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modification or replacement in any aspect of society over a particular period of time, as a result of the operation of forces either endogenous or exogenous, or both. Society is commonly viewed from two different and yet co-related angles, i.e., *structural* and *functional*. According to this point of view, Kingsley Davis defines social change as 'any such alternations as occur in social organization, that is, structure and functions of society'. Structure refers to an orderly arrangement of parts or elements on the basis of certain principles. It consists of relatively stable interrelationships among its parts. For instance, the structure of an organization refers to the orderly and relatively stable arrangement of its various limbs like head, hand, leg, stomach, heart, etc. All structural elements are never permanently static. The interrelationship among individuals and group change; new types of relationship emerge; the old role-set gets transformed to a new role-set; the quality of role performance changes with personal succession; with the new types of relationship new regulative norms evolve; culture, value and ideologies keep on changing, with the growth of human knowledge and experience and skills. The whole social structure remains in a state of transition during most part of its existence. This state of transition which takes place because of any medication, alternation or replacement in these structural elements is known as the process of social change.

The functional view of society is closely related to the structural view. Each of the constituent parts of a social system contribute more or less towards the maintenance and continuity of the whole system. The whole social system exists because its parts perform their roles. The function of one part is inter-related and interdependent with other part. Various constituent elements like economics, political, educational, familial, etc., in their functional part constitute economic sub-system, political sub-system, educational sub system and the family sub-system. The functions of these sub-systems are again interwoven to make the whole social system. The functional view of society emphasizes upon:

- Pattern maintenance
- Tension management
- Process of adaptation to its social and non-social environment
- The way and means of goal attainment
- The process of integration among various parts
- The process of value consensus

Each of these processes is related with a functional sub system of the society.

Social change is a process by itself. Though change brings about modification and alterations, it is never a barrier between the old and new. Change is not a separating wall between the old order and the new order. Rather, the process of change is the intermediate continuity between the old social order and new social order. Change does not break and destroy the old structure. Through change, the old structure only gets transformed to suit to the new conditions of living. The process of change helps the existing social structure to maintain its identity. For in the face of new circumstances, a social system may need to adapt its structure to

some extent in order to survive. Change in the structure of the system may enable it to maintain its integrity as a distinguishable system, where as if it maintains the same structure too long it may loose its integrity as a system altogether.

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### 5.5.1 Srinivas' View of Social Change

Social change as a theme continues to be a significant concern of Indian sociologists and social anthropologists. Srinivas has used two concepts—Sanskritization and Westernization to understand social change in India. Sanskritization is an indigenous process of change. M. N. Srinivas first used this term in his book *Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India* published in 1952. Srinivas argues that 'the caste system is far from a rigid systems in which the position of each component caste is fixed for all time. Movement has always been possible and especially so in the middle regions of the hierarchy. A low caste was able, in generation or two, to rise to a higher position in the hierarchy by adopting vegetarianism and teetotalism, and by Sanskritizing its rituals and pantheon. In sort, it took over, as far as possible, the customs, rites and beliefs of the Brahmins, and the adoption of the Brahminic way of life by low caste seems to have been frequent, though theoretically forbidden.'<sup>3</sup>

Thus he found in his study of the Coorg in Mysore, the low caste people adopted the customs and rites of the Brahmins with a hope to raise their status in the caste hierarchy. To explain this process, Srinivas used the term *Brahminization*. But subsequently he found that the Vedic rites were not only confined to Brahmins but to other *dwij* twice born castes also practiced them. For this, he preferred to used the term *Sanskritisation* instead of 'Brahminization'. There was another reason for Srinivas to prefer the term sanskritization to Brahminization. During post-Vedic period, Brahmins had developed a lot of variance among themselves. Buddhist and Jainist influences also changed many of the practices of the Brahmins. So, the term Brahminization could not mean following particular kinds of rites and rituals. Srinivas writes, '... had the term Brahminization been used, it would have been necessary to specify which particular Brahmin group was meant, and at which period of its recorded history.'<sup>4</sup> (Srinivas, 1978).

