3. Why is a Hindu marriage considered sacred?

4. What are the two rules on which basis the choice of a partner for the union of marriage is based?

5. Explain the four *gotra* rule.

6. What is *raji khusi* marriage?

7. Elaborate on the way of acquiring a mate by 'marriage by service'.

8. Identify the three ways that divorce can be carried out as per Muslim law.

9. What are the aims of a Christian marriage?

10. What are the types of joint families?

Long-Answer Questions

1. Discuss the different forms of marriage.

2. Write a detailed note on Muslim marriage in India.

3. What are the various forms of divorce in the Muslim community? Explain.

4. Explain Hindu marriage as a religious sacrament.

5. Describe the eight forms of Hindu marriage.

6. Elaborate on the ways in which tribals can acquire a mate.

7. What has brought about the recent changes in the institution of marriage? Explain.

8. Elaborate on the structural features of the traditional joint family.

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NOTES

UNIT 5 PATTERNS OF SOCIAL CHANGE IN INDIA

Structure

5.0 INTRODUCTION

In this unit, you will learn about the process of social change.

Constant change has always been the way of nature. As Heraclitus, the Greek philosopher once remarked, one cannot step into the same river twice, since by the second time one steps in, the river has changed its direction. All human societies undergo change and it is imperative to understand that society is always in a constant state of flux. Indian society has undergone a plethora of changes right from its inception, beginning from the transformation of an agricultural society into an industrial society. With the growth and development of technology, the Indian society is now termed as information society, or knowledge society. This unit will explore the various changes in Indian society with a particular focus on the modernization of Indian traditions. This unit will also help you to understand the important processes of social change like Sanskritization and Westernization.

5.1 UNIT OBJECTIVES

After going through this unit, you will be able to:

- Understand the meaning of social change
- Assess the need to study social change
- Explain the various processes of change like Sanskritization and Westernization
- Analyse the debate on tradition and modernity or change and continuity

5.2 MEANING OF SOCIAL CHANGE

Change is ubiquitous and has always been the law of nature. Social change is a process of alterations, modifications and transformation within the social structure. This includes changes not only in the size and parts of the society, but also changes in the existing pattern of relationships between individuals, groups and the larger society.

Change is a broad concept, and changes in the structure and culture of society are initiated through internal and external sources. Social change pertains to the issues of change in established patterns of social relations, or change in social values, or change in structures and sub-system operating in society. Social change is mostly partial but could be total as well. The *International Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences* looks at change as the important alterations that occur is the social structure, or in the pattern of action and interaction in societies. Change also implies alterations in the structure and function of a social system. Institutions, patterns of interaction, work, leisure activities, roles, norms and other aspects of society can be altered over time, as a result of the process of social change.

5.3 THE NEED TO STUDY SOCIAL CHANGE

Towards the end of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century, sociologists and anthropologists were preoccupied with the problem of how societies had evolved from their original primitive state. The concept of evolution formulated by Charles Darwin in the field of biology, was applied to sociology as well. Indian sociologists are very interested in the issue of social change since Indian society is now in the process of changing itself from an agricultural society to an industrial society; from a colonial society, with emperors and monarchs to a republican society; from a society based on caste and class to a society which aims to be casteless and classless, with equality of opportunity to every citizen guaranteed by the Indian Constitution adopted in 1950. Also, the transformation of men and social relationships has been necessitated by the new social, political and economic patterns. Hence, it is an important task for the social scientists to

study how the transformation is taking place and also to analyse the nature of the obstructions which are preventing or slowing down the speed of the transformation.

5.4 SOME ALLIED CONCEPTS OF CHANGE

Social change is seen to be a neutral concept. The other two terms often mentioned along with this concept are 'evolution' and 'progress'. Evolution expresses continuity and direction of change and means more than only growth. Evolution involves something more intrinsic, a change not only in size but also in structure. Progress, on the other hand, implies change in a direction towards a final desired goal. It involves a value judgement.

Morris Ginsberg has undertaken a systematic analysis of factors which have been invoked by different writers to explain social change.

(i) The conscious desires and decisions of individuals (exemplified by development of the small or nuclear family system in Western countries)

(ii) Individual acts influenced by changing conditions

(iii) The structural changes and structural strains (Marxian analysis)

(iv) External influences

(v) Outstanding individuals or groups

(vi) A confluence or co-location of elements from different sources converging at a given point

(vii) The emergence of a common purpose

(viii) Fortuitous occurrences (Norman conquest of England, the Black Death in the 14th century, the British conquest of India, etc.)

