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THEMES OF HUMAN LIFE

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THEMES OF HUMAN LIFE

Editor :

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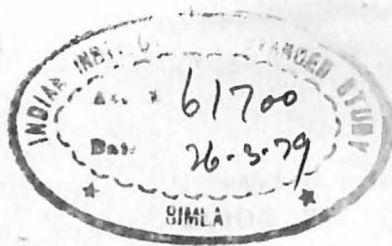
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THEMES OF HUMAN LIFE

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CONTENTS

	Introduction	vii
	Contributors	xii
1	The Dominant Themes of American Culture	1
2	Religions Conversion	49
3	Superstitions of Nepalese Rajasthanies and Sindhis	65
4	Sociological Aspects of Science	72

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Introduction

The present volume comprises four papers on important relevant themes of human life. They are :

The dominant themes of American Culture *Fanta, A.L.*

Religious conversions *Saraswat, A.P.*

Superstitions of Nepalese, Rajasthanis and
Sindhis -a comparative study *Agarwal, Vimla*

Sociological Aspects of Science *Christow, Dr.*

Fanta's paper is complimentary to his earlier article 'Ethnicity and Education : Some Sociological Considerations' in 'Sex Race Ethnicity and Education by Dr. Michael V. Belok and Ralph Shoub (Edit) 1976 pp. 333-367 but in itself it is a complete study of dominant themes of contemporary American culture.

One would agree that American Culture is a composit culture. American society has people of different racial and ethnic origins who have come to live together. Though there has emerged a composit American culture, complete assimilation is yet to be achieved.

Apart from this social fact that the process of industrialization that attracted people from far and wide, has its own repercussions on those who assemble to co-operate in the economic productivity. New reference groups are formed, new interactional and interest groupings emerge. Thus for all practical purposes a fresh society evolves. America has evolved a fresh society and hence it has fresh themes of culture.

In fact this paper deals at length with the contemporary themes of American culture. Four significant of them are :

- (i) Resentment.
- (ii) Notion of loss.
- (iii) Search for roots and
- (iv) Southern Ethnic metaphor.

Resentment as described here is "the repeated experiencing and reliving of a particular emotional response reaction against some one else" ! (Scheler Max ; Resentment translated by William W. Holdheim, N. Y. 1972, p. 39) Scheler has further elaborated it as '**rancor** or' a suppressed wrath, involving feelings, but only feelings of revenge, hatred, malice, envy, impulse to detract, spitefulness, vindictiveness and vengefulness.

It has been observed that the feeling of resentment in general and ethnic resentment in particular is to a significant extent caused by erosion in the modern political process in American life. It is largely due to imbalances in political power and increasing bureaucratization. It has been complained that political power has been unevenly distributed ignoring the interests of certain ethnic groups. Professionalization and propaganda through mass media have developed new needs which cause resentment when not fulfilled.

In the field of education minority admission programs were adopted which lead to the filing of court cases. The minority admission programs have helped students in seeking admission in law and medicine professional courses. The objection to these programs were raised as they discriminated people on racial basis. The two important cases discussed are those of Bakke and Dilco and several observations by Ogbu, Williams and Johnson with those of Lavender and Forsyth.

The American culture is juristic oriented. For all discrimi-

nations the redress is sought in the court of law wherefrom no verdict can be expected which will not cause resentment in one or the other warring group. Thus resentment becomes a basic theme at the cultural level. All roads lead to the courts and the legal structure.

The second major theme of American culture is Loss. The sense of loss is a by-product of modernity and produces varying reactions. For those who have modernized the sense of loss means that the social group of their origin has ceased to have socio-cultural significance. Such people are resentful of persons who use and manipulate the old group reference in several ways.

David K. Cohen identified the loss of tradition and efforts to revive the same through some institutions. School has been taken as one of such institutions. These institutions have not been able to bring about the required results as the meaning and purpose attached to them by the community and the policy makers have been different. The study and role of tradition becomes much more significant in this connection.

The next theme is the search for roots. The roots in any culture can be searched through its history. The customs, traditions and mores are carried through history. In American life manners are equated with morals. A breach or ignorance of manners is taken as a serious social lapse. The quota system of entry into the educational institutions only indicates that those who are found to be capable of developing into typical American are considered to be admitted. Thus it hinges on the problem of racism. It may be seen that the roots that the white and black cultures in America maintain have been established to be different. In each field, be it music or sports, it is observed that the preferences and performances of blacks as against whites are different.

The search for roots is gaining popularity now. Travels to Africa and West Indies and interest in Black Africa have increased, courses have been sold to institutions and family heritage programs are popular in high schools. Blacks and minorities are keen to search their long lost past. As a result of this interest family history is being traced with hopes to locate roots.