Again, he argued 'Sanskritization is the process by which a "low" Hindu caste, or tribal or other group, changes its customs, ritual, ideology and way of life in the direction of a high and frequently, "twice-born" caste.' He also argued that generally such changes are followed by a claim to a higher position in the caste hierarchy that traditionally conceded to the claimant caste by the local community. The claim is usually made over a period of time, in fact, a generation or two, before the 'arrival' is conceded. This type of disagreement between claimed and conceded status may not only be in the realm of opinion but also in the more important realm of institutionalized practice. Thus Harijan castes in Mysore will not accept cooked food and drinking water from the smith who are certainly one

<sup>3</sup> Srinivas. 1952. *Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India*. London: OUP.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

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of the touchable castes and therefore superior to Harijans even if their claim to be Vishwakarma Brahmins is not accepted. Similarly peasants (okkalings) and others, such as shepherds (kurubas) do not accept cooked food and water from the marka brahmins, who are certainly included among Brahmins. Srinivas wrote, 'I remember talking to a Lingayat in north Coorg who referred to the Coorgs as Jungle people (Kadu Jana) and this contrasted with the Coorg claim to be true Kshatriyas and even "Aryans". The above instances are all from Mysore states, but parallels can be cited from every part of India.' (Srinivas, 1972)

Thus Sanskritization is a much broader concept in comparison to the earlier term Brahminization. It refers to the process of adoption of the rituals and lifestyles of higher caste by lower caste. It also refers to the process whereby the ethnic and tribal groups which fall outside the Hindu caste structure enter into the Hindu fold by entering into social contacts with the caste Hindu. The motivating factors behind the process of Sanskritization are raising of one's status in the social hierarchy and the hope to enjoy the same political and economic power which the higher castes enjoyed. The motivation to raise one's standard comes from a sense of 'relative deprivation'.

Hindu society has been rigidly stratified by the caste system for centuries together. During the ancient and medieval times the caste system was too rigid with imperative strictures which created a wide social distance between various castes. The social opportunities, economic positions, and political privileges were being determined on the basis of caste. The Brahmins, who were the upper caste, had the monopoly over social privileges. There was gradual denial of social rights and privileges towards lower strata in the caste hierarchy. The only way to achieve the higher status was to raise one's caste position. Since caste was a hereditary group, the best way of staking claim to the higher position was to adopt the customs and ways of life of a higher caste. Of course one may ask: If the caste system was a rigid one how could the rites and customs of higher castes be adopted by lower castes? However, the empirical studies conducted by Srinivas establish the fact that this theoretical restriction did not have much effect on the lower castes. Srinivas wrote 'It is possible that the very ban on lower caste, adaptation of the Brahminical ways of life had an exactly opposite effects.' Though during the earlier periods the Brahmins were reference groups, but towards the later phase, there was multiplicity in the model of Sanskritization. It is at this point that Srinivas introduced the concept of *dominant caste*. He was of the opinion that not only the Brahmins but also the local dominant castes serve as models of imitation. The term *dominant caste* is defined as the caste which 'yields economic or political power and occupies a fairly high position in the hierarchy'. (Srinivas, 1972).

Traditionally, the castes which had highest ritual status occupied more of the economic and political power. But the establishment of the Mughal rule, frequent political changes during the medieval era, and establishment of bureaucratic administration with all Indian network of trade and commerce during the British regime brought about many new factors which came to play their role in making a caste dominant. A caste to be dominant, writes Srinivas, should own a sizable

amount of arable land available locally, have strength of number, and occupy a high place in the local hierarchy. New factors contributing towards dominance are Western education, jobs in administration and urban sources of income (Srinivas, 1972). The castes, becoming dominant by the above cited possessions, during the Moghul and British rule, were accorded high status and position because of political patronage and their entrance to new economic system. The people of other lower castes looked at dominant-castes as their reference group and try to imitate their behaviour, ritual pattern, customs and ideology. In this way, the dominant caste of a particular locality played an important role in the process of cultural transmission in that area. Thus, there evolved different models of sanskritization. Along with Brahminic models, Ksatriya, Vaisya, Sudra models were visible in different parts of the country on the basis of their dominance in their respective areas.

Thus, according to Srinivas, there are six elements in deciding domination of a particular caste. These are: western education, urban sources of income, jobs in the local administration, powerful place in local hierarchy, strength in numbers and last but not the least, a sizeable portion of arable land. Accordingly, the dominant caste is a caste that has all the above attributes in a village community. The interesting aspect of this concept is that the ritual ranking of a caste no longer remains the major basis of its position in the social hierarchy. Even if a caste stands low in the social hierarchy because of being ranked low, it can become the dominant ruling caste or group in a village if it is numerically large, owns land and has political influence over village matters.