5.5 CONTINUITY AND CHANGE AS FACT AND VALUE

Social life is proven to undergo continuous change. Much recent sociology, under the influence of functionalism, has disregarded change or has presented it in such a way as to suggest that social change is something exceptional. The emphasis has been upon stability of the social system and the system of values and beliefs, and upon consensus, rather than diversity and conflict, within each society. There are certain general conditions which cause social change, the most important being the growth of knowledge and occurrence of social conflict. Conflict as a condition of social change has played an important part in historically bringing about larger social units (Comte and Spencer recognized) in establishing or reinforcing social stratification, and in diffusing social and cultural innovations. Secondly, conflicts between groups within society have been a major source of innovation and change. Continuity in society is maintained by imparting social traditions to new generations through the process of socialization. All these factors establish social change as a fact. Social change is also regarded as a value by members of society. For instance,

in a society characterized by extreme inequalities, a change towards an egalitarian social order is valued by the poor. The 19th century classical evolutionist regards the growth of industrial society as progress. Any change in that direction was treated as a value, as is continuity. People want to preserve their customs and traditions and violently resist any attempt at change. Emile Durkheim, Talcott Parsons and others impute values to order, stability and persistence. Thus, both change and continuity are viewed as fact and value.

5.6 MEANING OF SANSKRITIZATION

Sanskritization is a special social process unique to India. As a concept, it is indebted to M.N. Srinivas coined the term in 1952 in his book, *Religion and Society Among the Coorgs of Mysore*. He substituted his earlier concept of *Brahminization* with Sanskritization. Sanskritization has occurred throughout Indian history and still continues. It represents features of religious, social and cultural change by signalling increasing social mobility and decreasing caste rigidity. Thus, it became the centre of attention for scholars of Indian society.

Srinivas defines Sanskritization as 'a process by which a low Hindu caste or tribe or other group changes its customs, ritual, ideology and way of life in the direction of a higher and frequently "twice-born" caste'. Typically, these changes result in a contention to a higher position in the caste hierarchy, which is made over a period of time, usually a generation or two, before the 'arrival' of the lower caste, tribe or group is conceded. Sanskritization is usually followed by, laying a claim to be from a higher caste than the caste in question, but this upward progression can also occur without Sanskritization and vice versa. However, the mobility associated with Sanskritization results only in positional changes in the system and does not lead to any structural change.

Sanskritization can occur by adopting habits of vegetarianism, teetotalism, the worship of 'Sanskritic deities', or by engaging Brahmins for rituals. Sanskritization can apply to rituals and custom, or to ideas and beliefs. It is essential ingredient is the imitation of behaviour and beliefs associated with higher status groups.(Stall,1963)

Srinivas also confirmed that Sanskritization is not limited to the Hindus. He concluded that it also occurs among tribal and semi-tribal groups such as the Bhils of western India, the Gonds and Oraons of central India, and the Pahadis of the Himalayas. The process usually results in the tribe, which is undergoing Sanskritization, claiming to be a caste and therefore, Hindu. In the traditional system, the only way to become a Hindu was to be a member of a caste and the unit of mobility was usually a group, not an individual or family.

5.6.1 Brahminization to Sanskritization

The process of social mobility among castes was first referred to as Brahminization by Srinivas. He discarded the term Brahminization as a substitute for sanskritization,

since some of the vedic rites are the privilege of Brahmins and other twice-born castes and therefore cannot be imitated by others.(Stall,1963). However, Sanskritization is a broader term than Brahminization. Srinivas even found that the lower castes were motivated to imitate the customs of Brahmins in Mysore and it was a general tendency among the lower castes to imitate the higher caste cultural way of life. In fact, in some cases the higher castes were non-Brahmins, i.e., Kshatriyas, Jats or Vaishyas with subsequent regional variation. In this context, Brahminization seemed to be a narrow term to explain such a huge process of cultural and social mobility.

