NORTH INDIAN INTELLECTUALS:
PERCEPTIONS AND IMAGES OF MODERNIZATION*

YOGENDRA K. MALIK

Early studies of modernization placed emphasis on the historical and institutional aspects[1] of societies and divided these societies into "traditional" and "modern" — "modern" being primarily western societies while the non-western societies were termed as "traditional."[2] But this approach has led to scholarly controversies which have raised serious doubts about the acceptability of the term modernization for a compa-- rative study of societies.[3] Consequently, empirical studies of modernization have focused on the attitudinal and behavioral aspects of this process. For example, using social-psychological techniques in the Middle East, Daniel Lerner observed that a modern man is characterized

[1] Cyril E. Black, *The Dynamics of Modernization* (New York, Harper and Row, 1966). Danwart A. Rustow, *A World of Nations* (Washington, Brookings Institution, 1967). Samuel P. Huntington, *Political Order in Changing Societies* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1968).

[2] Frank X. Sutton, "Social Theory and Comparative Politics," in H. Eckstein and David Apter, (eds.), *Comparative Politics: A Reader* (New York, John Wiley, 1963) pp. 67-81. Lucian W. Pye, *Aspects of Political Development*, (Boston, Little Brown, 1966).

[3] For a general criticism of the concept of modernization see Reinhard Bendix, "Tradition and Modernity Reconsidered," *Comparative Studies*

by an empathetic attitude. And Lerner states that "empathy . . . is the capacity to see oneself in the other fellow's situation."[4] An empathetic individual is achievement oriented and has his own opinions on public matters. In another study on modernization, Kenneth Sherill draws from various sources to present ten attitudinal characteristics of a modern political man: identification with national political community, capability to make distinction between personal and political relations, possession of a strong ego, trust in government and people, etc.[5] And in what is probably one of the most authoritative studies on the subject, Alex Inkeles and David Smith in *Becoming Modern: Individual Change in Six Developing Countries* contend that "employment in complex, rationalized, technocratic, and even bureaucratic organization has particular capabilities to change men so that they move from the more traditional to the more modern role in their attitudes, values and behavior."[6] Inkeles and Smith believe that modernization is an ongoing process and that individuals continue to acquire attitudes throughout their life cycles. Inkeles and Smith see the openness to new experiences, readiness for social growth of opinion, high level of information, efficiency, planning, calculability, occupational and educational aspirations, etc., as the attitudes of a modern man.

Furthermore, in analyzing the modern process of traditional society most scholars have placed special emphasis on the role of the Western-educated intellectuals and these intellectuals have been termed as the "executants and the spirit"[8] of modernization. Furthermore, it is asserted that western-educated intellectual elites are committed to cultural values which are not in tune with the traditions of their native

in Society and History, Vol. IX (April, 1967) pp. 292-346. Lloyd and Susan Rudolph, *The Modernity of Tradition* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1967); and Joseph R. Guesfield, "Tradition and Modernity: Misplaced Polarities in the Study of Social Change," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. IXXXII (Jan. 1966), pp. 351-362; and for a general review of the literature on this area, see Samuel P. Huntington, "The Change to Change: Modernization, Development and Politics," *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 3, No. 3, (April 1971) pp. 283-322.

   [4] Daniel Lerner, *The Passing of Traditional Society: Modernizing the Middle East* (New York, Free Press, 1958) p. 50.

   [5] Kenneth Shrill, "The Attitudes of Modernity," *Comparative Politics*, Vol. I, No. 2 (Jan. 1969), pp. 209-210.

   [6] Alex Inkeles and David H. Smith, *Becoming Modern: Individual Change in Six Developing Countries* (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1974); p. 6.

   [7] *Ibid.*, pp. 15-35.

   [8] Edward Shils, "Demagogues and Cadres in the Political Development of the New Nations," in Lucian W. Pye (ed.), *Communications and Political Development* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1969) p. 73.

culture.[9] And because modern values are acquired through a foreign language, values remain "foreign" to these societies.[10]

But virtually all these studies have ignored the role of vernacular speaking intellectuals in the modernization process of the new nations. In ancient societies like India, along with the English-speaking intellectuals, there also existed "traditional" intellectuals who expressed themselves through native languages. In such societies, these traditional intellectuals continue to constitute one of the most important links between the western educated intelligentsia and the mass of the people. And it is this group which absorbs the ideas, values and symbols which are borrowed from other cultures and then gradually passes them on to the members of their own societies: they serve as the society's transmission belts.

Because the modernization process involves the interaction between two different types of cultures, the traditional intellectuals act as agents of acculturation. As the ongoing process of industrialization produces a decline of the traditional values and authority patterns based upon ascriptive and sacred norms, numerous discontinuities and tensions in the culture of the society develop. Thus, it is the vernacular speaking intelligentsia which plays a pivotal role in bridging the gaps between the traditional and the modern value systems. But despite their important role, we have only minimal knowledge about the degree of internalization and personalization of modern values of this group.

In accordance with the arguments stated above, I plan to test the following propositions in this paper:

(1) Because of their background in the humanities and their traditional heritage, these "traditional" intellectuals place a greater emphasis on selective borrowing from other cultures. They are likely to be committed to the co-existence of traditional and modern values in the society.

(2) The intellectual's vocation has a significant impact on his perception of modernization.