In the process of Sanskritization, along with the adoption of new customs and habits, there also occur imitation of new ideas and values. These new ideas and values are both sacred as well as secular. For instance, the Sanskritic theological ideas of *Dharma*, *Karma*, *Artha*, *Kama*, *Moksha*, *Paapa*, *Mayya*, *Sanskar* occur frequently in the lives of people who become sanskritized. The institutions and the values of the higher castes are also imitated. So Sanskritization is a process of social, cultural as well as ideological changes which occur in the fields of language, literature, art, religion and philosophy.

The process of Sanskritization was very slow and steady during the ancient times. Comparatively, it went on increasing during the Mughal and Islamic rule due to the emergence of various dominant castes and the political patronage. The establishment of British rule increased the pace of Sanskritization. According to Srinivas, the development of communication carried Sanskritization to areas previously inaccessible and the spread of literacy carried it to groups very low in the caste hierarchy. Western technology, like railways, radio, aeroplane, cheap press accelerated the process of Sanskritization. Srinivas also cites example of *hari katha* gaining popularity in Mysore city. The narrator of *hari katha* reaches a larger number of audience at the same time by the help of a microphone. The cinemas play a significant role in popularizing the epics and Puranas. The socio-religious reform movements like Arya Samaj, Brahmo Samaj and Prarthana Samaj, which came up largely as a result of western liberal education, in their turn,

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contributed much towards the process of sanskritization. The railways and other improved means of communication enabled the poor people who mostly came from lower castes to visit the religious centres like Mathura, Dwarka, Gaya, Kashi, Puri, Briandaban, Rameswaram, etc. Owing to expansion of press, radio, newspaper, religious journals have been contributing towards the popularization of sanskritic values and ideologies. These have helped in spreading of unified sanskritic culture. The process of Sanskritization also brought about changes in the field of occupation, diet, value orientation and social practices. The lower castes reform themselves in the direction of higher castes.

### 5.5.2 Sanskritization and Theory of Reference Group Behaviour

The achievement of the desired social status through the process of sanskritization may be analysed in the theoretical perspective of reference group behaviour envisaged by R.K. Merton. The higher caste which is imitated serves as the reference group. The motivation to imitate arises because of the sense of relative deprivation, which the people of lower caste develop as a result of comparative evaluation of their status with that of the higher castes. The imitation of cultural norms, behaviour-style and ritual patterns of the higher group leads to a sort of *anticipatory socialization*. But the real elevation of the status depends on the acceptance of the aspiring members by the real members of the reference group. The extent of social acceptance depends on the structures of the society in which the process of imitation and claim of higher status takes place. If the social structure has a rigid system of stratification and is under wide dispute, the process of acceptance takes an indefinite course. Under a disputed system of stratification, there is little consensus on role specification, value expectations and ritual patterns. The Indian caste system is more a disputed system of stratification than that of a rigid system of stratification. Because the caste hierarchy does not have a universal character, it is mostly a regional hierarchy with a wide variance in ritual patterns and role specification. Even for the same caste, the ritual pattern varies from one region to another. Regional confinement in the absence of proper communication and transportation facilities during the ancient and medieval time added to the regional hierarchy of the caste structure. As a result, the process of sanskritization lead to the elevation of the status of the lower strata when they took up spatial mobility within the same region also. Because of ambiguities on the issues like value expectations the role specifications, the process of sanskritization became more successful in achieving the higher status. The paces where the caste stratification was clearly defined the process of Sanskritization did not lead to much success and any little success took a longer period of time.

The anticipatory socialization arising out of the process of Sanskritization has both functional and dysfunctional consequences. It becomes functional by aiding the rise into the desired higher strata and by easing the process of adjustment after the claim for a higher status acquires social acceptance. It becomes dysfunctional when the claim for higher strata does not get social acceptance. In this context, Srinivas wrote, 'It is even possible that instead of moving up, it may

incur the disapproval of others.' The imitating caste in the process of sanskritizing loses many of its original features and functions. If their claim is disapproved that becomes very dysfunctional to the caste as a whole. The very existence of the caste as a separate social entity is threatened.

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### 5.5.3 Sanskritization and Structural Changes

Srinivas has analysed the process of Sanskritization in relation to caste structure. He has also tried to integrate the process with power and dominance within social structure. The process of vertical mobility of the castes within the hierarchy has also been related to 'fluidity of political system'. He is of the opinion that due to political fluidity, many dominant castes could move up to higher status by way of strengthening their own group, organization or getting royal patronage. In this way, the process of Sanskritization also throws some light on the rise and fall of power in the course of Indian history.

