversely, something they want but which historical records do not corroborate, so they sometimes exaggerate past events, and sometimes ignoring certain realities to maintain the dignity of their culture.\textsuperscript{71} Long legends, sometimes in poetry or in rhythmic prose, are known as epics. They


\textsuperscript{71} William A. Haviland, \textit{op.cit.} p.390.
recount the glorious events in the life of a real or legendary person

iii) Tales:

They are usually secular and non-historical in nature and their sole motive remains to entertain, but they may sometimes carry a moral or teach practical lesson as well.

In addition to the above mentioned elements of culture, Leslie White has described culture as the combination of three essential elements, viz, techno-economic; the social; ideological. White describes techno-economic aspect of a culture as the way in which the members of the culture deal with their environment, he believes, "it is this aspect that then determines the social and ideological aspects of the culture.... White stated his basic law of evolution, that culture evolves in proportion to the increased output of energy on the part of each individual, or to the increased efficiency with which that energy is put to work. In other words, culture develops in direct response to technological progress." However, it is believed that his theories were heavily influenced by eighteenth century notions of human progress, and could not provide an account to the fact that "technological progress" was a direct outcome to purely cultural stimuli.

1.5. Understanding Culture Change from Theoretical Perspectives:

Different theorists and different schools of thought have propounded various theories of culture change in both the disciplines of anthropology and sociology. In anthropological sciences, it was in the mid-nineteenth century that anthropologists started to explain the culture differences and similarities they experienced.

However, an important school of thought known as evolutionary school of thought came into being at the time when Charles Darwin's theory of origin of species was attaining an immense popularity. Among the evolutionary school of thought the two major schools of thought are (i)

Classical evolutionary school (ii) Neo-evolutionary school. The classical evolutionists — represented a macro-cultural approach to cultural growth and change. In other words they were concerned with the direction of change rather than with the explanation of change. "They attempted to illuminate the paths of culture without offering a causal explanation of change."73

Evolutionists believed in a unilinear course of evolution of culture. According to them tribal societies of mankind were the ancestors of modern civilized societies of the universe; it was done mainly by comparing early primitive people with the civilized ones. They also made comparisons of both material and non-material survivals to form a sequence of development in a unilinear direction i.e. from simple to complex, from homogeneity to heterogeneity, from uncertainty to certainty. This method of their comparison came to be known as 'Comparative method'.74

The Evolutionists were highly puzzled by the question of cultural similarities and traits throughout world, without known historical connection. For this, they assumed that cultural similarities came into existence mainly due to, "the Psychic unity of mankind: all human groups have the same mental capacities and the same ability to think logically. When faced with similar problems, they will invent similar solutions. 'Independent-Invention' was the explanation for similarities in culture among societies that were isolated from one another, and the developmental stages explained differences."75

Evolutionists like Edward Burnett Taylor (1832-1917) propounded that culture as a whole has progressed rather than degenerated, and while reconstructing the cultural history of civilizations, the element of progress should stand pivotal. He described the three successive stages of cultural development from early history through to the present civilization viz. 'Savagery', 'Barbarism' and 'civilization.'76 The elaboration of the stages

73. S.C.Dube, op.cit.p.25.
75. Serena Nanda, Cultural Anthropology, Belmont, California, Wordsworth Publishing Company, 1980, p.34.
of techno-economic development by the evolutionists was perhaps the most significant and satisfactory. L.H. Morgan seemed to elaborate these stages more broadly. He believed that all societies have passed through following stages:

i) **Lower Status of Savagery:**
   This stage commenced with the infancy of the human race, the commencement of articulate speech and subsisting upon fruits and nuts belongs to this period.

ii) **Middle Status of Savagery:**
   Began with the discovery of fishing and the use of fire, mankind was restricted to the original habitat.

iii) **Upper Status of Savagery:**
   It began with the invention of bow and arrow. Mankind spread from their original habitat over the greater portion of the earth’s surface.

iv) **Lower Status of Barbarism:**
   Began with the discovery of poetry making.

v) **Middle Status of Barbarism:**
   Began with the domestication of plants and animals in the old world (Eastern Hemisphere) and irrigation, cultivation in the new world (Western Hemisphere).

vi) **Upper Status of Barbarism:**
   Began with the smelting of iron and iron tools.

vii) **Status of Civilization:**
   Began with the invention of a phonetic alphabet, and the use of writing in literary composition.\(^{77}\)

Like Taylor, Lewis Henry Morgan (1818-1881) representing the American branch of evolutionist, also used the categories of savagery, barbarism and civilization. However, due to many inadequacies of method and errors of fact led to the decline of this approach. Although, its protagonist were the first to develop a scientific concept of culture and pointed to the possibility of the growth of a science of a culture, but

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on many accounts it could not justify many of its tenants. It could not justify its concept of independent invention and psychic unity of humankind. No conclusive evidence was offered to substantiate the argument that postulated ‘stages’ were natural and necessary. It also ignored the significant fact of diffusion of innovations. In addition, the ideal type stages lacked precision and were not clearly defined.38

In order to combat such short comings, the evolutionist theory was advanced, modified and refined by Gordon Childe, Julian Steward, Leslie white and were known as neo-evolutionists. Neo-evolutionists accepted that culture does not develop in ‘unilinear’ direction (from simple to complex, homogeneity to heterogeneity) but rather in the form of ‘Parabolic curve’, i.e. social institutions are born in specific form in the early stage, then attains a different form in second stage, relapses in original position but in a new developed form in the third stage.79 For instance, the institutions of property was in the form of communism during its infancy, then it took the form of private ownership during medieval times, and finally, common ownership through state has developed today. Like wise, in the beginning, due to lack of clothes, men used to remain naked, but the invention of clothes addressed the problem, however, adoption of fashion in the present era is compelling people to remain half naked. Similarly in terms of sexuality, there was a lot of sexual promiscuity during earlier times, but monogamy restricted it, however, again in present times, slogans in favor of sexual freedom is gaining ground.80 The fig. below illustrates it further:

Evolution in Parabolic Curve

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78. S.C. Dube, op. cit. p.28
80. Ibid. p.69.
Among neo-evolutionists, Lesile White admitted that cultural evolution is as real as biological evolution: from simple to increasingly more complex forms. But his unique contribution was to suggest the cause (ordering force) of evolution, which he called his "basic law of evolution." White believed that culture evolves as the amount of energy harnessed per-captia per year increase or as the efficiency of the means of putting energy to work is increased. 81

According to White's neo evolutionism, culture evolves when people are able to increase the amount of energy under their control. During pre-historical period, while people were hunters and gatherers, major source of energy was muscle (human) power. But with invention of agriculture it led to a quantum leap in cultural evolution, now man could control his sources of energy and it increased with, animal domestication, the steam engine, and nuclear power. For White, the significant equation was 'C=ExT,' where 'C' is culture, 'E' is energy and 'T' is technology. In other way round, cultural evolution is caused by advancing levels of technology and a culture's increasing capacity to "capture energy." 82

Steward on the other hand, regarded his formulations about culture change multi-linear – which focused on the evolution of specific cultures without assuming that all cultures follow the same evolutionary process. 83 Steward believed that by examining sequences of change in different parts of the world, it would be possible to identify paths of development, and some limited causal principles that would hold true for a number of societies. Steward's approach was based on analysis of the interaction between culture and environment. He argued that people who face similar environmental challenges are, likely to develop similar technological solutions, which, in turn, led to the parallel development of social and political institutions. 84