Southern tradition has always been treated different from the Northern American tradition. The difference has been equally

emphatically felt by both. For southern compatriots the north represented a historical society opposed to southern traditions. They were deemed to be rootless bereft of community and un-compassionate in their incivility. South paid a heavy price in terms of economic development and political power due to its ethnicity and culture norms. The author suggested three alternatives to the southerner.

1. The past can be relived and one can engage in pretenses, illusions and myths about the contemporary world.
2. One can articulate a social reality which screens out most of the surrounding world as effectively as possible ; and
3. One can realize that traditions are only valuable if they lead to evolution of a culture.

Second article, "Religious Conversion "by Saraswat, A.P. is a study of 1451 first generation individual converts in Meerut District (India). Apparently it is an interesting study which takes account of conversion in three important religious groups Hindus, Muslims and Christians. It is interesting that the fourth major group Sikhs, has been neglected altogether. Interestingly enough the author does not give the source from which he obtained these cases for study. The area of study and area-wise distribution of the converts is also missing. Those who know Meerut District also know well that certain pockets of Meerut are known for Christians-Sardhana being one of the most prominent. It would have been worthwhile if this was also indicated as to which shade of Islam or Christianity or Hinduism was accepted by converts.

There are so many things that have been indicated contrary to the common belief. Conversion has been shown as a two way mutual process. If Hindus have converted themselves into Muslims and Christians the process has been otherway round as well. It is surprising that conversions from Islam to Hinduism have been in good number. Christians have chosen more to be Hindus than Muslims. What is most amazing is that among Muslims conversion to Hinduism is more popular than converting to a Christian. Even Christians also prefer being Hindus than Muslims.

However, the paper highlights Hindu revivalism through Arya-Samaj, of reform movement.

Dr. Vimla Agarwal's paper on superstition among (Nepalese,

Rajasthanis and Sindhis (domicile of U.P.) studied along four variables of age, sex, education and occupation derives its data from projects of M.A. Psychology students of 1964 of Lucknow University (INDIA). Both social and personal superstitions have been listed. Superstitions have been classified in to predictive and indicative categories. The predictive superstitions provide an opportunity to change the undesirable impact by doing some corrective action whereas the indicative superstition simply announces the occurring of an event.

It is indicated that in the three communities the predictive superstitions dominate (ranging between 67.7% to 74.8%). Among Nepalese maximum superstitions are related to Omen. Followed by social and cultural behaviour, 3 and 13 are believed to be unlucky numbers.

The author has done well by indicating some common superstitions in the three communities. Incidentally the superstitions so obtained are common to other communities than those under study.

The last paper is that of Christow on "sociological aspects of science." Herein a detailed theoretical discussion has been initiated on sociological bearings on various sciences. Under different captions "sociology of science and history of science, sociology of science and philosophy, sociology of science and science of science, sociology of science and economics of science, sociology of science and psychology of science and sociology of science and ethics of science have been dealt with." This paper proposes to justify the overall significance and relevance of sociological research. Seen in any perspective, sociological research, or for that matter social research, has a function to perform. May be, seeing from the particularistic biases the people attached with specific branches may stake their claims on social phenomena, but the paper suggests that in the present scientific context the sociological significance of all researches in various social sciences have become specially meaningful and contribute towards building up of one unified humanistic discipline.

The book as a whole is a good informative reading for students of education, sociology, psychology and also a general reader. However, the first article by Fanta could be shorten without doing any damage to it in any form.

Contributors

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In the companion article to this piece¹ ethnicity and education was discussed in five contexts. The discussion opened with an analysis of ethnicity in the context of popular culture, moved to a section devoted to ethnicity and media and then to a discussion of the new ethnic movement (resurgence) in American culture. The fourth section developed a series of insights concerning ethnicity and social marginality and the symbolic nature of social reality represented by ethnicity in American life. Lastly, in the closing section of the article ethnicity was developed in an economic context. The notion of a developmental economic structure and its relationship to an evolutionary social structure was examined. Ultimately, the essay concluded with a suggestion that "the importance for the contemporary ethnic revival lies in whether or not such concerns can be linked to the continuity of the family in the modern era."²

In this companion piece, which the reader may wish to consider as an extension of the earlier remarks outlined above,

ethnicity is discussed from four additional perspectives. Initially the notion of resentment, as a socio-cultural phenomenon is developed and discussed. Often vague and ill defined, nevertheless, resentment forms a substantial part of modern ethnic social life. In addition, the article points out that resentment can be seen to have structural and legal aspects which ultimately underpin our larger sense of social policy in American culture. The next theme which is developed is the notion of *loss* as a social theme upon which much of our social reality is constructed. In this section it is suggested that the notion of loss is a deep underlying socio-cultural theme which both pushes and guides the development of American social policy. Loss of identity, loss of dignity, loss of neighborhood, loss of cultural ritual and a highly ambiguous fear of a loss of social status are all viewed in a holistic manner and are related to the notion of ethnicity. In this context the ethnic resurgence in America is seen as a contemporary attempt to stem the feeling of loss.