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[9] Edward Shils, *The Intellectual Between Tradition and Modernity: The Indian Situation Supplement I Comparative Studies in Society and History* (The Hague, Mouton, 1969) p. 10.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 11.

(3) Both the higher level of education and the greater exposure to foreign cultures of these intelligentsia lead to the development of an attitude of ambivalence toward the native culture as well as toward westernization.

(4) Ideological orientations and attitudes toward modernization are likely to be positively related.

(5) The simple acceptance of science and technology is not likely to result in the intellectual's negation of traditional values.

Methodology

In this study, the term "intellectual" is defined in a more restrictive and narrow sense than it is by Edward Shils and others. This study focuses on the "creative intellectuals," the "men of ideas,"[11] or what Reinhold Neibuhr has called the "more articulate members of the community, more particularly those who are professionally or vocationally articulate, in church and school, in journalism and the arts."[12] Therefore, we are concentrating on those intellectuals who are engaged in writing, journalism, and research in the humanities or social sciences and who express themselves in the Hindu language.

A list of 350 intellectuals was prepared through the use of *Sahitiyek Kosh*[13] (*Directory of Hindi Literatures, Writers, and Journalists*) and through the following criteria: institutional leadership, position, and reputation. All of the intellectuals were contacted; however, thirty forms were returned because some of these individuals had died, others had moved, and some had refused to fill out the forms. Of the remaining 320 intellectuals 161 responded. The author personally interviewed eighty of them and the rest returned the completed questionnaire by mail.

The intellectuals interviewed for this study have been divided into five categories: "creative" intellectuals, college and university teachers,

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[11] For a discussion, see G. Eric Hanson, "Intellect and Power: Some Notes on the Intellectual Type," *Journal of Politics*, Vol. 31, No. 2 (May, 1969), pp. 311-328.

[12] Reinhold Niebuhr, "Liberals and the Marxist Heresy," in George B. de Huszar (ed.), *The Intellectuals: A Controversial Portrait*, (New York, The Free Press of Glencoe, 1960), p. 302.

[13] O. M. Prakash and Krishna Kumari (eds.), *Sahitiyek Kosh* (*New Delhi*, Sahitya Samaroh, 1973).

journalists and editors, and administrators and scholars. However, categories are not mutually exclusive. For purposes of comparison the intellectuals have been divided into different groups on the basis of their areas of specialization. Thus, novelists, poets, short story writers have been classified as creative intellectuals even though they may be employed by universities, newspapers, and government agencies. The university and college teachers include only those intellectuals who have made no significant literary contributions while those intellectuals who are mainly engaged in research and writing, inside or outside of the universities, have been classified as scholars. Those who head academies, government bureaus, and agencies and work in ministries of broadcasting, information and education, but they perform work only in specialized areas relevant to Hindi have been termed as administrators. The category of journalists and editors include only those intellectuals who have produced no works of abiding literary value and who are employed by newspapers. In this classification, I was helped by the respondents themselves, who were asked not only to identify their occupations, but also to group themselves in one of the categories mentioned above. I also used *Sahitiyek Kosh* and other relevant sources to determine their creative activities and occupational classifications.

I preferred to use open-ended over closed-ended questions, though the latter are easier to code and analyze. By using mainly open-ended questions, the respondents were given more freedom to develop their own thoughts on the topics under discussion. At the same time, this technique afforded me an opportunity to use intensive interviewing and to question the respondents in depth where I needed greater clarification. Although the tasks of coding and analyzing data collected from open-ended questionnaires are highly difficult[14] great caution was exercised in coding the data, and the code was formulated only after reading the responses several times. If, however, the findings reported in this study may be termed by a sophisticated methodologist as "suggestive" rather than "definitive" or "conclusive," I have no objection.

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[14] On this point, see Heinz Eulau, W. Buchanan, Leroy Ferguson and John C. Wahlke, "The Political Socialization of American State Legislators," *Midwest Journal of Political Science,* Vol. 3, No. 2 (May, 1959) p. 190 and Robert Putnam, *The Beliefs of Politicians Ideology, Conflict and Democracy in Britain and Italy* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1973), p. .

In order to give greater authenticity to the views and greater insight into the thinking of the intellectuals, the first part of this essay will be composed of extensive quotations obtained from the question-naires. Many of the phrases, remarks, or symbolic expressions cited are provided to give us more insight into the state of mind of the inter-viewees. This approach of reporting the findings about their subjects has been fruitfully used by Robert E. Lane, Bernard E. Brown, Erwin Hargrove and others.[15] In the second part of the essay, I have presented a statistical analysis of the coded material using the chi square test to test the propositions stated above.

Varieties in the Images and Perceptions of a Modernized India
Acceptance of Science and Technology

A careful analysis of the responses show that the Hindi-speaking intellectuals favor the acceptance of science and the adoption of tech-nology to solve the problems of contemporary India. Table I gives the distribution of intellectuals' responses with respect to their images of a modernized India. More han eighty-six per cent of the intellectuals perceive a scientifically and technologically oriented India as their ideal type. And a positive attitude towards the adaption of modern science and technology to the Indian situation is expressed both in direct and indirect terms. One intellectual offers this opinion:

> The modern age is a scientific age. In my view, therefore, mo-dernization means acceptance of science and technology without re-servation. If modernization means science and technology, I accept it . . . If, however, modernization means westernization, I reject it without reservations.