However, during 20th century, several scholars from Britain,

81. Lesile A. White, op.cit. 368-369
82. Garry Ferraro, op.cit. p.69, see also, R, Jon McGee, Richard L. Warm, op.cit. pp. 239-258.
84. Garry Ferraro, op.cit. p.70.
America, and Germany claimed to be anti-evolutionist. They started with the assumption that humankind had an extremely limited ability to originate but an unlimited capacity to absorb the origins of others and this way brought up a change in their cultures. Their major bone of contention was the 'psychic unity' and 'independent invention', propounded by the evolutionists. Instead, they believed that man was basically un inventive, and thus, inventions took place once and at a particular place, from where they spread through rest of the world by diffusion and migration. "Diffusion is taking over of traits by imitation, while migration implies that culture carrier broke away from their original settlements and moved other parts of the world taking their cultural inventory with them but adapting it to new environmental conditions." In a more clear sense, cultural diffusion can be defined as the process by which culture traits, discovered or invented at one place or society, are spread directly or indirectly to other societies or places. Whereas, cultural evolutionists believed that the world's cultural diversity resulted from different cultures being at different stages of evolutionary development; cultural diffusionist saw differential levels of cultural borrowing among societies the undercurrent cause of cultural diversity. Even though, both of these schools explained varied explanations but significantly both of them heavily relied on deductive approach. "They started off with a general principle and then used that principle to explain specific cases." 86

Two of the priests of diffusionist's school Elliot Smith and Perry believed that the Egypt was the source of civilization, where it originated and through migration diffused into the rest of the world. Thus, the entire world was visualized as one single culture-area. 87

However, the German-Austrian and the American historical schools, although basically diffusionist's rejected the notion that the Egypt was the only centre of all cultural activities, instead such activities, according to them, also took place in different other places and at different times. They opined that inventions and discoveries were a continuous process and spread across different areas and across several generations. They

86. Garry Ferraro, op.cit. p.64.
believed that different 'circles' or 'districts' developed at different places, in different phases. Each 'culture trait' and 'complex' had a circle or district where from it diffused to other places, which can be well documented through historical facts. For this reason, they were also known as 'Kulture Kreise School' or 'Culture Circle School' or 'Culture Historic School.'

Another approach to the understanding of cultural change is 'functionalism', whose main emphasis is concerned with the part that each unit within a culture plays in relation to the whole culture. Functional analysis holds that different modes of behavior, although apparently apart, are causally connected in demonstrable ways, and goes on to examine their implications for the total system. All the cultural institutions exist to serve a function, mainly to maintain the stability and order in the system. Functionalism in anthropology is generally divided into two main streams of thought viz; 'Psychological Functionalism' and 'Structural Functionalism'. Former associated to Bronislaw Malinowski (1884-1942) and later with the A.R.Radcliffe-Brown (1881-1955). For the psychological functionalists, cultural institutions function to serve the basic physical and Psychological needs of people in a society. On the other hand, structural functionalists (heavily relied on the works of Emile Durkheim), focused on how cultural institutions maintained the equilibrium and cohesion of a society. They focused more in studying the underlying structure of societies and the social laws that governed them.

Both Malinowski and Brown believed society as composed of many inter-related parts, however, both of them differed to each other in many respects. Malinowski was more interested in how individuals pursued their own ends within the constraints of culture. He believed that culture mainly satisfy seven basic needs of human beings: nutrition, reproduction, bodily comforts, safety, relaxation, movement and growth.

Malinowski tried to show how various cultural beliefs and practices

88. Ibid. pp. 105-106.
89. S.C.Dube, op.cit. p.36
92. Ibid. p.155
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contributed to the smooth functioning of the society and in the mean time provide individuals biological or psychological benefits. For example, in an essay *Magic, Science, and Religion*, Malinowski discusses the nature of thought of primitive societies and how their belief in supernatural and magical powers served their psychological functions.

As mentioned earlier, Brown on the other hand focused on social structure. He was highly of the choice to derive social laws governing behavior from the comparative study of different cultures than in intensive field work in one culture. *Durkheim's* influence is evident in Brown's attempts to illustrate how cultural systems function to maintain a society's equilibrium.

Talcott Parsons introduced the notion of 'differentiation,' to define the notion of change. Through the process of differentiation of the various functions that were carried out by the same set of actors (for instance, the family would discharge the production, religious and socialization functions) were later delivered by distinct structural units (such as the industrial factory, the church, and formal educational institutions). He held that systematic requirements necessitate reintegration of the new units. In the process a new equilibrium replaces the old one and the structure is reformed.

Another approach to the understanding of social and cultural change is 'cyclical approach,' with the main protagonists like, Sorokin, Toynbee and Spengeler. Sorokin was concerned with cultural changes on a wide scale. He explained the rise and fall of cultures in the framework of a single typology of a 'cultural mentalities' i.e. their concern for sense data on the one hand and spiritual concerns on the other. He suggested that there are two basic types of cultures. One he calls 'sensate', emphasizing things readily accessible to the senses; and other was 'ideational,' appealing most to the mind or the soul. Sorokin believed all societies alternate between sensate and ideational cultures. Sensate culture begins

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to develop as an inevitable reaction to a highly organized ideational culture and vice versa. However, it could not satisfy the curiosity of sociologists as to why it is 'natural' for a society to begin to change away from its main cultural theme, and why the change must always occur between only two alternatives.

Toynbee on the other hand believed that spurts of growth are caused by successful response to challenges. If the response is successful, the society survives and the process continues on to the next challenge; if the response is an unsuccessful one, the society is destroyed by the unmet challenge. Toynbee viewed the cycle of challenge and response as progress toward a more perfect civilization.

Oswald Spengeler too defined the concept of change by comparing societies with living organisms, in terms of birth, maturity, decline and death. And he believed that whole process is unalterable, nothing could be done to stop it. Although, only few sociologists agreed entirely with him. Notwithstanding, his works continue to evoke much interest among contemporary sociologists regarding social and cultural change.

1.6. Change and Continuity in Socio-Cultural Perspective:

When we see a picture of strange clothes that were worn only yesterday, to go through the history of the queer customs and ideas that once were current, to hear the prediction of the marvel that are destined for tomorrow — to these things is to realize the incessant changeability of human society. Individuals may strive for stability and security; societies may spawn the illusion of permanence; the quest for certainty may continue unabated and the belief in eternity persists unshaken; yet the fact remains that societies, like other aspects, unremittingly and inevitably change. But this only remains a single side of the coin, another side of the coin is social continuity, which is not to be misconstrued as stagnation that is things remaining the same, because change is always a

98. For further reading see, Oswald Spengeler, The Decline of the West, New York, Modern Library, [1918], 1965.
continual process in all societies. Nothing remains the same. However, within societies there are structures which are inherently resistant to change in this sense we can label them as social/cultural continuities. Individual within societies need social continuities to a lesser or greater extent, depending on significant factor like age, gender, education, access to power, wealth, vested interests etc. Even 'rock-solid' institutions like the family, law, religion, are subject to change, even though they represent social continuity. For instance, through out all societies, 'family' is still the fundamental and the primary unit of socialization, but its composition has attained a drastic change in recent years, leading to different kinds of families, and different socialization experiences for its members, but still continues to enjoy primacy in all societies. However, foremost and intriguing area of study for all social scientists has been the concept of change.