The third section of the article deals with the search for roots in American culture. Using materials stimulated and suggested by Alex Haley in his work *Roots*, this section seeks to analyze what the popularity of ancestor research means and offers a suggestion as to its social significance. Here it is suggested that knowledge of family history, while not necessarily psychologically neutral for the individual does not contain much sociological or cultural import beyond popular culture. Rather it is argued that the importance of roots lies in the fact that it provides a rationale for a people. The customs, traditions and the mores are only known and transmitted by history.

The conclusion of the article is a brief afterword dealing with the Southern ethnic metaphor in American culture. Southern traditions, customs and history are highlighted and the idea of a defeated culture serving as the self appointed guardians of the conservative American tradition is developed and extended; laying a foundation for remarks about the potential President Carter, as a Southerner, brings to the office of the President. In this context, it is suggested that for the Southerner, government is a reflection of our culture and not merely the extension of sacred organizational principles. Such a change it is suggested would truly be a lasting and much needed contribution to the American mosaic.

RESENTMENT IN AMERICAN CULTURE : SOME SELECTED OBSERVATIONS

Resentment according to Scheler is "the repeated experiencing and reliving of a particular emotional response reaction against someone else."³ As one examines this term and the feelings it generates one can see that it mitigates against both responsive action and creative expression in cultural setting. It may be best described as "rancor" or a suppressed wrath, involving feelings, but only feelings, of revenge, hatred, malice, envy, impulse to detract, spitefulness, vindictiveness, and vengefulness.⁴ In examining the term resentment as it relates to ethnicity in American culture the discussion touches first upon the changed nature of of the American political process.

To a significant extent an aspect of resentment in general and ethnic resentment in particular is caused by the erosion in the modern political process in American life. Basically, the established ways and manners and customs of doing things are perceived as not working anymore. Indeed, Franz Fanon in his book *Black Skin, White Masks*, captures the feeling when he observes that :

"Things are indeed going to hell

The government and the civil service are at the
mercy of the Jews.

Our women are at the mercy of the Negroes."⁵

In American culture for example, the fact that professionals improperly diagnose a wide range of symptoms (human needs) in an ever larger cluster of professions, that malpractice suits flourish and evolve,⁶ that there is a loss of craftsmanship in the universe of products, goods and services American culture is famous for producing and manufacturing, and the fact of increasing bureaucratization of hitherto unaffected areas of social life all contribute to a shared feeling of passivity, resignation, ennui and resentment.⁷

Though these feelings and reactions are unequal, due largely to the imbalances in political power and are highly varied between different groups ; nevertheless American ethnic communities feel this dislocation or alteration in both the political and social landscape. Indeed, Martin Plax in an article entitled, "Toward a Redefinition of Ethnic Politics" states that it is possible for one to

develop a typology of ethnic political attitudes that may be present in any or all ethnic groups about any set of political decisions. As he says :

"This typology of alternative ethnic political preferences is developed from two dimensions : 1-the believed impact of political issues on a person's or group's uniqueness in ethnic terms; and 2-the belief in the appropriateness of this impact."⁹

For Plax the development of the typology suggests that ethnic political behavior is a kind of adaptive behavior. The individuals and the group adapt to changes in the political universe.

More importantly however, in terms of our analysis of resentment the typology points to a manner in which ethnic politics can be examined from the perspective of the subjective status of ethnic identity. *Thus, both the direction of change and the desirability of change can be the subjects of inquiry.* A way is open for studying both the people who want change and those who oppose it within the ethnic group. When compared to the earlier correlational techniques that have been used in ethnic studies...noting the country of origin and constructing a systematic differentiation of reality according to characteristics associated with the land of nativity . the promise of substantiating the political construction of ethnic reality is increased.

However, there are clear occasions where, in terms of structure, the political process does ignore the interests of particular ethnic groups. How and why certain groups are ignored, placated, massaged and manipulated becomes a political question of significant magnitude.¹⁰ In this sense perhaps the question of erosion in the modern political process is misplaced because the demands placed on the modern state by contentious and competing groups are perhaps demands that by their very nature cannot be *satisfied* by contemporary politics.¹¹ In a very real sense these demands themselves have been caused by modern society. For example, increasing the number of laws escalates the crime statistics. Our legal system removes a sense of justice from the fabric of our lives, and our educational research enterprise generates educational and learning problems. In addition, Ivan Illich for one also believes that doctors cause disease.¹² Thus the modern

paradox lies in that what is one individual's own compelling interest, profession, or job may be the bane of another individual's existence and a cause of resentment.