Viewed in this way, Sanskritization seems to have some relation with structural changes. But, when we look in to the process itself, the structural changes do not become explicit. Srinivas is not clear whether a lower caste as a whole moves up to a higher strata creating a vacancy to fit its own position; or only a group of sanskritized families of a particular caste move up leaving behind their fellows. If the caste moves up as a whole, what happens to the vacancy created by its vertical mobility? It is filled up by another lower caste in an equally proportionate manner? His writings are silent about this.

### 5.5.4 Westernization

Srinivas used the concept of Westernization to understand social changes in Indian society. According to Srinivas, as a result of 150 years of British rule in India, the transformations that have taken place in various levels of technology, ideologies, values and institutions may be termed as *Westernization*. This new wave of Westernization has brought in its wake new institutions like the newspaper, Christian missionaries, elections, etc., while present institutions have undergone a complete transformation. Westernization also brought about a change in values and ideologies of the traditional Indian society. A most important value, which, in turn, subsumes several others, is what may be broadly characterized as *humanitarianism*, by which is meant an active concern for the welfare of all human beings irrespective of caste, economic position, religion, age and sex. Equalitarianism and secularization are both included in humanitarianism. Srinivas maintained radical and complete changes were brought about in the Indian society by the British rule. The new technology, and the revolution in communications which this brought about, enabled the British to integrate the country as never before in its history. He also argues that Westernization is an inclusive, complex and multi-layered concept. It covers a wide range from Western technology at one end to the experimental method of modern science and modern historiography at the other. He also extended his argument that in the political and cultural field, Westernization has given birth not only to nationalism but also to revivalism,

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communalism, 'casteism', heightened linguistic consciousness and regionalism. To make matters even more bewildering, revivalist movements have used Western-type schools and colleges, and books, pamphlets and journals to propagate their ideas. In a broad way it may be said that the concept of Westernization as used by Srinivas covers, (i) the behavioural aspects like eating, drinking, dressing, and dancing, etc. (ii) knowledge aspects like literature, science, etc. and (iii) the values aspects like humanitarianism, equalitarianism, secularism, etc., also he used technological aspects. Westernization implies 'certain value preferences' among which *humanitarianism* is the most important value. Many groups were influenced in their diets, clothes, lifestyle, leisure and sports that were brought about by the process of Westernization. Other groups imbibed western science, technology and other literature to become westernized. Brahmins became Westernized by accepting clothes, gadget and technology but were unable to accept the changed diet. He argues this kind of distinction is only relative not absolute. According to Srinivas, (i) Westernization pervades political and cultural field; (ii) Srinivas also argues 'the term Westernization unlike "modernization" is ethically neutral. Its use does not carry the implication that it is good or bad, where as modernization is normally used in the sense that it is good.' (iii) He also argues that the increase in Westernization does not retard the process of Sanskritization.

### CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Who was Radha Kamal Mukerjee?
2. What was Mukerjee's theory about biological evolution?
3. How do values influence human behaviour?
4. What do you understand by social ecology?
5. How are groups and institutions different?
6. What is Westernization?

## 5.6 SUMMARY

- Radha Kamal Mukerjee was born in a Bengali Brahmin family in Berhampur, West Bengal in 1889. He completed his education from Presidency College, Calcutta (now Kolkata). Radha Kamal Mukerjee is considered one of the pioneers of Indian sociological theories. He has contributed in areas of:
  - o General theory of society
  - o Developing interdisciplinary and trans-disciplinary approach in studying society
  - o Sociology of values/ social structure of values
  - o Social ecology and regional sociology