15 See, for example, Bernard E. Brown, "Elite Attitudes and Political Legitimacy in France," *Journal of Politics*, Vol. 31, No. 2 (May, 1969), pp. 420-442. Erwin C. Hargrove, "Nationality, Values, and Change: Young Elite in French Canada," *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (April, 1970), pp. 473-499. "Tradition and Change in England: Innovators in Profes-sion and Policy," *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 4, No. 4 (July, 1974), pp. 531-560. And, Robert Lane, *Political Ideology* (New York, The Free Press of Glencoe, 1962).

TABLE I

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES CONCERNING IMAGES OF A MODERN INDIA

Type of Response	Percentage of the Intellectuals Who Mentioned	Number
Acceptance of Science and Technology	86.3	(139)
Rationalization of Indian Culture	78.9	(127)
India should have its Own Model of Development	57.8	(93)
Rejection of Westernization of India	39.8	(64)
Industrialization of India	37.3	(60)
Synthesization of India and Western Ideas and Values	29.8	(48)
Reassertion and Revival of Indian Values	12.4	(20)
Complete Westernization of India	3.7	(6)
Complete Revolution in India	7.5	(12)

Positive responses such as these are frequent; however, these intellectuals also make a distinction between the use of science and technology for industrial purposes, for the purpose of consumption of industrial products, and for the development of a scientific attitude. The consumption of industrial products, the use of modern gadgets (i.e. televisions, radios and cars), and the adoption of western appearances do not make a man "modern." According to one Indian scholar:

> Without adopting a scientific attitude, a rational outlook of life, we cannot achieve modernization of our society.

Following this line, an editor of a monthly literary magazine commented:

> Modernity for me does not exist in appearances, dress, or style of living. Living in simple and traditional ways would not contradict modernity. For me, modernity exists in mind and actions. Tolerance of (different) opinions, openness of mind, acceptance of new ideas . . . all these are (for me) elements of modernity. Many industrialists and businessmen (including my employers) are modern only in their living rooms . . . They restrain us from attacking our useless traditions through our articles or literary works . . . They put up industries but do not want to stir up social controversies.

The intellectuals' concern about the attitudinal aspects of modernization has important relevance to the situation existing in India. The new rich class in India is eager to adopt western life styles, but social values and attitudes remain tied to the useless traditions of the past. Because they have not adopted a scientific and rational outlook of life, these intellectuals are afraid that technological achievements may be used to strengthen traditions and may lead to wasteful spending. They also make a distinction between themselves, separating those intellectuals who, despite their somewhat traditional life style, have adopted a rational outlook, and the new rich class of businessmen who appear to have adopted a western life style, but still live in a world dominated by traditional values.

Rationalization of Indian Culture and Social Structure

With the acceptance of science and technology and the adoption of a scientific attitude, it is no surprise to find out that an overwhelming number of intellectuals do not seek revolutionary change in Indian society; they seek rationalization of its structure. They seem to place emphasis on "the principle of selective retention"[16] and do not find any contradiction between "tradition" and "modernity." Actually, they seem to believe that the adoption of modernity along with the preservation of a rationalized structure of Indian traditions and culture is the only type of natural change for the society. According to the editor of the Hindi daily newspaper:

> In my opinion, India should stay conservative so that its feet are on the ground, but it should develop a modern outlook. There should come out new leaves out of an old tree, this tree should stay alive; it should not die.

There is a willingness to incorporate new elements from other and more dynamic cultures while not allowing such borrowing from other cultures to destroy the "basic fabric" of Indian society.

One poet commented:

> I would like only those changes in our society which do not disturb our basic institutional structure, otherwise we will be faced with an anarchic situation.

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[16] For a discussion of this concept, see Donald T. Campbell, "Variation and Selective Retention in Socio-cultural Evolution," in Herbert R. Barringer, George I. Blanksten, and Raymond W. Mack, (eds.), *Social Change in Developing Areas* (Cambridge, Mass., Schenkman and Company, 1965), pp. 19-49.

A desire to rationalize the traditional social structure, in itself, rules out the possibility of a total change in the society. These individuals definitely do not agree with Manfred Halpern who argues that the revolution of modernization "involves the transformation of all systems by which man organizes his society — the political, social, economic, religious and psychological systems."[17] The intellectuals do express a degree of dissatisfaction with the traditional social structure; however, throughout different interviews, I could hardly discern any *total* rejection of the Indian social structure. Further, I noted a strong sense of identificaion with "things Indian." Even some of the Marxists and progressive authors who prefer revolutionary over evolutionary methods of social change, do not find any contradiction between traditional and modern values. A well-known Marxist literary critic observed:

> There is no contradiction between traditions and modernity . . . We should not give up positive elements of our culture. We have long standing traditions of humanistic values, they should be preserved. We should develop India on the basis of our historic traditions.

Referring to Edward Shils' observations about the Indian intellectuals' dilemma as regards tradition and modernity,[18] an historian observed:

> An Indian should be truly an Indian. He should be able to remove the distortions which have overtaken us. (M.K.) Gandhi (Balgangadhar) Tilak and (Rabindranath) Tagore were true Indians. They preserved Indian traditions and accepted from West whatever was essential and useful for us. Traditions and modernity are not exclusive. Traditions have their own values. Edward Shils' approach is completely misplaced. Traditions can be reconciled with modernity.