It should be noted that these, as well as a host of other demands, which are placed upon our contemporary political institutions *are not necessarily the same thing in either quality or kind as basic human needs*. Certainly even a casual familiarity with popular culture, the world of advertising and the medium of television can attest to the fact of the social construction of human needs.¹³ Certainly to argue that one is talking about human "wants" and not "Needs" begs the question. All needs are socially defined and even biological needs are culturally influenced. No one knows this or does this better than American advertisers. However, not even the pursuit of safety and security wrought by the consumer movement or the new 'feelin' good" type of modern advertisements which appeal to our sense of plastic individualism, are a balm for the *real* social pain of these unmet basic human needs.

In this context Jacques Ellul in his work *Propaganda*,¹⁴ pursues the same theme though at a sociological as opposed to a cultural level. Ellul notes that the modern state contains a social process of propaganda which creates *artificial needs*. Just as the process of propaganda creates political problems that would never arise by themselves, so, argues Ellul, do these superficial tendencies end up by becoming identified with our deepest needs. They become confused with what is most personal and meaningful within us.¹⁵ The double bind of modernity, the ingenuineness of the social constructed environment becomes a paradox for the individual.¹⁶ As Ellul states :

"And just as propaganda acts to create new needs, it also creates the demand for their solutions...These tensions are purposely provoked by the propagandist, who holds out their remedy at the same time. He is master of both excitation and satisfaction. One may even say that if he has provoked a particular tension, it was in order to lead the individual to accept a particular remedy, to demand some suitable action (suitable from the propagandist's viewpoint), and to submit to a system that will alleviate that tension. He thus places the individual in a universe of artificially

created political needs, needs that are artificial *even if their roots were once completely genuine.*"¹⁷ (emp. supp.).

In a sense that what transpires as a result of the propaganda process in society, is that the *sacrifices* demanded by political life keep increasing and affect everybody. The energy crisis, netrance requirements in educational institutions and the all too familiar presence of "federal regulations" in our lives are but a few examples. It should be noted that rather than resolve these and other issues which increase the sacrifices made by the modern person, the modern state creates an illusion: rule by public opinion.

Polls plus television equals public opinion in modern society. Indeed, even the doubtful must admit a new reality has been constructed by this social process. Media networks through their programming (an admixture of news, public affairs and commercial ventures) create public opinion.¹⁸ The government in such a state will be regarded as a popular one if its actions can be seen as a *product* of this public opinion. The free political expression of this preformed mass opinion is called democracy. One should note however, that once opinion can be organized (packaged) and measured (predictable in both immediate intensity and longitudinal effectiveness) it can be controlled.¹⁹

As a result of the potential for the control of public opinion (the horrors of Watergate and containment once again) soon the distinctions between the social reality of opinions and social action merge and become confused. For example, the failure of schooling can be seen as an act of will...a more or less well developed world view, which is then programmatically reinforced. In addition, many readers would not be uncomfortable with the notion that most contemporary social problems are not caused by "individuals", but are the result generated by the structural arrangements in modern society.

To return to our central theme however, it goes without saying that it becomes a simple matter to translate this opinion into social action Programs, for the benefit of either the masses or the elites or to construct a rationale, develop a code for the systematic exclusion of certain specific cultural groups. In any context it must be noted that the operation of the programmatic exercise becomes the function of managerial technique and increasingly calls upon the arcane knowledge or experts.

At this juncture one should mention the rather obvious gap between programmatic solutions to politically generated problems and basic human needs.²⁰ The former is abstract, artificial, and a function of bureaucraticized modern society; while the latter is concrete, real and a function of human culture.²¹ As Ellul says :

"Modern man deeply craves friendship, confidence, close personal relationships. But he is plunged into a world of competition, hostility, and anonymity. He needs to meet some-one whom he can trust completely, for whom he can feel pure friendship, and to whom he can mean something in return."²²

Thus rule by public opinion means nothing other than the further rationalization of social life.²³ Since people crave friendship, trust, loyalty, these entities must become suspicious in a world which programs for fairness and objectivity. Fairness, objectivity and more to the point the popular notion of equality are all modern concepts. They are programmatic, legalistic, measurable and enforceable. However, no matter how popular singles clubs become, friendship, trust and loyalty do not appear to be amenable to packaging.²⁴ They are transcendent notions which can be compared historically. As such they are qualitative and organic.