- Evolution has helped man form better and complex societies, of which they decide and control the environment. Animals, on the other hand, have limitations in their ability to affect and change the environment. Humans are able to rise above conflicts and strife and attain cooperation to achieve higher goals in life and resultant social change.
- Within the realm of social psychology, people are classified according to their race, ethnicity and nation. Humans are treated as slaves to their egos with bias attitudes. All their actions are meant to achieve their own selfish interests. However, Mukerjee maintains that human beings have the potential to achieve universalization and forget their petty interests for the common good.
- Universalization would help people to connect to others over a collective perspective; he may start looking at himself as a member of a nation. Ethical relativism, according to Mukerjee, does not have relevance in our present times. Ethical relevance is the difference of values among societies. Instead, human beings should venture for *ethical universalism* that helps maintain unity among the human beings. Under ethical universalism, people feel free to disregard rules and norms created for attainment of parochial individual interests.
- Mukerjee maintained that there is a spiritual angle to civilization. Human beings have always moved up the ladder of spirituality by overcoming material and physical limitations. He commended the Indian and Chinese civilizations as these have managed to become and remain stable since the 6th century BC.
- The Indian and Chinese civilizations have thrived in the face of ad Ethics for man should be naturalistic, or based on scientific grounding itself and not on blind and rigid conformity to institutional values, but value-preferences, based on different social consequences of human behaviour, stemming from different alternative and complementary sets of institutional values regarded as social facts.
- Ethics implies intelligent and far-sighted appraisal of psychological and social facts that are enmeshed with values and value judgments. In a sense, judgments of social facts and institutions and moral judgments do not logically exclude each other. Ethics, in the second place, is universalist and transcendent, embodying universal values for all mankind. Human history reveals an overall trend of universality in social and moral development, realizing an unlimited, forward oriented unity and wholeness of mankind.
- The ecological aspect is composed, primarily, of geographical, geological and biological factors that work hand-in-hand. The ecology of a society is also influenced by its political, social and economic perspectives. Thus, ecology may be defined as the study of the interactions of various aspects of man and his environment.

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- The ecological relations of the lower animals are very similar to that of the human beings. However, culture plays a vital role in case of man. While studying human ecology, examining of regional influence, varied social habits, traditions and values is important. The intricate interaction between man and the region he resides in is dealt with by social ecology.
- Growth in ecological regions depends on socially accepted goals or desires that are adopted by individuals through socialization and conditioning are known as *values*. Values create set standards, aspirations and preferences in a social system.
- The basic concept of value cuts across desires, goals, ideals and norms. Values help man to channel his desires and goals towards a specific direction. Man can thus fight his physical desires and inner conflicts and choose the correct path. By following the path of values, individual actors successfully achieve peaceful coexistence with his fellowmen.
- The fundamental issue in modern societies is to make and maintain values that would be followed by all members of the society. Values should have a two-fold object: to lead to holistic development of human individuality and nurture solidarity and harmony among the members, on the other. The West developed the ideology of metaphysical individualism. However, this ideology makes man isolated from his group and dissects only his needs and preferences.
- Social sciences have generally ignored the human values that are shared by human beings and have, instead, focused only on those that were competitive. These sciences have also ignored the integral nature of these values that accelerate development of social culture. These parochial divisions create an artificial divide between practical sociology and metaphysics and ethics. While values are the core subject of study of ethics, empirical/practical sociology examines social structure and function.
- The difference between these two has been promoted by Western social sciences. He propounds the existence of a gradation of values while talking about theorization of sociology. This gradation is noticed on four levels of social integration A crowd exudes, against institutions, a brutal kind of expression of value. Certain economic values like integrity, reciprocity, consideration, fairness, etc., may be exhibited in the economic circle. Within society, justice and equity need to be shown among members.
- Solidarity, cooperation, unconditional and natural love and social responsibility are the basic social values that must be displayed within a social structure. These values are required if the world society needs to be Both social shortcomings and individual lags are responsible for the expression of disvalues. Individuals as well as institutions can show these disvalues too; for example criminals or organized criminal activities. He contends that ethics have a global existence in his work *Dynamics of Moral and Dimensions*

*of Human Evolution.* In order to attain universal brotherhood, man must rise above petty selfish interests.