Gandhi, Tilak, and Tagore are seen as "ideal modernizers" because they reinterpreted Indian traditions to meet the challenges of modernity. Furthermore, it is asserted that "they brought out what is the best in Indian culture without the 'perversions' of western life style." In part, these intelligentsia reject Nehru because he, in their opinion, tried to imitate the West. This was also the reason why he failed to use traditional symbols to achieve modern goals, as Gandhi had done.

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[17] Manfred Halpern, "Towards Further Modernization of the Study of New Nations," *World Politics,* Vol. 17, No. 1 (Oct., 1964), p. 173.
[18] The work referred to is Edward Shils, *The Intellectual Between Tradition and Modernity: The Indian Situation: Supplement I, Comparative Studies in Society and History* (The Hague, Mouton, 1961).

Some of the intellectuals look upon culture as a dynamic process, which cannot remain static. And change is cited as the essential element of the cultural process. One scholar who has recently completed a study of the impact of communication media on folk cultures, stated:

> Traditions are being transformed to meet the need of modern times. This process has always been taking place. There has always been an interaction between different cultures and cultures of elites and masses.

This concept of cultural dynamism, as well as the images of a rationalized and secularized India is based upon the values which have been imbibed from western culture. In many ways, these elements have been so internalized that they have come to be accepted as part of the Indian heritage. When the intellectuals remark that India should be free from orthodox and rigid attitudes, that it should have a scientific outlook along with a zest and zeal for inquiry, but that it should have roots in our society, they are using western idioms and rationale to justify the existence of traditions in the society. One intellectual expressed it in this way:

> For me, the concept of modernity is based upon rationalism. If an old and traditional element of our culture is rational, it is useful; it should be considered modern and retained. I do not look upon an orthodox and inflexible attitude, whether it is communist or non-comunist, as modern.

Further, the application of rationality to the existing structure of Indian society means:

> that India should be free from castism, untouchability, and other social evils. (I think of a) modern India which is free from fatalism in which the people are ready to examine the so called superior elements of our culture on the basis of rationality.

In both these statements, the commitment to rationality looks evident but it is used here as a defense mechanism to justify their continued adherence to the traditional aspects of life. This attachment to traditions is so pervasive among the intellectuals that even some of the ideological extremists are not free from it. A Naxalite (Maoist) novelist expresses his view as follows:

> You cannot build a new society by completely destroying its traditional basis. Whatever was said, written and practiced since the Vedic period we cannot completely discard them. We will have to sift from them . . . Whatever is useful and rational should be kept. There is a need for synthesization of new and old, traditional and modern. We cannot be created out of nothingness.

Thus, Hindi-speaking intellectuals' commitment to the continuation of the basic values of Indian culture seems very strong, though they are willing to rationalize India's structural framework to meet the challenge posed by more advanced cultures.

Development of India's Own Model of Industrialization

Because India has unique traditions, it has a distinct cultural personality and historical identity. Consequently, it is natural for Indians to seek their own model of industrialization, though there is no consensus among the intellectuals about what the attributes of India's own model of development should embody. Some want to "follow western or Russian models of development." Yet, others feel that we are borrowing the worst elements of both the Russian and western world.

> . . . unless we decide to do the things in our own way, we cannot modernize. In the kind of cultural co-existence which we have accepted the dominant culture will ultimately dominate . . . and we will become a cultural colony either of West or East.

However, the emphasis seems to be on the Indian model of development and not on establishing the life style patterns of affluent societies as these life styles are out of reach. Therefore, the concept of a consumer-oriented society and the political elites' emphasis on investment in building heavy industries should be rejected: industrialization should be directed at meeting basic needs.

Also, concern is expressed about the results of industrialization:

> Industrialization is not irrelevant to our (own) model of development . . . but we should have a decentralized system of industrialization . . . There ought to be no foreign capital. We should be self-reliant and should achieve self-sufficiency. All our social and cultural changes should be free from foreign influence. Social change (caused by industrialization) should not lead to alienation. We should not lose our (cultural) identity. We should not copy anybody . . . Copying means loss of roots and identity.

Many of the intellectuals recognize that India, being a primarily agricultural and overpopulated country, cannot think in terms of Russian or western models of industrial development. They reject the idea of a completely mechanized society. Although they seek self-sufficiency in essential goods, these intellectuals want industrial policies to be more relevant to the needs of an agricultural society. They think that Gandhi's ideas are more relevant to the needs of Indian society than the economic development strategies suggested by foreign economists

or Indian planners trained abroad. This group of intellectuals believes that Gandhi's methods of economic development could restore the dignity of labor in India and also avoid the problems created by rapid industrialization.[19]

Also this group of intellectuals emphasizes the decentralization of both industrial and political activities and the building of small-scale industries which are relevant to the needs of a rural society. This would prevent a large-scale migration of the rural population to the cities thus preventing the creation of vast slums in the urban population centers. Decentralization of industrial and political activities would promote and protect individual freedom. They believe that the actions of contemporary political elites as well as those of the westernized bureaucrats lead to excessive centralization of political, industrial, and economic powers within India and make individuals and communities dependent upon government help. They contend that since India has longstanding traditions of community action through community associations, these associations once freed from political influence can be mobilized for the proper use of India's immense manpower. Further, they stress that the westernized elite has not been able to make a perceptive and imaginative use of the traditional values of Indian culture to achieve the development goal of the society. Therefore, they believe that in order to limit the demands of the people there is a need to emphasize traditional, ethical virtues of contentment and simple living and at the same time "prohibit a vulgar display of wealth by a few." The contemporary political elite of India, in its quest for "modernity", downgrades traditional Indian values and promises to abolish poverty while indirectly encouraging a vulgar display of wealth on the part of a few.