The concept of change has long been chased and has tossed the minds of social scientists. An array of questions emerge up which involve a certain mystery. For instance, what is the direction of change? Is it more rapid now, than in the past and will it be more rapid in the future? What is the direction of social change? Is it a matter of borrowing or a matter of independent of invention? Is the change leading toward some catastrophe, or toward mere extinction? And last but probably not least, can we regulate and guide it in the direction of our heart's desire? To resolve such mysteries is really a herculean task.

But before proceeding further let's define first what socio-culture change means. It could be defined as, "the transformation of culture and social institutions over time." Although, stability and continuity (holding up the vital elements of culture) may be a striking feature of any culture, nonetheless, all cultures assume a change. The complex process of change has four major characteristics:

i) Social change happens all the time.

ii) Social change is something intentional but often unplanned.

iii) Social change is controversial (i.e. it involves both good and bad consequences for e.g. capitalists welcomed the industrial

revolution for increased productivity and profit; but workers on the other hand feared that machines could make their skills obsolete.

iv) Some changes matter more than others, (for e.g. changes in clothing's etc, have only a passing significance, where as other innovation like computers have a long effect). 100

1.6.1. Causes of Socio-Cultural Change:

There are many factors which can cause social and cultural change: the dedicated efforts of a single individual, as in the case of 'Sequoya's' invention of a written language for 'Cherokees'; 101 some natural disaster etc. But several groups of factors have been identified as especially significant in human history for causing the socio-cultural change. These are:

i) Invention:

It is one of the important of sources of change. Innovation produces new objects, ideas, and social patterns. Those that involve the chance discovery of some new principal are referred as 'primary innovations'; those that result from the deliberate applications of known principles are 'secondary innovations'. 102 It is the latter that correspond most closely with our culture's model of change as predictable and determined, while the former involves accidents of one sort or another. An example of primary innovation is the discovery that the firing of clay makes it permanently hard. Accidental occurrence is of no worth, unless some application of it is not perceived, the accident happened about 25,000 years ago, for figures were made then of fired clay — an example of secondary innovation.

The last few decades have seen striking example of the push toward change caused by new innovations. For instance, development of atomic bomb, the isolation of the human gene, the trips to the moon, and the transplantation and replacement

100. Ibid. pp.436-437.
of human organs. Each of these feats has potentially brought drastic changes in our culture and society. New innovations often accelerate existing social trends. The discovery of birth-control pills speeded the trend toward greater sexual permissiveness.

ii) Diffusion:

The borrowing of culture elements from one society by the members of another is known as 'diffusion' and the donor society is the 'inventor' of that element. So common is borrowing that Ralph Linton, suggested that "borrowing accounts for as much as 90 percent of any culture's content." However, people are often skillful about their borrowing, often selections are limited to those elements compatible with the existing culture, or as Robert Lowie comments that, "culture is a thing of shreds and patches." Without exception, in the United States, the average American for instance, could be shocked by the 'foreign influence' at his or her breakfast table: the cantaloupe was domesticated in Persia; the bacon and eggs contributed from South east Asia; the coffee an Arabic discovery. The fork originated in medieval Italy, and the spoon came from Romans. The cotton in the table cloth was first developed in India. Diffusion is observable and appears so inevitable that it may be viewed as a fundamental principle in culture change.

Diffusion could be seen as a special type of communication in which participants create and share information with one another in order to reach a mutual understanding, in which the message is concerned with a new idea. The newness means that some degree of uncertainty is involved or as Rogers believes uncertainty is the out come of cultural diffusion in society.

103. Ibid. p.416.
104. Loc. cit.
Diffusion accounts for culture change, so diffusion components always are related to entire cultural aspects. The diffusion process involves the physical transfer of things; the transfer of technique for constructing or replicating such artifacts; the transfer of institutional systems of relationship; and the transfer of ideas or complexes of ideas including religious beliefs and political ideologies. 

Diffusion leads to socio-cultural change by which alteration occurs in the structure as well as in the function of a social system, when new ideas are invented, leading to certain social consequences, social change occurs.

iii) Conflict and Change:

Tension and conflict within a society is another source of change. As Karl Marx saw class conflict as the driving force of change in societies mainly from one historical era to another and although his model today has proven simplistic, yet, Marx correctly 'foresaw' that social conflict arising from inequality (involving class, race and gender) would facilitate changes in every society.

iv) Ideas and Change:

Max Weber, unlike Marx, believed that like conflict, ideas can also bring forth social change. For example, people with charisma can carry a message that sometimes changes the world. He highlighted the importance of ideas by revealing how the religious beliefs of early Protestants laid the foundation stone for the spread of industrial capitalism. The fact that industrial capitalism developed its genesis in the areas of Western Europe where the protestant ethic was strong, it proved to Weber the power of ideas to foster change.

v) Social Movements and Change:

People commonly group together to form social

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109. See, M.Everette Rogers, op.cit.
movements—organized activity that encourages or discourages social change. Experts have classified social movements according to the kind of changes they seek. One variable asks, 'who is changed? Some movements target selected people, while others try to change everyone. A second variable asks, 'How much to change? Some movements aim at superficial change, while others usually focus on radical transformation of society. Combining these variable results in four types of social movements, shown in fig. below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Specific Individuals</th>
<th>How much change?</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Limited</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who is changed?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Everyone</td>
<td>Alternative</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Social Movement</td>
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<td>Reformationary</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Social Movement</td>
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Four types of social movement

As shown in above figure among the four social movements, 'alternative social movements' are least threatening to the status quo because they aim at bringing change in only a small portion of population. Likewise, 'Redemptive social movements' also focus on smaller fraction of population, and aim at seeking radical change in some individuals. Then follow the 'Reformative social movements,' although they aim at limited change, but target remains everyone (for instance, environmental movement which seeks the participation of all). However, among all movements, 'Revolutionary social movements' are most extreme in nature, because they seek to bring overall transformation in the entire

111. Ibid.439.
social structure.\textsuperscript{112}

1.6.2. Socio-Cultural Change and Modernization:

One of the central concept in the study of socio-cultural change is modernization — the process of social change brought by industrialization, or the process can be defined as moving from the one societal structure (traditional) to the other (modern), a process in which most of the world's nations today are engulfed.\textsuperscript{113} The corollary of the process of modernization is 'modernity' — social patterns resulting from industrialization. Sociologists usually use this 'catch-all concept' to define many social patterns set in motion by the industrial revolution which spawned in the Western Europe in the mid-eighteenth century.\textsuperscript{114} Different sociologists have discussed the shift from traditional communities to modernity. For instance, Peter Berger has identified four major characteristics of modernization:

i) The decline of small traditional communities: modernity involves as Berger points, the progressive weakening, if not destruction, of the... relatively cohesive communities in which human beings have found solidarity and meaning throughout most of history'.

ii) The expansion of personal choice: in pre-modern societies people view their lives governed by 'gods', 'spirit' or simply by 'fate'. As the hold of traditional forces decline. People come to see their lives as an unending series of options, which Berger defines as 'individualization'.