Thus while rule by public opinion may seduce the politically innocent, it turns out upon analysis to be an illusion because social action is at all times the forerunner of opinion in the modern society. Social action *forms* the opinions.²⁵ Youth, old people, women's activists, minorities and ethnics are all engaged in social action...immediately focusing upon specific issues; but in a larger sense seeking to change and direct the opinions of those in society. Depending on a number of highly varied circumstances which are not germane to the essay, social action in the modern society is ultimately reduced to legalisms. One of two alternatives prevails. Legal sanctions can be invoked or legislation can be produced as a result of the actions taken.²⁶ In either case the questions Ellul raised previously about our basic needs are either ignored or else becomes a legal issue.

The reduction of all social action to legalism of one form or another forms a very important part of resentment in the modern era.²⁷ This is true in a procedural sense, what the courts in fact do, how they function; and in a substantive sense, what they

command shall be done. However, before an analysis of resentment in the context of these two social processes is developed let us briefly note the jurisprudential implications of the legalization of American society.

In American culture there are two broad views of the law and the legal process. There is a positivist view of adjudication and a utilitarian view of the law. The first argues that the law of a given community is to be identified with a specific set of rules. The judge applies these legal rules from previous cases or from statutes to the facts before him. Writing about legal positivism, Marshall Cohen observes that :

“These rules of law determine which behavior will be punished and coerced by public power; they must be distinguished from other social rules, especially from moral rules, which are not enforced by public power....In modern democratic societies the mark of legality will normally be that the rule was enacted by some competent institution.”²⁸

The shortcoming of this positivist view of the law is that there is obviously something more to the law than the presence or absence of a rule. Are there not *Principles* deeply embedded in our culture which underpin and guide the development of the law? Are there not cases heard which are unique and do not fit a specific rule; where judges have to search for principles upon which to base their decision? The classic example which comes to mind is the case of the young man who murders his parents. Legally, by the rules, he is entitled to inherit their estate, but courts at the beginning invoked the principle of unjust enrichment, in this case by the commission of a crime, to prevent such inheritance from transpiring. Here a legal rule was overruled in favor of a larger principle of justice.

On the other hand, the utilitarian view is a view of what the law ought to be. Its philosophy seeks to devise *new rules* that will serve the general welfare of society. The notion of the “greatest good” for the “greatest number” guides the judicial outlook of social utility. The basic postulate is that legal institutions should *exclusively* serve the general welfare of society. The criticism of this view lies in the fact that in seeking to achieve the “greatest good”, individual moral rights can be trampled. Thus where legal positivism provided an inadequate theory of legal

rights, so utilitarianism provides an inadequate theory of *moral rights*.

In this context Ronald Dworkin urges a distinction of some importance when he says that the public does not have a general right to have the law enforced.²⁹ For to concede such a right in his eyes would undermine the claim that we as people possess moral rights against the government. In other words, if the laws are enforced we become defined as to who we are (our identities) by the totality of rules generated by our modern rule making institutions. Nothing else other than the evolution of this rationalized process or rule making would exist for the modern individual. Here it should be noted that for some ethnic groups, the Jews in particular, the moral nature of people and the law were combined to produce a sense of community. The result produced both a historically transcendent people and the evolution of a moral position in the world.

According to Dworkin however, our fundamental moral right is the right to be treated as an equal. It is this right that the Equal Protection clause of the Constitution protects. However, the right to be treated as an equal and the right to equal treatment are different notions which are often confused in our culture. It is precisely to this controversy, this confusion in education and its relationship to resentment that the essay now turns.

RESENTMENT : THE MINORITY ADMISSION PROGRAMS

A number of significant court cases have been filed seeking to clarify or take issue with the policies developed by educational institutions related to the problem of increasing minority participation in educational and professional programs. A review of some of these decisions will measure both the nature of the current controversies in affirmative action and will generate thoughts on what these decisions mean for us in the educational community and their relationship to resentment in contemporary society.

A BRIEF HISTORICAL REVIEW

Since the late 1960's, colleges and universities and more particularly their professional schools have made a concerted effort to identify minority students and to admit those students into their educational programs. Indeed, Anthony Lewis in a recent article entitled, "A White Enclave",³⁰ raises several interesting points concerning the special admissions programs in our nation's profe-

ssional schools. Lewis cites the example of the Law School of the University of California where 60 minority students accepted under a special admissions program join a total incoming student class of 290. "Every one of the 60 would have been admitted without any special consideration fifteen years ago. But today, only one or two would make it without the special program."³¹ The reason for those astonishing figures, Lewis continues, "is the pressure that has built up for admission to professional schools."³² In 1960, for example, the Berkeley Law School had just 708 applicants. Any one with a B average in college could get in. Now, as Lewis notes, "There are about 3,500 applicants a year and the average scores of those admitted has gone up."³³

In 1976 the 160 approved law schools in the United States had 8,703 minority students. The Deans were asked how many minority students they would have if they were not allowed to use race as a special criterion in their admissions procedures. Lewis states, "About half of the Deans responded, and they said the figure would be only one or two per school...the same drop forecast in California."³⁴ Thus, the issue of special admission programs appears to be linked with the substantial presence of minority students in many of our educational programs.