Rejection of Westernization

The intellectuals who reject the adoption of the western model of development do not express a sense of bitterness towards the West. From an analysis of their expressions, as stated above, they seem to have imbibed many of the basic ideals of western culture. There is, however, a group of intellectuals who do not only emphatically reject

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[19] For a summary of Gandhi's political views, see D. Mackenzie Brown, *The White Umbrella: Indian Political Thought from Manu to Gandhi*, (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1953). K. G. Mashruwala, *Gandhi and Marx* (Ahamedabad, Nivjivan, 1951, and J. P. Narayan, *A Picture of Sarvodya Social Order*, (Tanjor, Sarvodya Prakashan, 1955).

westernization, but also express feelings of hostility toward western values and life styles. Certainly, the degree and level of this hostility differ from one group of intellectuals to another. The comments of a young poet and an editor of a prominent Hindi weekly emphasize this hostility:

> The so-called modernization is responsible for the trouble which we are presently facing in India. I reject the term moderniza-tion itself, it is a defective, rather a dangerous term. We are creating conflicts within our society by adopting the western model (of economic development) and life style. The history of west-ern civilization is based upon the destruction of other nations. They have destroyed other nations to build themselves. Today, they are trying to destroy other (people's) cultures. We can solve our problems through the use of our own values and institu-tions . . . I am not ashamed of my poverty and simple living. I have a sense of contentment and satisfaction in my life . . . I resent identification of modernization with westernization . . . I am opposed to both communist and capitalist methods of in-dustrialization.

On the other hand, some intellectuals reject western ideas and values because they think that "they are not relevant" and that "any effort to incorporate them in our value system would be self-defeating." Some intellectuals reject westernization because they think that the "west is materialistic," and that India has "spiritual traditions." They feel that because of the "bankruptcy of western culture, many of the westerners are developing counter cultures, seeking peace through meditation, or adopting and accepting non-western religions." The negativism to-wards westernization was expressed in the opinions of various types of intellectuals. However, the most emphatic rejection of westernization was expressed in negative opinions about the adoption of western life styles in specific sections of Indian society.

Synthesization of Indian and Western Values

There is another group of intellectuals who are more than willing to accept science and technology from the west. This group feels that not only is it possible, but it is also desirable to have a synthesis between western and Indian values and life styles. According to a university pro-fessor:

> We should accept modern values of life; those western values which are useful for us should be accepted without reserva-tions . . . We can graft new ideas on old traditions.

These intellectuals point out that historically the greatest strength of the Indian culture has been its capacity to absorb foreign ideas and values without losing its own identity. They assert that by accepting science and technology, basic elements of western life are already being adopted. Resistance to the introduction of western ideas and values into the Indian culture is useless; synthesization of western and Indian values and ideals will save Indians from developing split personalities. Therefore, the best strategy for Indian development is to "save whatever is best in our culture and synthesize it with the dynamic values of (the) west." Thus, "we can remove our backwardness and become a modern society."

Other Perceptions and Images of a Modernized India

The revival and reassertion of Indian values is also mentioned by some intellectuals in their image of a modernized India. However, this revivalism is stressed more in terms of the reassertion of moral, spiritual, and ethical values and it should be taken as a reaction against the adoption of the "western life style" by the upper strata of Indian society. Also, they express concern that the Indian youth, educated in urban-based large universities, identify "modernity" with "westerniza-tion," and that they are becoming alienated from Indian culture and its value system. Therefore, they feel that the reassertion of traditional Indian values through the system of education and other means of com-munication will help stop this drift towards rootlessness and anomie.

Complete westernization and revolutionization of Indian society is another image projected by a small percentage of intellectuals. Accept-ance of science and technology and the consumption of industrial pro-ducts without complete acceptance of western values and life styles are creating conflicts within individuals and are leading to the develop-ment of social tensions. In the words of a well-known novelist:

> India has accepted modernization freely and fully as far as the use of industrial products is concerned, but internally (in its out-look) it almost remains unchanged almost as it was before it came in contact with Europe . . . Frankly speaking, any person in India who is aware of a force like modernization is leading a double life. I would prefer to have India completely mo-dern . . . I would welcome European or American models of modernization minus those elements which lead to exploitation of man by man.

This group of intellectuals believe that with an increased pace of industrialization and with the introduction of electrical appliances into the home and other places, Indians would ultimately adopt western life styles. All these would lead to an increased freedom for women, equality of the sexes, the establishment of individual dignity, and a general decline in outdated traditions and age-old moral standards, resulting in an overall liberation of Indian society.