5.6.2 Models of Sanskritization

We will now explore the involvement of various caste groups in the process of Sanskritization. Srinivas unduly stressed on the Brahminical model of Sanskritization in his book on Coorg Religion and *Note on Sanskritization and Westernization*, and he ignored the other Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra models. He derived the Brahminical model from the Kannada, Tamil and Telugu Brahmins and not from Brahmins of other regions. D.F. Pocock has pointed out the role of the kingly model in the process of Sanskritization and also the existence of a Kshatriya model in addition to the Brahminical model. Srinivas observes that, apart from the kingly models, other models are adopted by locally dominant castes and the concept of dominant caste supplements in some ways the concept of Sanskritization. (Srinivas, 1972). Milton Singer has also agreed to the fact that there exist three models of Sanskritization.

Among the 'twice-born' varnas, the Brahmins are quite particular about the performance of rites so they are regarded as 'better models' of Sanskritization by Srinivas. The cultural content of each varna, however, varies from one area to another and from one time period to another. The diversity is generally far greater at the lower levels of varna hierarchy than at the highest.

M. N. Srinivas has also pointed out the diversity in the Brahmin varna. In the first place, some elements of the local culture are common to all the castes living in a region, from the highest to the lowest. For instance, the Brahmins and the Harijans of a region would speak the same language, celebrate common festivals and share certain local deities and beliefs. Srinivas calls this 'vertical solidarity' and it contrasts with 'horizontal solidarity' which members of a single caste or varna have. On the other hand, there may also be cultural differences in the same caste or varna. Some of the Brahmins like the Kashmiri, Saraswat and Bengali are non-vegetarians, while some of the Brahmins are more Sanskritized than the others. Moreover, there is considerable occupational diversity between different Brahmins. For instance, Brahmins of Punjab and parts of western Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan have a low secular status and several Brahmins in Gujarat, Bengal and Mysore are considered ritually low.

However, it can be said that the Kshatriya, Vaishya and Shudra Varnas draw more from their culture and from local areas than from the Brahmins. There

are profound cultural and ritual differences between castes claiming to be Kshatriyas and Vaishyas in various parts of the country. K.N. Pannikar rejected the idea of a Kshatriya caste and believed that the Nandas were the last 'true' Kshatriyas who disappeared in the 5th century BC and since then every known family had come from a non-Kshatriya caste.

The variation in the varna model becomes more explicit when we look at the Shudras. At one extreme are the dominant peasant landowning castes which wield power and authority over other castes, whereas at the other extreme we find the poor, near-untouchable groups living just above the poverty line. This category includes artisans and serving castes. Again, some shudras have a highly Sanskritized life while others have a less Sanskritized one. However, the dominant caste always provides models for imitation irrespective of whether or not it is Sanskritized.

5.6.3 The Role of the Dominant Caste

Srinivas observed that dominant castes have always facilitated the process of Sanskritization. The concept of dominant caste was introduced by Srinivas and refers to those caste groups who occupy a dominant position in a local area or village due to certain factors. The factors of establishing dominance in a village are ownership of cultivable land, strength in numbers, and a high position in local hierarchy. Srinivas discovered that occasionally there may be one dominant caste in a village competing with another for the highest status — which was a feature in pre-British India.

The new factors for establishing dominance, as noted by Srinivas, were modern education, jobs in administration and urban sources of income. The advent of means of communication, Panchayati Raj, introduction of universal adult franchise, etc., also had an impact. Nowadays, the concept of village dominance is tending to be substituted by the idea of dominance of a caste.

In rural India, landowning has always been a crucial factor in establishing dominance. The power and prestige which landowning castes command, affects their relations with other castes, including those that may be ritually higher. In Punjab, the landowning Jats look upon the Brahmins as their servants, and Madhopur village in eastern UP is an example of this. This inconsistency in the caste society due to the existence of dominant castes is stressed by Biedelman. A prominent feature of caste hierarchy is the occasional difference between secular and ritual rank. If only secular criteria is considered, a Brahmin may occupy a very low position. However, he is still a Brahmin and hence entitled to respect in the ritual context. For instance, a millionaire Gujarati bania may not enter the kitchen where his Brahmin cook works, for this would pollute the Brahmin and the cooking utensils.

The growth of the various models of sanskritization are mediated or channelled through the local dominant castes, stressing the importance of the latter in the process of cultural transmission. Thus, if a local dominant caste is a Brahmin

or a Lingayat it will tend to transmit a Brahminical model of Sanskritization. On the other hand, if it is a Rajput or Bania, it will transmit the Kshatriya or Vaishya model.