However, according to a report entitled "Minorities in Medicine: From Receptive Passivity to Positive Action 1966-1976" authored by Dr. Charles Odegaard former president of the University of Washington at Seattle :

"A five fold increase in the enrollment of medical students from minority groups in the United States over the last decade has not produced enrollments matching the percentage of these minority groups in the present population."³⁵

and an article entitled "Medical Schools Urged to Intensify Recruitment of Minority Students" notes that :

"In 1970 the Association of American Medical Colleges in Washington said that it, was setting a goal of 12 percent minority student enrollment by the 1975-76 academic year."³⁶

The study also found that 85 percent of the minority students graduated from medical school and that surprisingly the majority had selected careers in internal medicine, pediatrics, or family medicine.

Nationally, the matter of special admission programs for minority students came to the attention of members of the educational community in the case of *DeFunis v Odegaard*, in 1974.³⁷ Though the United States Supreme Court "Side-stepped" the merits of the issue because Mario DeFunis had been admitted to law school and had graduated just before the court heard the case, the dissent by Mr. Justice Douglas is instructive. In urging the court to consider the case on its merits, Douglas strongly suggested that the court would eventually have to face the question of special preference given to members of minority groups. Indeed, language of the dissent has proven prophetic.

Recently the California Supreme Court in the case of *Bakke v Regents of the University of California*³⁸ addressed the question of special admission directly. As stated in the majority opinion written by Justice Mosk the case raised the question of: "whether a special admission program which benefits disadvantaged minority students who apply for admission to the medical school of the University of California at Davis offends the constitutional rights of better qualified applicants denied admission because they are not identified with a minority."³⁹

THE ADMISSION PROCESS IN THE BAKKE CASE

The details regarding the separate admission standard are important because they ultimately bear upon the question of whether the educational institution has demonstrated that the special admission program is necessary to serve a *compelling governmental interest* and whether the objectives of the program cannot reasonably be achieved by alternative means.

The general admission requirements for the Medical school for the University of California at Davis for *all* prospective students include the Medical College Admission Test (MCAT) revealing competencies in verbal, quantitative, general information and scientific categories, the candidate's extracurricular and community activities, as well as history of work experience, personal comments of the applicant, and two letters of recommendation.

In 1973, application form inquired whether the applicant desired to be considered by a *special committee* which passed upon the applications of persons from economically and educationally disadvantaged backgrounds. The following year, a revised form

was adopted and instead of the question relating to disadvantage, the applicant was asked whether she or he "describes" herself or himself as "white/caucasian" or as a member of some identifiable racial or ethnic group and whether she or he wished to be considered an applicant from a minority group. *Between 1971 and 1974 both white and minority applicants applied for the special program.*

The selection of students for admission was conducted by two separate committees. The regular admission committee consisted of a volunteer group divided equally between faculty and students and selected by the Dean of the Medical school. The special admission committee, which evaluated the applications of disadvantaged applicants only, consisted of students who were all members of minority groups and faculty of the Medical school who were *predominantly*, but not entirely, members of minorities. Applications from those not classified as disadvantaged (including applications from minorities who did not qualify as disadvantaged) were screened through the regular admission process. The evaluation of the two groups was made independently, so that applicants considered by the special committee were rated only against one another and not against those considered in the regular admission process. *All students admitted under the special program since its inception in 1969 have been members of minority groups*

The major purposes of the special admissions program were to promote diversity among the student body and the profession and to increase the number of doctors practicing in the minority community. As one school official said :

"The special admission program was designed to afford preferential treatment to persons who are from disadvantaged backgrounds.....that test scores and grades of minority applicants do not necessarily reflect their capabilities because their low scores might be attributable to the fact that they were required to work during the school year or that they lacked the reinforcement and support which white middle-class students typically derive from their families, and without such a program, few minorities would qualify for admission to the University."⁴⁰

In the end however, the question, stripped of policy statements, or rationalizations was the use of *race* as a category upon

which educational admissions policy was based. As the Court said,

"It is plain that the special admission program denies admission to some white applicants solely because of their race."⁴¹