In the following pages, I propose to test the propositions stated at the beginning of this essay. Table II provides a general picture of the intellectuals' attitudes toward science and technology and toward complete westernization on the basis of their vocations. This table suggests that there is almost a complete consensus among intellectuals as to their willingness to accept science and technology and to apply it to the situation existing in India, although they also have a high degree of negativism toward the complete westernization of society in India. More important, however, this pattern is also repeated in their attitudes toward Indian culture and tradition. Almost 80 per cent of the intellectuals from all categories (except the creative intellectuals), seek to rationalize the Indian social structure and culture, while only 12 per cent of the creative intellectuals seek revolutionary or total change in India. This supports the hypothesis stated earlier that Indian intellectuals, because of their closeness to the cultural heritage of India, are likely to be positively disposed towards science and technology; while at the same time, they seek to preserve the basic cultural values of their society.

TABLE II

TYPES OF INTELLECTUALS AND THEIR PERCEPTIONS AND IMAGES OF A MODERNIZED INDIA

| | Types of Intellectuals | | | | |
Types of Perceptions	Creative Intellectuals	University & College Teachers	Journalists & Editors	Administrators	Scholars
Complete Westernization	6.3	4.8	X	5.3	X
Acceptance of Science & Technology	90.6	85.5	81.0	73.7	96.3
No Perception	3.1	9.7	19.0	21.0	3.7
%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No. of Cases	(32)	(62)	(21)	(19)	(27)

My next concern is to analyze the impact of an intellectual's voca-
tion on his perception of modernization. Contrary to my proposition,
and as shown in Table III, an intellectual's vocation is not significantly
related to his perception of modernization, except in one instance. There
is disagreement among the intellectuals as to the emphasis that should
be given to the synthesization of Indian and western ideas and values
and over India's need to have its own model of economic and political
development. On one hand the creative intellectuals show a greater
willingness to accept a synthesization of Indian and western values;
they also place less stress on India's need to have its own model of
development. It appears that they show greater flexibility and recep-
tivity towards the ideas and values of other cultures than the editors
and journalists. On the other hand only about 10 per cent of the editors
and journalists mentioned the need for synthesization of Indian and
western values while 28 per cent wanted to revive Indian cultural
and ethical values. However, the importance of the findings reported
in Table III are diminished in view of their low level of statistical
significance.

TABLE   III

TYPES OF INTELLECTUALS AND THEIR PERCEPTIONS
OF A MODERNIZED INDIA

| | Types of Intellectuals | | | | |
Types of Perception	Creative Intel-lectuals	University & College Teachers	Journalists & Editors	Adminis-trators	Scholars
Synthesization of Eastern & Western Ideas	40.6	29.5	9.5	31.6	33.3
India Should Have its Own Model of Development	50.0	60.7	57.1	57.9	63.0
No Perception	9.4	9.8	33.3	10.5	3.7
%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No. of Cases	(32)	(61)	(21)	(19)	(27)

Number of Missing Observations — 1

Significance $p > .10$

The inverse relationship between an intellectual's exposure to the cultures of non-Hindi speaking areas through travel and residence and his reaction toward westernization is statistically significant ($p > .05$). Almost 33 per cent of those who have travelled outside of Hindi speaking regions reject westernization, in contrast to 6 per cent of those who have had no such experience, but still reject such westernization. Also, intellectuals exposed to foreign cultures are less enthused about the revival and reassertion of the values of Indian culture. It appears that a greater degree of exposure to foreign cultures and a higher level of education generate increased feelings of alienation among intellectuals from western cultures and life styles as well as from their own native culture. Intellectuals with no college education and with almost no intercultural experience develop an ambivalent attitude toward western as well as their own cultures. This proposition is confirmed in Table IV. It is the less educated and less foreign-travelled intellectual who is less hostile towards westernization and, at the same time, who places a greater stress on the reassertion and revival of the values of Indian culture.

TABLE IV

IMAGES AND PERCEPTION OF A MODERNIZED INDIA ON THE
BASES OF LEVEL OF EDUCATION

Type of Perception	Level of Education			
	No College	B.A.	M.A. & Other	Ph.D. or D. Lit.
Accept Industrialization	40.0	33.3	39.0	36.3
Reject Westernization	26.7	33.3	35.6	47.8
Reassertion of Indian Values	33.3	22.2	8.5	8.7
No Perception	X	11.2	16.9	7.2
%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No. of Cases	(15)	(18)	(59)	(69)

Significance $p > .01$

This paradoxical situation may have more than one explanation. It could be suggested that a higher level of education and intercultural experience may lead to the development of greater intellectual sophistication. Therefore, this group might have developed a higher capacity

for "selective retention;" whereas, the second group may not have developed this kind of sophistication making them unable to detect contradictions in their attitudes toward the two cultures. It is also possible to suggest that a greater exposure to western cultures and life styles through a system of higher education and foreign travel might have created a sense of rootlessness in this group — they react negatively towards the west and become alienated from it. In the pre-independence colonial world, English-educated intellectuals frequently expressed "anti-western" attitudes; India was no exception. Therefore, it is possible that these pre-independence attitudes may have been carried over to the present situation. Furthermore, it is even possible that these intellectuals who seek rationalization of Indian culture and who express negative reactions against the West may be expressing a form of militant nationalism. The intellectuals with a lower level of exposure to western cultures do not seem to have developed this kind of rootlessness, alienation from local cultures, nor militant nationalism.