iii) Increasing Social diversity: in pre-industrial societies, strong family ties and strong religious beliefs enforce confirming and discourage diversity and change. Modernization promotes a more rational, scientific world-view, as tradition loses its hold, people start gaining more


\textsuperscript{113} David Popenoe op cit p.540

\textsuperscript{114} John J.Macionis, op cit. p.440.
and more individual choice. The growth of cities, expansion of impersonal bureaucracy and mixing up of people from different social back grounds comindly configure diverse social behaviors and beliefs.

iv) Future orientation and growing awareness of time: while pre-modern people stay focused on past, people in modern societies usually plan out their strategies of life according to future. Preoccupied with personal interests, modern people demand precise measurement of time and are likely to agree that “Time is money”. As Berger points out that one of the indicator of a society’s degree of industrialization is the proportion of people wearing wrist watches.\textsuperscript{115}

Like Berger, German Sociologist Ferdinand Tonnies, who produced a lasting account of modernization in his theory of ‘Gemeinschaft’ and ‘Gesellschaft’. Tonnies hold modernization as the progressive loss of ‘Gemeinschaft’ or human community and the creation of ‘Gesellschaft’ which is characterized by the presence of large cities, people mostly living among strangers and ignore those they pass on the street. Tonnies believed that industrial revolution weakened the social fabric of family and tradition by introducing a business like emphasis on facts, efficiency, and money.\textsuperscript{116} French sociologists, Emile Durkheim like Tonnies, shared high interest in the profound social changes wrought by the modernization. Durkheim believed that modernization was characterized by increasing division of labour, or ‘specialized economic activity.’\textsuperscript{117} Whereas in traditional society every individual performs more or less the same daily round of activities, in modern societies people on the other hand perform highly specialized roles. ‘Mechanical

\textsuperscript{115} Ibid. pp.440-441.

\textsuperscript{116} Ibid. pp. 440-442; see also, Ferdinand Tonnies, Community and Society (Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft) New York, Harper & Row, [orig.1887], 1963.

\textsuperscript{117} For details see also, Emile Durkheim, The Rules of Sociological Method, New York, Free Press, [orig.1893], 1964.
solidarity' (shared moral sentiments) bring people together in traditional societies. In modern societies it is ‘organic solidarity' (mutual depending of people through specialized work), which glues them together.

Max Weber (German sociologist) believed that modernity is an agent that replaces the traditional worldview with a rational way of thinking. In pre-industrial societies, tradition acts as a constant brake, an obstacle to change. "To traditional people, "truth" is roughly the same as "what has always been." To modern people by contrast, truth is the result of rational calculation." 118 Weber believed that modern society is "disenchanted" because an array of unquestioned truths of an earlier time have been contested by rational way of thinking.119

For Karl Marx, modern society was synonymous with capitalism; he saw industrial revolution primarily as 'capitalist revolution.' Marx agreed to the fact that modernity weakened the communities (Gemeinschaft), increased the specialization, (division of labour) created a rational worldview (rationalization), but these he claimed were necessary conditions for the survival of capitalist regime. However, he was sanguine about modern society (unlike Weber, who viewed modern state of affairs as an "iron cage" of bureaucracy), Marx believed that social conflict in capitalist societies would sow the seeds of revolution necessary to overthrow capitalist societies and could embark for an egalitarian socialism.120

For whatever may be the take of sociologists or anthropologists about the concept of modernization, but it is difficult, if not embracing to suspend doubts that in modern societies it is difficult to uphold many elements of traditional culture. The sweep is so drastic that to persist with even vital elements of culture appears to be a wishful thinking. If one closely examines the concept of 'modernization' i.e. becoming

118. John J. Macionis, op. cit, p.443.
119. Loc. cit.
120. Ibid, p.444; see also, Ronald Fletcher, (vol.1), op. cit, pp.339-458.
modern, it actually entails to look like industrially advanced societies, with the clear implication that not being so is to be antiquated and obsolete. Not only it is ethnocentric, but also refers that other societies (traditional/tribal) must be changed to be more like industrially advanced societies, irrespective of considering their socio-cultural dimensions. While juxtaposing the traditional and modern societies in terms of change, we can see that there has been a significant amount of change in different elements of society, these are summarized in the table below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Elements of Society</th>
<th>Traditional Societies</th>
<th>Modern Societies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1. Cultural patterns</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Values</td>
<td>Homogenous, sacred character, few subcultures and counter cultures.</td>
<td>Heterogeneous, secular character, many subcultures and counter cultures.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norms</td>
<td>High moral significance; little tolerance of diversity.</td>
<td>Variable moral significance; high tolerance of diversity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time orientation</td>
<td>Present linked to past.</td>
<td>Present linked to future.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technology</td>
<td>Pre-industrial; human and animal energy.</td>
<td>Industrial; advanced energy sources.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>2. Social Structure</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Status and role</td>
<td>Few statuses most ascribed; few specialized roles.</td>
<td>Many statuses, some ascribed and some achieved; many specialized roles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relationships</td>
<td>Typically primary; little anonymity or privacy.</td>
<td>Typically secondary; considerable anonymity or privacy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communication</td>
<td>Face to Face informal gossip.</td>
<td>Face to Face communication supplemented by mass-media.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social control</td>
<td>Rigid patterns of social control. Inequality; little mobility.</td>
<td>Formal police and legal system.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social stratification</td>
<td>Pronounced patriarchy; women's lives centered on the home.</td>
<td>Fluid patterns of social inequality; considerable mobility.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender patterns</td>
<td>Small scale; population typically small and widely dispersed in rural villages and small towns.</td>
<td>Declining patriarchy; increasing number of women in the paid labour force.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Settlement patterns</td>
<td></td>
<td>Large scale; population typically large and concentrated in cities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>3. Social institutions</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economy</td>
<td>Based on agriculture. Much based on industrial mass</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>Manufacturing in the home; little white-collar work.</td>
<td>Production: factories become centers of production; increasing white collar work.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>Extended family as the primary means of socialization and economic production.</td>
<td>Nuclear family retains some socialization functions but is more a unit of consumption than of production.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Formal schooling limited to elites.</td>
<td>Basic schooling becomes universal, with growing proportion receiving education.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State</td>
<td>Small-scale government: little state intervention in society.</td>
<td>Large scale government: considerable state intervention in society.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. Social Change

Slow; change evident over many generations.  
Rapid; change evident within a single generation.

1.6.3. Globalization: Culture Change and Continuity:

Cultures are pores in nature. Cultures have a tendency to intermix with other cultures. In this era of globalization there is a steady shift in the definition of culture. Traditionally, culture has been defined 'as the way of life'; applying this definition we can define cultures according to its peculiar and specific characteristics. For instance, 'American culture', 'Chinese culture', 'Indian culture,' and so on, showing each culture is specific and a different way of living. In the contemporary era of global flows and interactions, such a definition often appears to overboard.121 In this age of globalization, with its, "unique technological base which has revolutionized the concept and quality of the systems of production, communication, social organization and the various processes of acculturation and symbolization in societies,"122 process of globalization has spawned different inter-cultural contacts, different from specific cultural configurations of the past.