Two distinct tendencies are implicit in the caste system as noted by Srinivas. The first is an acceptance of the existence of multiple cultures, including moral and religious norms, in any local society. This acceptance also gives rise to the feeling that some customs, beliefs and traditions are predominant in a specific group while others are not. The other tendency which prevails within the caste system is the imitation of the ways of the higher castes. Pocock is essentially right when he observes one local section of a caste imitating another local section. The Sanskritization of the Patidars, for instance, owes much to great traditions such as the pilgrimages to religious places and the influence of the Vallabhachari and Swaminarayan sects.

Srinivas even found that the elders of the dominant caste in a village were the watchdogs of pluralistic culture and the value system. The role of the dominant caste is also to stimulate in the lower castes, a desire to imitate the dominant caste's own prestigious style of life. However, the influence of dominant castes seems to extend to all areas of social life, including the principle of descent and affiliation. Thus, two partilineal trading castes, the Tarakans and Mannadiyars, gradually changed in about 120 to 150 years from patriliny to matriliny.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

1. Differentiate between progress and evolution.

2. Who coined the term Sanskritization?

3. What does Sanskritization represent?

4. How can Sanskritization take place?

5. What was considered the traditional way to become a Hindu?

6. Why did Srinivas discard the term Brahminization for Sanskritization?

7. Who did K.N. Pannikar consider the last 'true' Kshatriya caste?

8. Which factors establish dominance in a village?

9. What were the new factors for establishing dominance?

5.7 WESTERNIZATION

M. N. Srinivas used the term 'Westernization' to indicate the changes which took place in India during the British Rule in the 19th and early 20th century. Srinivas defined the term Westernization to characterize the changes brought about in Indian society and culture as a result of 150 years of British rule, and the term includes changes occurring at different levels, including technology, institutions, ideology,

and values. (Srinivas, 1966). He considers such changes as important in the context of changes that a non-Western country undergoes as a result of its contact with a Western country. Westernization is therefore a process of cultural change.

There is however much difference between Westernization and similar processes like industrialization. There is evidence of the existence of cities in the pre-industrial world. Though Westernization is more prevalent in large cities, keeping in view the complex nature of Indian society some people in rural areas are also Westernized. Westernization leads to the induction of new institutions (such as newspapers, elections, Christian missions, etc.) and also brings about necessary changes in older institutions. There are certain value preferences like humanitarianism and rationalism implicit in Westernization. Such values became instrumental in bringing about many changes and reforms in Indian society. According to Srinivas, the increase in Westernization does not retard the process of Sanskritization. In fact, both go on simultaneously and, to some extent, an increase in Westernization accelerates the process of Sanskritization.

5.7.1 Westernization and Modernization

There has been lot of debate regarding application of the term 'modernization' to 'Westernization'. Daniel Lerner used the term 'modernization' in his book *The Passing of Traditional Society, Modernising the Middle-East* (1958), to the changes brought about in non-western countries by contact, direct or indirect, with a Western country. The term 'Westernization', unlike 'modernization', is ethically neutral, i.e., it does not carry an implication of good or bad. Westernization, however, is an inclusive and many-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. Its incredible complexity is seen in the fact that different aspects of Westernization sometimes combine to strengthen a particular process, sometimes work at cross-purposes, and are occasionally mutually discrete. (Srinivas,1966). For instance, Indians used to eat their meals sitting on the floor and observed a number of restrictions within the entire process from cooking the food to serving it. However, in today's day and age, educated and westernized people prefer to eat at tables.

The concept of modernization is plagued with a number of difficulties. Modernization is a comprehensive process of transformation of the traditional society, involving far reaching changes in all aspects of individual life. It symbolizes rational attitudes towards issues and their evolution from a universalistic (and not particularistic) viewpoint. In contemporary India, both modernization and Westernization exist and are easily observed. While modernization refers to a complete transformation in attitudes, including value patterns, Westernization on the other hand, may not lead to transformation. e.g., Westernization in behaviour patterns does not mean Westernization of value preferences and a scientific outlook. In this regard, Srinivas has given an appropriate example of a government bulldozer driver in Rampura village in Mysore. While on one hand, he drove the bulldozer,

on the other hand he also practiced black magic. In fact there was no inconsistency between driving a bulldozer for his livelihood and indulging in black magic for pleasure. Thus the utilization of Western technology does not mean that people have become more rational and scientific.