THE OPINION OF THE CALIFORNIA SUPREME COURT

Historically classification by race is subject to strict scrutiny by the courts and unless the classification serves a *compelling governmental interest* which cannot be served by other means the classification based on race will be voided. This was the test announced *Bakke* case and the court found the school's argument to the contrary unconvincing. The Court said :

"The two major aims of the University are to integrate the student body and to improve medical care for minorities. In our view, the University has not established that a program which discriminates against white applicants because of their race is necessary to achieve either of these goals."⁴²

Further on the court said :

"In short, the standards for admission employed by the University are not constitutionally infirm except to the extent they are utilized in a racially discriminatory manner. *Disadvantaged applicants of all races must be eligible* for sympathetic consideration and no applicant may be rejected because of his race....."⁴³ (emp. supp.).

The court did not accept the University's argument drawing an analogy between its special admission program and decisions which have upheld the right of minorities to preference in employment under Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. The court noted that in all of these cases the courts have found the defendant-employer *had* practiced discrimination in the past and that the preferential treatment of minorities *was necessary* to grant them the *opportunity for equality*. Unless a finding of practiced discrimination (something the schools would not want to officially admit) is made, this argument does not apply.

Thus the court held in *Bakke* that the use of grades and the MCAT in evaluating prospective students was not discrimination in fact against minorities.⁴⁴

The opinion of the California Supreme Court noted with some detail the historical arguments passionately detailing the

exploitation and discrimination by the prevailing majority population. Impressive though the history and statistics were, and sensitive to the argument that a self-perpetuating group" would remain at the bottom levels of American society, the court nevertheless found forceful reasons against preferential admissions based solely on race. Such a program while benefiting an individual was seen as divisive in terms of relations between the races.⁴⁵ Race as a category upon which to base social policy was seen by the court as counterproductive. As the court said"

".....Rewards and penalties, achievements and failures, are likely to be considered in a racial context through the school years and beyond."⁴⁶

Several other significant items in the decision should be reviewed. Once the court found that Bakke had proved that the school had discriminated against him it still had to decide what relief he was entitled to receive. The University urged that just because *Bakke* proved he was discriminated against because of his race does not entitle him to admission to the school and that furthermore, *Bakke* must prove he would have been admitted had there been no special admissions program. *Bakke* argued that burden of proof shifted to the University and that they had to prove he would not have been accepted or else admit him to the school.

In agreeing with *Bakke* the court held when *Bakke* established that the University had discriminated against him because of his race, the burden of proof shifted to University. Accordingly the case was returned to the trial court with instructions to hold a hearing on this matter and the court instructed the University to go forward with proof to the effect that *Bakke* would not have been admitted to school. In reaching its conclusion the court observed that :

"No reason appears...why the victim rather than the perpetrator of the illegal act should bear the burden of proof."⁴⁷

In a slightly different context one might well ask who has the burden of proof in establishing minority status. Is that the plaintiff's burden, or does the decision reside with the school authorities? Recently the Colorado Supreme Court took a case under advisement directly on this point. It is considering an appeal

from a student of Italian-American extraction who claims that he was illegally excluded from the University of Colorado's special admission program for law students. The case is quickly distinguishable from *Bakke* because here *no claim* is made that the student was denied regular admission because of the existence of a special admission program for minorities.

Instead, the case directly raises the question, whether an educationally and culturally "disadvantaged" white student has a constitutional right to be considered for admission under the special's special admission program. While no claim is made that the law school admission program is unconstitutional, it directly raises the question of the constituency for such programs. The suit does however, charge that the program was administered unlawfully because it failed to include the plaintiff, Mr. DiLeo among students from certain "identifiable groups". In his suit against the University he claims that his exclusion was based on racial grounds and thus violates his constitutional rights.

In an article entitled "Italian American 'Applauds' Intent of University's Special Admissions", Robert L. Jacobson says that :

"The object of Mr. DiLeo's suit is the Colorado law school's special academic assistance program. Established in 1968, it is described by the school as 'a program designed to identify prospective law students who appear to have the intellectual ability to graduate from this law school but would not otherwise be eligible for admission under normal standards and who are members of identifiable groups which have not had adequate educational and cultural opportunities available to them and which are seriously underrepresented in the legal profession.'"⁴⁸

For *DiLeo* the issue is clear, the special admission program is unfair in that as established by the University, it *excludes students who fit the category of need for special treatment in admissions except for race*. As the brief says :

"...because it creates in effect an irrebuttable presumption that if you are a member of one of three select minority groups, you are presumed to be handicapped, whereas if you are not a member of these select groups you are presumed to be socially superior and not in need of the same special academic assistance."⁴⁹