With the shift from industrial economic system to post-industrial era, the process of globalization has permeated all the spheres of the society viz. in economy, polity, in communication, physical environment, in cultural realm and in rest of the aspects of life. Globalization as a Tomlinson believes, “involves rapidly developing and ever densening networks of interconnections and interdependencies of [human cultures].”123 This connectivity among diverse societies and cultures of the world has sharpened due to rapid increase in communication technology like mobile phones, computers, e-mails, internet, satellite television; due to rapid boon in migration from one country to another facilitated by modern transport system and due to new economical policies aiming to create an egalitarian economical order across globe,124 all of them helped to create a more globally connected world than ever.125

The process of globalization involves six major component strands, which are: which are:

i) A shift in the concepts of space and time.

ii) An increasing volume of cultural interactions.

iii) The commonality of problems across globe.

iv) Growing interconnections and interdependencies.

v) A network of increasingly powerful transnational actors and organization. (i.e. transnational corporations, international governmental organizations, international non-governmental organizations etc.)

vi) The synchronization of all the dimensions involved in globalization (i.e. all dimensions of globalization viz. economic, technological, political, social and cultural, appear to be coming together at the same time, each reinforcing and magnifying the impact of the others).126


Globalization as a process has brought about several cultural developments at large. However, globalization due to its unique nature has motivated unique cultural changes. Often, it is seen that cultures throughout globe have turned fluid. There is growing homogenization of cultures across the globe. People are becoming homogenized in taste and temperament. People are developing similar patterns in consumption, in dress pattern, in terms of language and even in recreational and leisure activities. However, there is growing disenchantment among people about the homogenization of cultural patterns. Often, homogenization is seen lop-sided. It is being observed that the process of globalization seems to be in much favor of developed nations than under developed nations. The change is seen, In fact, to retrogress than to progress under-developed societies and often people from these regions feel debasement of their traditional values and cultural continuities and often, believe that globalization has brought about the identity crisis to them.

Globalization has possibly enhanced the global divide. The dominant nations of the world are on the one hand fabulously rich and the others are mired in seemingly hopeless poverty. Few exercise the awesome global power, but others are hardly noticed on the world stage. In the globalization process, literary, the economically rich countries i.e., capitalist countries, which mainly include, U.S., France, Germany, Japan etc. rule over less developed or third world countries mainly concentrated in Latin America, Africa, and much of Asia. Although these third world countries have some manufacturing industries, they are more likely to depend upon agriculture and the sale of raw material to get by. Most often, it has been seen that globalization process has been considered an eye-wash or often a Trojan horse used by developed countries. In comparison to developed countries, the third world countries have lack of food, education, medical and transport facilities. Due to poor facilities and ignorance, the discrimination and prejudice against women and children is also far too high in lesser developed countries, than the
developed ones.

In fact, world systems theory believes that the rich and powerful industrialized nations known as the Core exploit the poor nations, called as Periphery, by exploiting its natural resources and cheap labor, while using their military and economic might to prevent peripheral nations from growing strong enough to challenge the interests of the core.127 Poor nations are forced to the political and economical policies dictated by the rich countries. It is mainly believed:

Globalization means the ubiquitous imposition of guilty sameness – the suppression of difference, the sinister homogenization of the world. According to this view dominating powers inflict their identity and interests upon distant economies and ways of life and eventually overwhelmed them. Moreover, since 19th century, things have supposedly gotten worse. In the bad old days, colonial states extracted labour, wealth and culture from those they dominated. In the passage from what used to be called neo-colonialism to what we now term “globalization”, advanced societies have added on insidious ‘counter flow’ to the long standing pattern of ‘extraction’ from societies on the periphery. Today, the first world not only steals their labour and raw materials but also exports to and imposes upon poorer and weaker states its own dominant mode and relations of production, along with the increasingly hegemonic contexts and values that are the cultural reflexes of these impositions.128

The concept of egalitarian society and the removal of economic disparity is to most of the less developed countries of the world a euphemism for colonialisation. Almost, all the developing nations


have become, "sweat-shops, quaint boredellers, and entertainment parks for the first world." Globalization appears to them as "implosive rather than expansive: [as] it connects the powerful centers to subordinate peripheries, its mode of integration is fragmentary rather than total, it builds upon commonalities upon asymmetries. In short it unites by dividing." However, most importantly, globalization appears a vital instrument of 'cultural genocide,' to these third world nations. The slogan of cultural homogenization is actually a nefarious attempt to wipe down the cultural identity of the underdeveloped nations, so that no one could ever raise or feel against the economically powerful and dominant nations. In Marxian terms, a kind of 'false consciousness,' is being spread through the modern technology among third world countries. The cultural continuities are also observing an immense threat amidst cultural onslaught done in the name of globalization. As Nandy writes, "in present times the dream of 'one world' has become a nightmare, and a threat to survival of non-modern/western cultures. It pretends a homogenized, hierarchized world that is sharply categorized into the modern and the primitive, the secular and the non-secular, the scientific and unscientific, the normal and abnormal, the developed and the underdeveloped, the vanguard and the led, the liberated and the salvage."

The world system theory believes that the core is often lead by a single "hegemonic power—a dominant nation that is far stronger than the other core states." Today the quintessence of such a single hegemonic power is United States. The process of globalization is viewed as synonymous to Americanization. As Thomas Friedman observes:


Today, globalization often wears Mickey mouse ears, eats Big Macs, drinks Coke or Pepsi and does its computing on an IBM PC, using Windows 98, with an Intel Pentium II processor and a link from Cisco systems. Therefore, while the distinction between what is globalization and what is Americanization may be clear to most Americans, it is not – unfortunately – to many others around the world. In most societies people cannot distinguish anymore among American power, American exports, American cultural assaults, American cultural exports and plain vanilla globalization. They are now wrapped into one.\footnote{133}

From American perspective, Americanization entails the export of patterns of American mass-culture, especially in the areas of consumption, entertainment, leisure activities, into foreign cultural contexts. From a local perception, it connotes ‘appropriation and imitation’ of American life-style and the subsequent transformation of local cultural ethos, both perspectives reflect two sides of the same coin, i.e., “the global hegemony of the United States and triumph of American capitalist culture, the spread of which seems to create a global superculture that undermines and supersedes local cultures and traditions.”\footnote{134} As \textit{Ritzer} believes, it is not only ‘Big Macs and French fries’ that fast-food restaurants are bringing to the whole world, but simultaneously American style of eating is on the run. Usage of credit cards foster us with ease to purchase American products, and more generally American culture.\footnote{135}

Many Asian and South-Asian countries like \textit{India, Pakistan, Sri-Lanka, Bangladesh, Indonesia} etc. are highly skeptical about globalization process and are experiencing the uneven outcomes of globalization. To quote \textit{Gunawardana}:

\begin{itemize}
\end{itemize}
The disjunctions evident in South Asian societies today are not confined to the sphere of [economic and trade disparities, but also] would appear that a new social ethic is emerging which has the potential to transform cultures by moulding them into a single global pattern of wasteful consumerism.136

Not only skepticism prevails in the Asian and South Asian countries of the world, but in many Muslim countries today, half hearted support is given to the policy of global trade and globalization. Since, they feel that age-old cultural continuities are facing a serious threat from the dominant western countries. They see it as an elegant neologism which hides reality. They see globalization as a powerful lever for Westernization. Muslim fundamentalists demonize globalization as an invasion and even as a cultural rape. They argue that western mass industry (pop-art, cinema, television, internet, consumerism, Mc World etc.) brings perversion through seduction. They feel that western ideals like secularization, democracy are all but the destroyers of the canonical hierarchy of values where religious morals control the social, economic and political processes. These ideals are usually seen as instruments which push the religion out of public sphere. They hold that its purely instrumental rationality deprives life of its fundamental dimension. “For them globalization offers a menace towards their native culture. American or European culture is often accused of subverting [their] culture.”137

Most often, powerful nations of the world force the poor nations to follow their social and cultural policies. Through the careful use of bribes, covert operation, and outright military force the dominant nations of the world keep poor nations from mounting an effective challenge to the world order that exploits them. Often, such experiences can be seen in the countries like Iraq, Afghanistan and Iran etc.