Hence, Srinivas prefers to use the term Westernization to modernization, whereas other scholars like Lerner and others prefer modernization. Srinivas believes that modernization presupposes rationality of goals which in the ultimate analysis cannot be taken for granted, since human ends are based on value preferences and rationality could only be expected of the means, and not the ends, of social action. (Srinivas,1966)

5.7.2 Westernization and Socio-Cultural Changes

Westernization in India took place in different forms, and with sub-regional variations. The various changes due to Westernization are as follows:

Educational field

With Westernization, English education became popular. The Brahmins, and other castes with traditional education methods, shifted to secular education with English as a medium of instruction. School education was open to everyone, irrespective of caste, creed or colour. English education motivated the youth to take up occupations in the government sector and other commercial concerns. Moreover, Western education brought about a change in the outlook and perception of people. Values like equality and humanitarianism were internalized, and this promoted a secular outlook. While traditional education promoted uncritical acceptance of ancient works, Western education promoted rationalism and a critical outlook towards events and problems. (Kuppuswamy,1993)

Lifestyle

Westernization implied and led to changes in the style of life, dress habits, food manners, etc. The Westernized groups adopted a Western style of living and gave up their inhibitions for various types of food. For instance, Brahmins were forbidden from eating meat but such inhibitions were given up later. Western music, dance and dress were adopted by Indians who were Westernized.

Political and cultural field

Westernization resulted in not only nationalism, but also to other thoughts and behaviours such as revivalism, communalism, casteism, heightened awareness of linguistics, and regionalism. Even revivalist movements used Western-type schools and colleges, as well as books, pamphlets and journals to propagate their ideas. The process of Westernization intensified when India became independent. The extension of agriculture and trading frontiers broke the centuries old isolation of groups that inhabited the forested mountains, and provided them with new contacts and opportunities. The development of communication and the removal of internal customs barriers, integrated the economy of the various regions in the country into

a single one. (Srinivas, 1966). The political and administrative integration of India, along with development of transport and communication, increased social and spatial mobility for the elite as well as the masses. This created the grounds for nationwide Westernization.

5.7.3 Relation between Sanskritization and Westernization

Thus, it becomes evident that Sanskritization and Westernization are both processes of cultural change. Even Srinivas reiterated the fact that social changes occurring in modern India in terms of Sanskritization and Westernization, are primarily changes in cultural terms and not in structural terms. We will now analyse the relationship between the two terms.

Sanskritization and Westernization, in the logical sense, are truth-asserting concepts, which oscillate between the logics of ideal-typical and nominal definitions of phenomena. (Zetterberg, 1965). Hence their connotation is often vague, especially as one moves from one level of cultural reality to another.

While Sanskritization or Brahminization puts a taboo on meat-eating and alchohol consumption, Westernization is supportive of meat-eating and consumption of alchohol. The highly Westernized Brahmins shed their inhibitions about these two issues.

The Sanskritization process promotes the sacred outlook, while Westernization promotes the secular outlook. The conflict, however, is removed by the constitution which is secular in outlook and emphasis, though the sacred outlook continues to be dominant among the elite as well as the masses.

Sanskritization and westernization are founded upon empirical observations and offer objective insight into various aspects of cultural change. Difficulties arise from the complexity of the contextual frame.

Yogendra Singh maintains that there are theoretical loopholes in these concepts. He makes a reference to E.B. Harper who treats Sanskritization as a functional concept, which is distinct from the historical concept of change.

5.8 TRADITION AND MODERNITY IN INDIA

The concept of tradition has always occupied an important place in Indian sociological thought. Indian sociologists have often ventured to acquire deeper knowledge of social phenomena prevailing in the country. According to D.P. Mukherji, there is no getting away from tradition for Indian sociologists. This is so, especially because their role is to study the principles that govern social life in India, common living, common sharing of social heritage and the continuity of social structure, in order to guide the future course of the country whose culture is 'eternal'.(Majumdar,1961)

The concept of tradition has been defined by many sociologists, social anthropologists and indologists; however, none have defined it clearly. D.P.