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- Institutions derive their stability from integration of biological, social, and ideal values. Man's values are concentrated and integrated in institutions, as these become his goals, lead him away from the mere physical values that are disapproved and come under various taboos and prohibitions in life and society.
- The familial values standardize and stabilize the desires and satisfactions of sex that no longer run the tumultuous course of brutal lust. The biological, the economic, the social, and the ideal values fuse and interpenetrate. The result is that even such an explosive and disruptive impulse like sex which also constantly changes in its aim and direction develops into a deep, stable, and tender attachment that becomes the seat of realization of many ideal values.
- In economic and social values which are ordered and guaranteed by economic and social institutions, the values that are fixed in the minds of people and determine their goals and activities grow out of primary and universal urges as well, but the biological urges and values are here hardly recognizable.
- Hunger, the desires for appropriation and possession, curiosity and constructiveness are hardly manifest in the vast complex economic apparatus providing for the production, acquisition, and distribution of food and other necessary economic goods and services that ensure economic sufficiency; yet these original impulses furnish the drives for the newly fashioned, derived economic values of standard of living, wealth, property, and economic power mingling as they do now with the social impulses and the interests of social order, security, and well-being.
- Man's social values are even more varied and complex; woven as these are by threads of various kinds and grades of urges and satisfactions. Among the most important of these are gregariousness, sympathy, protection, dominance, and submission, which are, however, not found in the raw but blend and integrate with one another and with the various types of biological as well as ideal values.
- The process of valuation, then, is undoubtedly the work of man's groups and institutions that create derived or secondary values through: (i) the ordering and integration of the biological, the social, and the ideal satisfactions in each case, thereby giving values both intensity and stability; (ii) through the ordering and standardization of the activities and relationships of the persons and groups concerned. Institutional values lose their stability and unity, and disintegrate, contributing also to the break-up of the solidarity of the group, as the biological, the social, and the ideal phases of satisfaction fail to cohere or dissociate.

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- The familial values lapse and the family group sunders as a result of brutal lust and aggression unchecked by the social impulses or any ideal satisfactions. On the other hand, where the sex impulses, home-making, and other interests cannot obtain adequate fulfillment due to the dominance of economic values and the desire to maintain an artificial standard of living for the class as an economic goal, there is a similar dissociation of the familial values.
- Economic values lapse at the time of an extreme food crisis or famine due to the magnification of the hunger impulse among the famine-stricken mass that excitedly hunt for and seize food, unmindful of social and even familial relationships and obligations. These are extreme instances of the pursuit of mere biological values to the exclusion of the social and ideal values, spelling social unsettlement and disruption.
- The solidarity of society depends upon the network of institutional values surrounding human life and behaviour and fixing in human minds social habits or ways of living in which biological values no longer fulfil themselves in brutal egocentric satisfactions but coalesce with the social and the ideal values. Man's social advance is possible only on the foundation of relatively fixed habits, attitudes and ways of living that make his choice of subordination of lower to higher values easy and automatic involving scarcely any mental effort.
- Mysore Narasimhachar Srinivas was born on 16 November 1916 in Mysore. He was a well known Indian sociologist and social anthropologist. His contribution to the discipline of sociology is immense. He has done so many pioneering works in the field of caste and study of social change in India.
- In Oxford, Srinivas reworked on his dissertation, *Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India* that was published in 1952. The work has been considered a milestone in the world of social anthropology. The study was based on the structural-functionalism of Radcliffe-Brown. In this work, Srinivas dissects the social and religious lives of the residents of Coorg and throws light on the interrelationships of the social actors and the basis of purity and pollution that become the foundation of social life.
- Religion has been sought to be understood by studying its contribution to maintenance of social order and has been reduced to seasonal rituals. Srinivas was one of the first sociologists in India that took the actual village or a factory as a classroom for study and was not contented with only a theoretical analysis. He wanted to study man in relation with his environment and wanted to study the various facets of cultural roles.
- Change is the unchangeable law of nature. Society as a part of the vast universe and is not an exception to this eternal law. The reality of social life is the reality of change. Change means alternation, modification, replacement, differentiation or integration within a phenomenon over a particular period

of time, caused by a force. It refers to the amount of difference in condition of the object or phenomenon in any direction, between two points of time.