137. Ibid.p. 73.
Paradoxically, globalization on the one hand erodes the vibrancy and vitality of traditional cultures; on the other hand, it invokes identity consciousnesses among the victim nations. No doubt, it is difficult for most of the countries of the world to pull out of globalization process; nevertheless, most of the developing nations have turned conscious to resist the economic, social and cultural onslaught. At cultural level, the attempt to restore and retain ‘cultural continuities,’ is more sharp and visible. Often, people celebrate their cultural continuities in different forms and symbols, to articulate their identities. As Singh believes, “the identities of culture are a combination of ecological setting, basic economic institutions and work related to it, the family structure and child rearing processes, stories, myths and legends along with history, constitute some of the elements which give identity to a culture as it manifests through symbolic expressions in material artifacts, expressive behavior, belief systems, language, literature etc.” These identities are mainly people’s undisturbed existential possession, an inheritance, a benefit of traditional long dwelling of cultural continuity. They are often an outcome of experiences and aspirations located in one’s community. Today, it is believed that cultural identities are being encroached and destroyed by the increasing homogenized westernized consumer culture. This widespread view, ranging from academics to anti-globalization activists, often provoke people to protect their identities. However, today often than ever, the protection of ‘identities’ and long tradition of ‘cultural continuities’, is manifested in its extreme form; that is religious fundamentalism.

For instance, in Iran when fundamentalist clerics began to rail against

138. Ibid. pp. 84-85.
the Iran's Westoxification, and brought about a radical revolutionary movement that sought to expel all western influence from their ancient civilization. Similar resilient forces were seen in Afghanistan (during Taliban regime), Palestine, and Iraq etc, which openly criticized the dominant nations, whose policies are seen against most of the underdeveloped countries of the world. In fact, in order to preserve the cultural identities and continuities, many Islamic leaders have used religion as a source to defend their identities, and urge their followers "to resist the influence of globalization by strengthening their Islamic identity."143 Such an attempt to make religion the basis of national cultural ethos has led scholars like Huntington to postulate the likely future possibilities of "Clash of Civilizations" 144 and what Benjamin Barber has in his work described as "Jihad vs. Mc World." 145 In fact, many developed countries like U.S. are reeling under threat from the militant organizations with pan global character, who feel debasement of their cultural ethos and identity, done by the policies of United States to continue its hegemony around the globe. Many incidents like September 11 are its main indicatives.

Globalization, no doubt has accelerated the global change, but often, it is seen exploitative and asymmetrical in nature, often seen as a threat to the age-old traditional continuities and identities.

1.7 Indian Culture in Change and Continuity Perspective:

Historically, India has been hospitable to numerous cultures. Since

143. Ibid.p.74.

144. Huntington believes that "... the fundamental source of conflict in the new world will be primarily economic. The great divisions among humankind and the dominating source of conflict will be cultural. Nation States will remain the most powerful actions in world affairs, but the principal conflicts of global politics will occur between nations and groups of different civilizations [Confucianism, Islamic and Christian Civilizations]. The clash of civilizations dominate global politics", for details see, P.Samuel Huntington, 'The clash of civilization,' Foreign affairs, 72, No. 3, Summer 1993, p.22.

145. Unlike Huntington, Who sees world splitting along cultural lines, Barber defines the battle as one between traditional values, which is the source of what he terms Jihad on the one hand (Barber has taken from Islam, meaning Holy War; applied it to any tradition-centered anti-globalizing movement); and the forces of globalization, or Mc World, on the other. For details see; Benjamin Barber, Jihad Vs Mc World, New York, Ballantine Books, 1995.
past, most of the cultures met the Indian sub-continent and created a
mosaic of cultures, birth of new thoughts, new sets of values, grew and
prospered in time and contributed to its multiculturalism. Among those
who primarily visited the Indian sub-continent were Aryans, Hindus,
Dravidians, Greeks, Buddhists, Turks, Afghans, Scythians, Muslims and most
recently, the Europeans, Portuguese, French, Dutch and finally the English.
Nevertheless, India secured and stood firm to many of its traditional ethos
and values.

The process of cultural continuity and change in India dates back to
the thousands of years. Before the process of modernization in India,
Indian social structure was based on the principles of hierarchy, holism,
continuity and transcendence. These value themes were undercurrent in
all the aspects of Indian social structure and culture. Hierarchy was
engrossed in the areas like role institutionalization and its legitimating
in terms of ‘Varna’ and ‘Jati’, in the realms of goal-orientation
(purushartha) and in the levels of charisma (guna). Similarly, ‘Holism’
was another value theme of traditional social structure, which refers to
the relationship between individual and group, in which the former was
overlapped by the latter in terms of duties and rights. Here it was
community (Sangha) which enjoyed pre-eminence and not the individual,
and was well reflected in the family, village community, caste system
and at political and national level of the traditional social structure of
India. Likewise, the value of ‘continuity’ was symbolized by the principles
of Karma, or theory of predestination, transmigration of soul or rebirth,
and developed a cyclical view of change. Another predominant value
theme was value of transcendence, which holds that the legitimation of
traditional values could never be challenged on the grounds of rationality
based on mundane or non-sacred scales of evaluation.

Amidst these value themes, Indian socio-cultural structure, like other
societies, changed from time to time. The Indian social structure
experienced the change both through by ‘orthogenetic’ as well as
‘heterogenetic’ sources.

In the cultural tradition of India, one of the orthogenetic source of
change was through the process of ‘Sanskritization’ — the process by
which a low Hindu caste or tribal or other group, changes its customs, rituals, ideology, and way of life in the direction of a high and frequently 'twice-born caste.' Along with Sanskritization process, many orthogenetic cultural reformatory movements took place in India. Most of these movements aimed to change the obsolete ideals of traditional Indian structure. For instance, Raja Ram Mohan Roy (through Brahma Samaj Movement), pleaded to reform Hindu culture and favored for radical westernization; the prototype of Brahma Samaj in Madras was Veda Samaj and Prathina Samaj in Bombay. Many of the obsolete values like widow burning, infanticide, child marriage were discarded. These reformatory movements were running quite parallel to the core traditional value themes of India. Infact, "the underlying values from which the rationale of these reformations emanated were those of humanism, universal equality, dignity and freedom of man. Logically the ethos of this value system was not embedded in the notion of hierarchy but in equality; theory of pre-destination had no relevance in the ethical context from which these reforms were conceived and implemented."