Mukherji however, pleads for a philosophical approach in order to improve the understanding of society. Yogendra Singh contends that tradition means value, i.e., themes encompassing the entire social system of Indian society, prior to the beginning of modernization, were organized on the principles of hierarchy, holism, continuity and transcendence. These four value-themes were deeply interlocked with other elements of Indian social structure. Hierarchy was evident in the caste system with caste and sub-caste stratifications and also in Hindu concepts of human nature, occupational life cycles (ashramas) and moral duties (*Dharma*). (Singh,1986)

Holism meant a relationship between individuals and groups in which the former was encompassed by the latter in respect of duties and rights. The collective aspect always occupied an important place in the life of the individual. The collective life was reinforced in the traditional social structure of India in terms of family, caste, village community, etc. The traditional values were never challenged at the cost of rationality derived from non-sacred principles of evaluation. D.P. Mukherji's concept of Indian society is a derivative of what he calls 'the philosophy of Indian history' which remained unrecorded. But it has a history of ideas exemplified in the daily conduct of its people. Indian culture, essentially being social, has a history expressed in Indian society. The history, economics and philosophy of India had always centred on social groups. (D.P. Mukherji, 1958)

The concept of tradition has different connotations for Indian sociologists. Ram Krishna Mukherji regards tradition as 'the schematic point in organism' (in the context of Indian society) which can be used as a comparative frame of reference for measuring social change in India. He further stated that Indian traditions provide four dimensions of integration in our people. Social change is almost a variation on this intra-India static four dimensional model: the place where an Indian is born, where he is brought up and dies, the kin group to which a person belongs, the caste to which he is affiliated, and finally the linguistic region with which he is integrated. (R.K. Mukherji,1965)

Moreover, R.K. Mukherji quoted D.P. Mukherji to emphasize the economic aspect of structural change which can have a significant impact and bring about an alteration, 'Traditions have great power of resistance and absorption'.Unless the influence is very powerful (which is possible only when modes of production are changed), traditions survive through adjustments. The capacity to adjust is a measure of the vitality of tradition. Indian sociologists should precede the socialist interpretations of changes in the Indian tradition in terms of economic forces. (R.K. Mukherji,1965)

Yogendra Singh, has however come out with a paradigmatic concept of tradition in his book, *Modernization of Indian tradition*. He refers to traditions as evolving from primordial tradition to modernization with a pattern of change in quality. His concept of Indian tradition, contrary to the meta-social views, is analytical as indicated in a unified worldview, ritual styles and belief systems. He does not delineate tradition as entity or substance, but as a variable identified under the

components of little and great traditions, contributing extensively to the process of transformation and synthesis. Y. Singh refers to two kinds of changes — 'orthogenetic changes' (primary) and 'heterogenetic changes' (secondary). While orthogenetic changes refer to those changes within the cultural tradition of India itself, heterogenetic changes refer to changes brought about due to contact with other traditions.

The evolutionary process of modernization is a smooth one, and there is no serious breakdown in the system caused by institutionalization of modernizing changes. Caste, as an institution however, has the potential for negotiating with modernizing trends and adapting to modern institutions. Yogendra Singh is concerned about the constant coordination of modernization with conciliation as an assumed pre-requisite for democratic modernization in India.

Modernization, in its initial stages in India, according to Eisenstadt did not lead to any serious system breakdown because of the peculiar structural characteristics of the Indian society. Here, the cultural system was fairly independent of the political system. Modernity in India developed as a sub-structure and sub-culture without subsequent expansion in all sectors of life. However, Y. Singh's main concern was with structural changes which would take place due to modernization. Inconsistencies have arisen due to structural changes that India has undergone during the post-colonial phase of modernization. Micro-structures like caste, family and village community have retained their traditional character. Caste per se has shown unexpected elasticity and latent potential for adaptation with modern institutions, such as democratic participation, political party organization and trade unionism. This is even though joint family and particularistic norms continue to prevail. These contradictions are magnified at the level of macro-structures such as the political system, bureaucracy, elite structure, industry and economy.