The intellectuals' perceptions and images of a modernized India were also compared to various background factors such as caste, place of birth, sex, religion, and age. None of these variables are significantly related to the intellectuals' attitudes toward different aspects of modernization.

Political Ideology and Perceptions and Images of Modernized India

Political ideology has a definite impact on the intellectuals' perceptions of different aspects of a modernized India.[20] As evidently shown in Table V, there is a consensus among intellectuals as to the acceptance of science and technology on the basis of ideology. However, with the exception of a small number of socialists and Marxists, no other group mentions complete westernization of India as a desirable goal. This is not unexpected in the case of Gandhists and Hindu nationalists, both of whom have placed greater emphasis on the cultural virtues of a traditional India. But, surprisingly liberal and conservative intellectuals who have expressed support for the western values of rationalism, individual freedom, and ideals of democracy did not mention a completely westernized India as their ideal type.

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[20] Ideological classification of intellectuals is based on the basis of their response to the following questions:
    (a) In your opinion, what are the political values which should be emphasized in the politics of our country?
    (b) What kind of political system would you be willing to recommend to the new nations of the world?
    (c) Can you briefly describe your personal political ideology?

TABLE V

POLITICAL IDEOLOGY AND ATTITUDE TOWARD ACCEPTANCE
OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Type of Attitude	Gandhism	Democratic Socialism	Marxism	Political Ideology Hindu Nationalism	Democratic Liberalism	Others
Complete Westernization	X	10.4	5.0	X	X	X
Acceptance of Science & Tech.	81.5	81.3	95.0	84.2	95.8	87.0
No Perception	18.5	8.3	X	15.8	4.2	13.0
%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No. of Cases	(27)	(48)	(20)	(19)	(24)	(23)

Ideological orientation becomes a more statistically significant variable when we look at Table VI where the largest percentage of intellectuals seeking complete social and cultural revolution in India are the Marxists. On the other hand, a complete revolution in Indian social structure is rejected both by the Gandhists and Hindu nationalists.

TABLE VI

POLITICAL IDEOLOGY AND ATTITUDE TOWARDS RATIONALIZATION
OF INDIAN CULTURE

Type of Attitude	Gandhism	Democratic Socialism	Marxism	Political Ideology Hindu Nationalism	Democratic Liberalism	Others
Rationalization of Indian culture	77.8	75.0	75.0	94.7	83.3	73.9
Complete Revolution	X	8.3	25.0	X	4.2	8.7
No Perception	22.2	16.7	X	5.3	12.5	17.4
%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No. of Cases	(27)	(48)	(20)	(19)	(24)	(23)

Significance $p > .05$

The intellectuals professing faith in Gandhism (Table VII) are the most traditionalist group among the Hindi speaking intellectuals. Not only does this group contain the smallest number of those who clearly mention industrialization as one of the important aspects of a modernized India, but a majority of them reject the westernization of India.

Thus, this group expresses the highest degree of hostility towards western life stlyle and places the greatest emphasis on the reassertion and revival of traditional Indian values. It should be pointed out, however, that there is a qualitative difference in the revivalism stressed by Gandhists as compared to that stressed by Hindu nationalists. Intellectuals professing faith in Gandhism are more interested in the revival of ethical values of traditional India, and they place greater stress on the traditional concept of *Nishkam Karma* (actions without a desire for material rewards), on self-negation, and on social and community services. In contrast to the Gandhists, Hindu nationalists wish to revive the traditional Hindu social system based upon *Varnasharm Dharma* (assignment of duties on the basis of four stages of life and the caste system).[21] The Gandhist intellectuals emphasize the reassertion of humanistic traditions of Indian culture, and the reconstruction of Indian society, where the self-governing, autonomous village and decentralized political system become the center of social life. Hindu nationalists are more positively oriented towards industrialization, urbanization, and a centralized political system and they seek a revival of the glories of an imperial India.[22] Also, unlike the Gandhist intellectuals, they express less hostility towards the West.

TABLE VII

POLITICAL IDEOLOGY AND ATTITUDE TOWARDS WESTERNIZATION

Political Ideology

Types of Attitude	Gandhism	Democratic Socialism	Marxism	Hindu Nationalism	Democratic Liberalism	Others
Acceptance of Industrialization	11.1	45.8	70.0	36.8	33.3	26.1
Reject Westernization	51.9	37.5	30.0	42.1	41.7	34.8
Reassertion of Indian Values	29.6	6.3	X	15.8	12.5	13.0
No Perception	7.4	10.4	X	5.3	12.5	26.1
%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0·	100.0
No. of Cases	(27)	(48)	(20)	(19)	(24)	(23)

Significance p < .10

[21] For a representative presentation of these views in Hindi, see Gurudutt, *Dharma Sanskriti aur Rajya* (New Delhi, Bharati Sahitya Sadan, 1966).

[22] Balraj Madhok, *Bharatiyakaran* (Delhi, Rajpal and Sons, 1972), and J. A. Curran, *Militant Hinduism in Indian Politics: A Study of the R. S. S.* (New York, 1951).

Compared to the Marxist socialist and liberal intellectuals, Gandhists and Hindu nationalists place a greater emphasis on India's need to have its own model of development; Gandhists and Hindu nationalists show less concern for a synthesization of Indian and western values. Consequently, Socialist, Marxist, and liberal intellectuals more frequently mention the synthesization of Indian and western values, and thus demonstrate a greater willingness to incorporate western values into the Indian culture, than do Gandhist and Hindu nationalist intellectuals (see Table VIII). It is possible to conclude from our analysis that the ideological orientations of an intellectual do play a significant role in determining his attitude towards the modernization of India.