Many a reformers like Dayananda Sarasvati, Vivekananda and Mahatma Gandhi, also activated the socio-cultural change in India. Although, they did not reject the basic ideal typical cultural themes of Hinduism, but all of them "considered the ritualistic disabilities of caste and social disabilities of women as being based on misunderstanding of the Hindu tradition and exhorted for their rejection." In addition to the process of Saniskritaization and many cultural reformatory movements; Indian culture also assumed the change through differentiation in the orthogenetic structures. Buddhism, Jainism and Sikhism (although Sikhism was also to certain extent influenced by the heterogenic tradition of Islam) are such examples. In spite, both Buddhism and Jainism overemphasized the value of continuity; they undermined the significance of hierarchy and helped to continue some of the traditional values.

147. Ibid. p. 92.
148. Ibid. pp. 92-93.
149. Ibid. p.44.
In contrary to the orthogenetic sources of change, process of Islamisation on the other hand, emerged as a heterogeneous source of change. Like Hinduism, value themes of Islam were holistic but the principle of hierarchy or caste system was not accepted in theory, the idea of continuity was also less pronounced, its value theme on transcendence was also rooted in the principle of absolute monotheism. However, still Islam as an exogenous source of change could not bring a radical transformation. Since, Islam did not reach in its real glory and pristine form; it could not dismantle many of earlier characteristic features of Indian traditional Hindu culture. For instance, Ashrafs (the four immigrant Muslim groups) maintained their social distance from the local converts in matters of marriage and kinship ties; they never recognized them as their equals. The caste hierarchy continued within converts, in most cases traditional occupations and caste rituals were maintained. It led to synthesis between the Hindu and Islamic traditions, not only in terms of caste hierarchy, in political structure too, feudal monarchical system followed by the Muslims was also no way different from those of the traditional Hindu rulers. As a result, there took place a high degree of cultural as well as institutional syncretism between the two systems without major breakdowns, and this way, social change was less pronounced, while as traditional continuities remained more prominent.

1.7.1. Modernization and Socio-Cultural Change in India:

India remained as said early, always a meeting point of various cultures and countries, with varied interests. Portuguese for instance, were interested in proselytization and brought with them pre-modern values and religious prejudices. Likewise, Dutch were interested in commerce, French to achieve political goals but it was Britisher’s who emerged as a dominant power in India and led to the process of modernization in India. Unlike Islamisation, which like modernization was a heterogeneous source of change; the later succeeded to challenge and change the various value themes of Indian social culture. The cultural patterns of west were different in ethos and structure from the cultural patterns of Hinduism and
Islam. The formation of legal rationalism on which the western tradition was based (by the time it came into contact with the Indian tradition) recognized a contractual-individualistic relationship between man and society. In matters of legal justice and civil rights, it encouraged the values of equality, equity and universalism and not those of status and hierarchy. In contrast, with communal and familistic status allocation system of India, the western tradition through various bureaucratic structures, administrative, legal and military, and through educational and cultural innovations, introduced new criteria for stratification which were based on achievement and not ascription and allocated status only on individual performance and not on charismatic qualities. Together, these new orientations posed a serious challenge to the cardinal attributes of the Indian tradition-those of hierarchy and holism.\textsuperscript{150}

The modernization process in India led to the creation of various institutions based on western schemes of running the society and various other processes viz. universalistic legal system, expansion of western form of education, urbanization and industrialization, spread of new means of communication and transport and various social reformatory movements. Along with these modernization norms, structural modernization also took place. For instance rational bureaucratic systems of administration and judiciary, army and industrial bureaucracy, new classes of business elite and entrepreneurs also emerged up, they contributed to the emergence of industrial working class and trade unions organized on corporate lines as in the western societies.

After independence, 'modernization' was taken as an integral part of developmental strategy. Introduction of adult suffrage, democratic form of government, conscious legal reforms in Hindu marriage and inheritance laws, community development programmes, land reforms, introduction of village panchayats, followed by process of general diffusion of western cultural traits, such as the use of new technology, dress, food, changes in the habits

\textsuperscript{150} Ibid. p.86.
and styles of life lead finally to the cultural modernization of India and a breakaway from the continuity of traditional value themes.

However a turning point in terms of socio-cultural change in Indian sub-continent occurred when the economic and communication policies during 1991 set the basis for globalization process. Earlier there were stringent controls on the import of a large number of commodities, and likewise controls over foreign investments through a complicated licensing system which in most of the cases did not allow more than 40 percent of the equity in any company to hold by foreign capital. Through, ‘license permit raj’ system, there was much state intervention in the economy.\footnote{See, Satyendra S.Nayak, ‘Globalization — Indian Experience and Perspective,’ \textit{Global Economy Journal}, vol.7, Issue-2, 2007.}

In July 1991, the first comprehensive policy statements on economic liberalization were announced. The major international lending institutions, the \textit{IMF} and \textit{World Bank}, advocated policy prescriptions of trade liberalization and export-led growth. The change in economic policy in India during early 1990’s had augmented new changes in various other areas in particularly social and cultural areas. “Globalization as defined is a composite process. It results from the convergence of a series of developments in societies which are qualitatively new. These include: contemporary revolution in science and technology of communication, high velocity movements of finance, capital and market, increased social mobility, migration of personal and the emergence of a global diaspora.” \footnote{Yogendra Singh, \textit{Ideology and Theory in Indian Sociology}, Rawat Publications, New Delhi, 2004, p. 206.} And globalization process in India led to the rapid advance in social, cultural and economical globalization. Particularly due to advances in technology of communication and electronic media, such as TV, radio, computer networks via satellites, paging services, telephony (mobile phones), internet and email also increased the modes of inter-cultural and inter-group communicative actions, along with other modes like banking, trade and management areas. Globalization in India has lead to cultural homogenization also.
Unlike, colonial cultural contact which was characterized by a relationship of domination; globalization involves interdependency, reciprocity and exchange of mutual skills and resources in a large measure. However, reciprocity in global relationship is asymmetrical. It is said that, "nearly half the voting power in the World Bank and International Monetary Fund rests in the hands of seven countries. And though all countries have a seat and a vote in the WTO, in practice, decisions are taken in small group meetings and heavily influenced by Canada, the European Union, Japan and US." \(^\text{153}\)

Infact, even India which has been supporting L.P.G. (liberalization, privatization, and globalization) has gained much growth in industrial (manufacturing) and service sector, however, agriculture sector which comprises 70 percent of India's economical sector is facing very odd challenges due to globalization process. Most of peasants in India are living under huge debts, and are committing suicides for the same; while as service and industrial sectors are earning boons.

Not only economically, culturally too, there are many changes taking place in India, especially in terms of homogenization of cultures at regional level as well as at international level, mainly felicitated by modern gadgets of satellite television, internet and migration etc. For instance, women's wear 'salvar-kamiz', is now a common wear through out India. The use of 'synthetic materials' in dress has also become common in the country, so has people’s level of prestige accorded to the foreign designer dresses increased. The use of modern cosmetics, generally of western origin has increased in almost all the states of India. Similarly, the consumption of milk, eggs, fruits, fish, meat etc. has also increased through out country and interpenetration of different recipes of different regions and countries is leading to homogenization of foods and food preferences. Earlier, peoples food preferences were confined to only using of cereal based diet now, the use of processed and packed

\(^{153}\) Ibid. p. 209.
food, consumption of beverages of world’s big companies has also increased, mainly due to exposure to global cultural values and practices.