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- Time factor is the measuring rod of the amount and direction of change. The primary concern of a sociologist is the social change and not the physical, environmental or natural changes. Of course, physical and environmental changes are not exclusively out of the sociological purview. These are studied so far as they are causally related with social change. In the light of such discussion, social change may precisely be put as any alternation, modification or replacement in any aspect of society over a particular period of time, as a result of the operation of forces either endogenous or exogenous, or both. Society is commonly viewed from two different and yet co-related angles, i.e., *structural* and *functional*.
- There are six elements in deciding domination of a particular caste. These are: Western education, urban sources of income, jobs in the local administration, powerful place in local hierarchy, strength in numbers and last but not the least, a sizeable portion of arable land. Accordingly, the dominant caste is a caste that has all the above attributes in a village community. The interesting aspect of this concept is that the ritual ranking of a caste no longer remains the major basis of its position in the social hierarchy. Even if a caste stands low in the social hierarchy because of being ranked low, it can become the dominant ruling caste or group in a village if it is numerically large, owns land and has political influence over village matters.
- The process of Sanskritization was slow and steady during the ancient times. Comparatively, it went on increasing during the Mughal and Islamic rule due to the emergence of various dominant castes and the political patronage. The establishment of British rule increased the pace of Sanskritization.
- According to Srinivas, the development of communication carried Sanskritization to areas previously inaccessible and the spread of literacy carried it to groups very low in the caste hierarchy. Western technology, like railways, radio, aeroplane, cheap press accelerated the process of Sanskritization. Srinivas also cited example of *hari katha* gaining popularity in Mysore city. The narrator of 'hari katha' reaches a larger number of audiences at the same time by the help of a microphone. The cinemas play a significant role in popularizing the epics and Puranas.
- The socio-religious reform movements like Arya Samaj, Brahmo Samaj and Prarthana Samaj, which came up largely as a result of Western liberal education, in their turn, contributed much towards the process of Sanskritization. The railways and other improved means of communication enabled the poor people who mostly came from lower castes to visit the religious centres like Mathura, Dwarka, Gaya, Kashi, Puri, Briandaban, Rameswaram, etc. Owing to expansion of press, radio, newspaper, religious journals have been contributing towards the popularization of Sanskritic

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values and ideologies. These have helped in spreading of unified sanskritic culture. The process of Sanskritization also brought changes in the field of occupation, diet, value orientation and social practices. The lower castes reform themselves in the direction of higher castes.

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- The new wave of Westernization has brought in its wake new institutions like the newspaper, Christian missionaries, elections, etc., while present institutions have undergone a complete transformation. Westernization also brought about a change in values and ideologies of the traditional Indian society. A most important value, which, in turn, subsumes several others, is what may be broadly characterized as *humanitarianism*, by which is meant an active concern for the welfare of all human beings irrespective of caste, economic position, religion, age and sex. Equalitarianism and secularization are both included in humanitarianism.
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## 5.7 KEY TERMS

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- **Ethics:** Intelligent and far-sighted appraisal of psychological and social facts that are enmeshed with values and value judgments.
- **Values:** Socially accepted goals or desires that are adopted by individuals through socialization and conditioning.
- **Familism:** Values centred around home, peace, continuity, and solidarity of man over generations.
- **Economism:** Tertiary values represented by the system of industry and business organization, property, and class.

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## 5.8 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

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Radha Kamal Mukerjee and  
M.N. Srinivas

1. Radha Kamal Mukerjee was born in a Bengali Brahmin family in Berhampur, West Bengal in 1889. He completed his education from Presidency College, Calcutta (now Kolkata). Radha Kamal Mukerjee is considered one of the pioneers of Indian sociological theories.
2. Evolution has helped man form better and complex societies, of which they decide and control the environment. Animals, on the other hand, have limitations in their ability to affect and change the environment. Humans are able to rise above conflicts and strife and attain cooperation to achieve higher goals in life and resultant social change.
3. Values create set standards, aspirations and preferences in a social system. The basic concept of value cuts across desires, goals, ideals and norms. Values help man to channel his desires and goals towards a specific direction.
4. Social ecology needs to be studied along with various other social sciences. The ecological aspect is composed, primarily, of geographical, geological and biological factors that work hand-in-hand. The ecology of a society is also influenced by its political, social and economic perspectives.
5. Groups are episodes in man's adaptation emerging out of the ordering and fulfillment of specific human values that become the common ends or goals of the associated individuals. As the system of values becomes stable and continuous, groups crystallize into institutions by which we understand social relationships, attitudes, and habits that are more or less enduring and have obtained social approval. Institutions, accordingly, represent the more definite, formal, and sanctioned social relationships and behaviours.
6. As a result of 150 years of British rule in India, the transformations that have taken place in various levels of technology, ideologies, values and institutions may be termed as *Westernization*.

## NOTES

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## 5.9 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

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### Short-Answer Questions

1. What is universalism?
2. What is a value?
3. Define ethics.
4. What are the three levels of social environment?
5. What did Srinivas mean by book view and fields view?

### Long-Answer Questions

1. Explain Mukerjee's general theory of society.

2. Discuss the role of ethical values in social change.
3. Discuss the role of dominant castes in the Indian social fabric.
4. Analyse Sanskritization as a process of social change.

## NOTES

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### 5.10 FURTHER READING/REFERENCES

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