In fact, the major potential sources of breakdown in the process of modernization in India can be attributed to structural inconsistencies such as democratisation without spread of civic culture (education), bureaucratization without commitment to universalistic norms, rise in media participation and aspiration without proportionate increase in resources and distributive justice, verbalization of a welfare ideology without diffusion into the social structure.(Eisenstadt,1966)

At the outset, it must be said that there has been considerable modernization of Indian traditions and constant adaptation with the process of modernization. There has been no breakdown in the traditional value systems, rather it can be said that there has been a discontinuity between expectation and performance. Y. Singh would deny a policy of controlled suppression in favour of a 'series of conciliatory steps through a forceful strategy of mobilization'. This would lead him to accept that the chances of institutional breakdown are minimal on the Indian scene. (Y. Singh,1986). There is in fact a rational coordination instead of complete reliance on modernization.

CHECK YOUR PROGRESS

10. List two differences between Sanskritization and Westernization.

11. Which four dimensions do Indian traditions provide as a means to integrate the people?

5.9 SUMMARY

- Social change is a process of alterations, modifications and transformation within the social structure. Indian sociologists have always been interested in the issue of social change since Indian society is constantly changing itself from an agricultural society to an industrial society; from a colonial society, with emperors and monarchs to a republican society; and from a society based on caste and class to a society which aims to be casteless and classless, with equality of opportunity to every citizen guaranteed by the Indian Constitution.

- Sanskritization is a special social process unique to India. It represents features of religious, social and cultural change by signalling increasing social mobility and decreasing caste rigidity. Thus, it was the centre of attention for scholars of Indian society.

- Westernization characterises the changes brought about in Indian society and culture as a result of 150 years of British rule, and includes changes occurring at different levels including technology, institutions, ideology, and values.

- Even though Westernization and Sanskritization have impacted traditional Indian society a great deal, there is no getting away from tradition for the Indian sociologist. Although there has been considerable modernization of Indian traditions there has been no breakdown in the traditional value systems; rather it can be said that there has been a harmonious co-existence of tradition with modernity.

5.10 KEY TERMS

- **Evolution:** Continuity and direction of change
- **Progress:** Change in a direction towards a final desired goal
- **Sanskritization:** A process by which a low Hindu caste or tribe or other group changes its customs, ritual, ideology and way of life in the direction of a higher caste.
- **Dominant castes:** Caste groups which occupy a dominant position in a local area or village due to certain factors

- **Westernization:** The changes which took place in India during the British rule in the 19th and early 20th century
- **Modernization:** A complete transformation in attitudes, including value patterns
- **Holism:** A relationship between individuals and groups in which the former was encompassed by the latter in respect of duties and rights

5.11 ANSWERS TO 'CHECK YOUR PROGRESS'

1. Progress is change in direction towards a final desired goal whereas evolution expresses continuity and direction of change.
2. M.N. Srinivas coined the term 'Sanskritization'.
3. Sanskritization represents features of religious, social and cultural change by signalling increasing social mobility and decreasing caste rigidity.
4. Sanskritization takes place by adopting habits like vegetarianism, teetotalism and the worship of Sanskritic deities.
5. The traditional way of becoming a Hindu was by being a member of a caste.
6. Srinivas discarded the term Brahminization as a substitute for Sanskritization, since some of the vedic rites are the privilege of Brahmins and other twice-born castes and therefore cannot be imitated by others.
7. Nandas were considered as the last 'true' Kshatriya caste by Pannikar.
8. Ownership of cultivable land, strength in numbers and a high position in local hierarchy were the factors that established dominance of a caste in the village.
9. Modern education, jobs in administration and urban sources of income were the modern factors for establishing dominance.
10. Sanskritization discourages eating non vegetarian food, while Westernization supports this. Sanskritization promotes the sacred outlook while westernization promotes the secular outlook.
11. Place in which a person is born, where he is brought up and dies, the caste he is affiliated with and the linguistic region with which he is integrated are the four dimensions to integrate people.

5.12 QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short-Answer Questions

1. List the factors as per Morris Ginsberg that can explain social change.
2. Define Sanskritization as per M.N. Srinivas's definition.

3. Write a short note on the dominant caste as introduced by Srinivas.

4. Outline what is included within the concept of Westernization.

5. Give three examples of Westernization in India.

6. Identify the changes that have taken place in Indian society due to Westernization.

Long-Answer Questions

1. 'Change and continuity are viewed as fact and value'. Do you agree? Discuss.

2. Elaborate on the three models of Sanskritization.

3. How can Westernization be considered a process of cultural change? Explain.

4. Analyse the relationship between Sanskritization and Westernization.

5.13 FURTHER READING

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