TABLE VIII

POLITICAL IDEOLOGY AND PERCEPTION OF INDIA'S OWN MODEL
OF DEVELOPMENT

		Political Ideology				
Types of Perceptions	Gandhism	Democratic Socialism	Marxism	Hindu Nationalism	Democratic Liberalism	Others
Indianization of Western Values	14.8	39.6	40.0	22.2	37.5	17.4
India Should Develop Its Own Model	77.8	45.8	45.0	66.7	54.2	69.6
No Perception	7.4	14.6	15.0	11.1	8.3	13.0
%	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No. of Cases	(27)	(48)	(20)	(19)	(24)	(23)

Attitudinal Configuration and Images of Modernization

My final concern is to test the proposition that the simple acceptance of science and technology by an individual may not bring about fundamental change in his attitude towards his native culture; the acceptance of science and technology may not result in a complete rejection of traditional cultural values. The findings reported in Table IX provide support for this hypothesis. A comparison of intellectuals seeking westernization of Indian society against those who accept only science and technology reveals highly significant differences in their attitudes to-

wards Indian culture. Of those who accept only science and tech-
nology, an overwhelming majority (82%) seek to rationalize the Indian
social structure while only 5 per cent endorse the need for a revolutionary
change. On the other hand, the westernizers, by a large majority
(68%), seek revolution in India's social structure, while only 33 per cent
are favorably disposed towards its rationalization.

TABLE IX

ACCEPTANCE OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY BY ATTITUDE
TOWARDS INDIAN CULTURE

Attitude Towards Indian Culture	Images of Modernization		
	Complete Westernization	Acceptance of Science and Technology	No Perception
Rationalization of Indian Culture	33.3	82.0	68.8
Complete Revolution	66.7	5.1	6.2
No Perception	X	12.9	25.0
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0

Significance $p < .001$

Similarly those who want India to have its own model of devel-
opment have a higher level of negative attitudes towards industrializa-
tion as well as westernization of Indian society. Yet, the intellectuals
place greater emphasis on the reassertion of Indian cultural values. In
contrast, those who seek synthesization of Indian and western values
are more positively disposed towards industrialization and are less ne-
gatively oriented towards westernization. Also, those advocating such
synthesization do not place any meaningful emphasis on the revival
of values and traditions of Indian culture. And there is a significant
difference between the attitudes of the group ($p < .001$).

Evidently, the simple acceptance of science and technology does not
change an individual's attitude towards his culture and social structure.
The evidence presented here suggests that such an individual is far
more traditionalist and conservative in his attitude than those indivi-
duals who advocate a complete westernization of India or a synthesiza-
tion of western and Indian values. It is important to note here that

a large majority of intellectuals in this study seem to be committed to the idea of the co-existence of traditional and modern values.

Summary and Conclusions

Following the presentation of various approaches to modernization, specifically Lerner, Sherill, Inkeles and Smith, I have tried to probe into the intellectual's perceptions and images of modernization. However, unlike Lerner and Inkeles who studied the attitudes of the common man, my focus has been on a sophisticated group of intellectuals — the cultural elite of North India. The findings reported in the preceeding pages demonstrate that the Hindi-speaking intellectuals, who inherited the traditions of sacred and traditional intelligentsia of North India, have successfully assimilated and absorbed many western values. They are gradually being integrated into the cultural fabric of India through their creative writings. By expressing and advocating modern values and attitudes, these intellectuals have also assumed the role of a secular and modern intelligentsia. Rather than providing a basis for the organization of a revivalistic and reactionary force, they have become a vital force in the acculturation process.

This analysis does not support the common assumption that non-western intelligentsia seek to cast their system in the image of the West.[23] Despite their absorption of western ideas and values and their acceptance of modern science and technology they prefer to develop their own model of industrialization. Yet, the findings reported above do support the proposition that non-western intellectuals do emphasize the process of selectively borrowing from other cultures, while at the same time are keen to preserve the basic fabric and value system of their culture. They express strong criticism of the development strategies adopted by the political elites in the post-independence period, seeking a greater balance between the adoption of modern technology and the needs of a primarily agricultural society. By rejecting the image of a consumer-oriented society and by stressing the need to revive the traditional cultural values of contentment and simple living, the Indian intellectuals advocate the voluntary containment of "individuals" during the period of industrial take-off. The blending of traditional

[23] For a critique of this assumption, see Peter C. Lloyd, *Classes, Crises, and Coups: Themes in the Sociology of Developing Countries* (New York, Praeger, 1972), pp. 67-69.

and modern values is stressed by these individuals to achieve the goals of modernization. These Indian intellectuals suggest that the post-independence political elites have failed to achieve their goals because of their efforts to mold India in the image of affluent societies.

This study also suggests that the various demographic factors such as religion, caste, sex, etc. are not significant in determining an intellectual's image and perception of modernization. While occupation does have some impact, the intellectuals' exposure to non-Hindi speaking or western cultures, level of education, and political beliefs and ideological commitments have a far more significant impact on their perceptions and images of a modernized India.