The vocation of beauticians and the number of beauty parlors and health clubs etc. have grown rapidly, out crossing the metropolises to almost all the states of India. In addition, Bollywood and Hollywood movies, Western and Indian music, has created a homogenization of tastes both at global and at regional level in India.

Globalization has also its fillip side. There is growing discontent and disenchantment among the people against the asymmetrical nature of globalization. For example, it is visible at economic, social and cultural level. At economical level there is a growing concern especially for the peasants and marginalized community of India for their being aloof from the benefits of globalization than the holders of the capital. At social and cultural level there is also growing disenchantment about loosing of various traditional moorings. Over the centuries in India, the technology of production, communication, and transport remained unchanged for a long period of time; this gave a good measure of continuity to various cultural forms, like food habits, religious practices, dressing pattern, rituals, beliefs etc. However forces of globalization have led to increased social mobility and cross-cultural interaction and have released the forces of change simultaneously. It has given rise to a newer and sharper self-consciousness of identity outreaching among all the sections of society. It has to certain extent led to ‘cultural nationalism’ or even ‘fundamentalism’ against the nations or set of nations which play dominant role in controlling the instruments of globalization and are marketing its cultural products, practices, styles and symbolic forms. In India, “local cultural traditions are also making adaptive responses in the forms and styles of cultural products in tune with the inter-regional and global requirements.” 154 There is increasing creolization of languages across the country, in terms of culinary tastes, dress pattern, local ethnic cultural objects, rituals

154. Ibid. p. 217.
and local customs are now becoming pan-Indian, thus giving internal solidarity to the Indian society; and other than ripping of Indian culture, it is increasingly solidifying its 'cultural identity' to fight back the cultural onslaught levied by the dominant nations of the world. As Singh believes, "for reasons of history, pluralistic social structure and culture and democratic path of development that we have adopted, we enjoy tremendous resilience to meet with the challenges of globalization."  

However, above discussions clearly shows that how for ages Indian culture has changed, while giving good measure of continuities to many traditional value themes. Notwithstanding the fact, cultural change in this era of globalization has also increased rapidly, and has due to many factors influenced the age-old continuities, and in fact, made them difficult to survive. Since Jammu and Kashmir being a part of Indian union has also experienced rapid cultural change especially with the beginning of globalization process and much of the transformation has also been seen in its traditional and age old cultural continuities. The present study aims to make a broader and in-depth analysis of changes occurring in different dimensions of Kashmiri culture and also to analyze the age old cultural values which have taken the form of cultural continuities.

1.8. Rationale:

Culture is the most significant aspect of human society. In fact, culture manifests itself as sole criteria that differentiate the human category from the rest of animal species. It is an embodiment of all the material and non-material objects that human beings created and recreated overtime. One of the basic characteristics of culture is that it changes; change is a continual process in all societies. However, within societies there are structures which are inherently resistant to change, and these structures emerge up as cultural continuities. The founding fathers of sociology like, Comte was concerned to deal with both continuities and

change. For example, for him, the study of ‘social dynamics and social statics’ — change and stability — are the twin pillars of his system. However, for sociologists, major thrust has always been woven around the concept of ‘change.’ Durkheim, a central figure both in sociology and social-anthropology, demonstrated his interest in the theme of change when he showed how with growing division of labor, societies with ‘mechanical solidarity’ transformed into societies with the ‘organic solidarity.’ Similarly, Weber too was intrigued by the concept of change and was amply clear upon when he defined sociology as “a science which attempts the interpretative understanding of social action in order there by to arrive at a causal explanation of its course and effects.” His attempt to analyze the effect of religious ideas on economic development is a classic among the analytic studies on a major aspect of change.

Likewise, Marx’s sociological writings too were following more or less, of explaining the causes and the course of change. As is evident in the sociological traditions, the analysis of ‘change’ in social and cultural realm has always been in lead; its importance in the recent past, has further increased, mainly due to the rapid process of ‘globalization,’ and a shift from industrial to post-industrial societies. The character and the nature of societies across the globe are rapidly changing and the cultural diffusion and sharing and borrowing of culture traits is also increasing.

In this rapidly changing world, the cultural analysis on empirical basis has become a very common phenomenon in the academic world, however, the more one immerses in the analysis of culture, the more one is confounded due to intricacies involved in the culture analysis. As Brown rightly mentions that “culture [is] an abstract concept and that — because the values and norms of a society could not be observed — a science of culture [is] impossible.” and as Geertz writes, “cultural analysis is intrinsically incomplete. And worse than that, the more deeply it goes the less complete it is. It is a strange science whose most telling assertions

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are its most tremulously based in which to get somewhere with the matter at hand is to intensify the suspicion, both your own and that of others that you are not quite getting it right." Nevertheless, in this day and age, 'culture change,' is rapid than ever and 'cultural continuities,' have also attained a special significance, and has created a condition which necessitate to make an objective assessment of culture in change and continuity perspective. Kashmiri culture is also no exception to this rule and it is in this context that present study has been taken in hand.

In addition, what has further necessitated studying the Kashmiri culture is that most of the studies ever done on Kashmiri culture have been both partial and historical in nature, while lacking the sociological treatment on the one hand, or on the other hand the major thrust and focus of these studies has been on the 'conversion process.' However, present study primarily focuses at analyzing Kashmiri culture as a unified whole — all its dimensions, material as well as its non-material components — in change and continuity perspective. It involves analyzing and understanding of Kashmiri culture interms of exploring to see how different dimensions of culture viz., food habits, dress pattern, architecture, art, religion, rituals, festivals and recreational activities etc. have been affected by the global forces of change and how far Kashmiri culture as a resilient structure has succeeded to retain its traditional ethos and values.

1.9. Hypothesis of the Study:

On the basis of earlier studies, personal observations, discussions with the resourceful persons, hypothesis which was formed to be tested is as follows:

Socio-cultural change is an important aspect of every society and throughout ages Kashmiri society has also gone through several changes. However, with change, Kashmiri society has also emerged up as a resilient force where it has maintained and retained some of its core values — socio-cultural continuities. However, with rapid modernization, there has also been rapid change in several aspects of socio-cultural values in Kashmir.

and its frame and speed has further widened especially, after mid-90's, with the onset of globalization process.

Rapid socio-cultural transformation has put forth a series of challenges before Kashmiri society, especially in terms of debasement of several of its traditional values and cultural continuities. Nevertheless, not being inimical to the global forces of socio-cultural change, it appears that Kashmiri society tenaciously upholds many of its age-old values and customs and has kept its traditional vibrancy and ethos alive.

1.10. Objectives:

Following are the objectives of the study:

(i) To develop a theoretical understanding of culture and culture change and continuity.

(ii) To examine the factors responsible for culture change and continuity in the global and Indian context.

(iii) To make a detailed historical (diachronic) assessment of various dimensions of Kashmiri culture emphasizing on the trends and factors promoting culture change and continuity.

(iv) To highlight in sociological context (synchronic) the various dimensions of Kashmiri culture emphasizing on the factors and processes contributing to culture change and continuity and its implications on the Kashmiri society.

(v) To evolve a sociological critique of change and continuity in Kashmiri culture.