In the *DiLeo* case there is a related dispute concerning the law school's criterion that students admitted under its special admissions program be members of groups that are "seriously underrepresented in the legal profession". According to the article, attorneys for the University plan to take the position that Mr. DiLeo's ethnic group, the Italian Americans, are not such a underrepresented group. The attorney for Mr. DiLeo expressed that he would not feel confident with having to prove on Mr. DiLeo's behalf that they are. In this context Mr. DiLeo says that the law school originally listed his application for the special program under the "mistaken assumption" that his surname was Spanish. To Mr. DiLeo this incident shows in "the most embarrassing way" how unfair and poorly the special admissions program is administered.⁵⁰

What is significant for our purposes about these two cases is not the teasing glance they afford of the modern educational management techniques in admissions (an issue for some to be sure) but rather that special treatment for a select few, *officially sanctioned* by the school engenders a resentment among all others not so considered.

Before proceeding further with our remarks concerning the notion of resentment in American culture a few concluding remarks about a different aspect of resentment in education should be made; this time from the focus of minorities. Here our focus is not upon the process of selection, but rather on the schooling process itself. As David Williams has observed the :

"Feelings of resentment therefore involve distinct power relationships, in which subordinate groups or classes may hope for the weakening of the values of the powerful who direct their values against the weak. Those who are consistently on the receiving end of moral judgments and powerfully value-laden decisions consistently experience a 're-feeling' of a specific clash with someone else's value qualities, in which process of 're-feeling' the reactionary emotion usually increases with time."⁵⁰

The realization that this process of resentment is a *culturally* conditioned one, that knowledge in our society, is based on control rather than on essence or spirituality is of little comfort to those who are persistently controlled by others. Nowhere in American

culture is this control by others perhaps more obvious than in our school systems.

The research of John Ogbu is directly relevant on this point.⁶¹ Ogbu raises the question; why do minority children living in cities fail in school? In his research he systematically documents how, in the area studied, the children are encouraged to fail and taught that effort does not bring to them the same rewards that it brings to middle class children.

He takes specific issue with the three classic reasons, the conventional wisdom, for why children fail in school; cultural deprivation inferiority of schools and genetic inferiority of ethnic groups especially blacks. Instead Ogbu points to two historical explanations, urbanization and subordination. As he says :

"In school blacks responded by reducing their efforts in school tasks to the level of rewards they expected as future adults. This mode of adaptation results in a high proportion of school failure. For blacks the school failure adaptation reduces the pain of working as hard or harder than do whites for fewer rewards."⁶²

Clearly then the subordination of the students, both as individuals and as members of a group is one aspect of the resentment process in schooling but there also exists a larger social process which is established. As Ogbu notes :

"The schools...administrators, counselors, teachers, pupils, and so on are merely playing the roles that the community (dominated by the ideas and policies of the dominant group) assigns them."⁶³

Thus resentment and the process of adaptation in this example is a product of our school systems. As with the effects of propaganda upon our basic needs, this process also confuses the individual and obscures the relationship of those resentful feelings with their true locus in the social structure. Too often the locus of the resentment lies in the fabric of the social process itself and the exhortation to social action only contributes to the resentment. For example, the findings produced by Ogbu's research suggest that the social action in education would lead to something similar to affirmative action programs, special admissions or would even-tuate in the establishment of educational quotas for minorities—

themselves, as has been suggested, processes perpetuating, perhaps even increasing, resentment.

At this juncture it should be noted that there are a myriad of other aspects of education and the schooling process which generate resentment. Resentment spawned the term paper companies that supply student academic needs in the form of written papers and project assignments. For the educational professionals the "publish or perish" paradigm creates resentment and suspicion among faculty colleagues. In addition, and more importantly there is also an aspect of resentment which actually underpins the curriculum of the educational institutions and upon which courses are offered or excluded.¹⁴

Sheila K. Johnson in writing about the difficulties encountered in establishing a course called "The Culture and History of the Jewish People" portrays the structural resentment in the contemporary collegiate setting. Here the focus is ethnic-ethnic resentment and the political dimensions are narrowed and specific. In turning down the offer of the course the ethnic studies department said :

"...That a course in Jewish studies was not needed because several members of the department already dealt with the Jewish exploitation of Third World minorities in their courses."⁵⁵

and in addition the position of the department was that since the Jewish people were not an oppressed minority in the United States that they should not be the subject of a formal course of instruction. The dean of instruction even interpreted the requirement of Ethnic Studies to relate wholly to Third World People (*i.e.* Afro Americans, Asian Americans, Indians and Latin-Mexican Americans). As Johnson says :

"Those who want to restrict ethnic studies to 'Third World People' generally cite Executive Order 11246 which mandated affirmative action in the federal government in hiring on behalf of black, American Indian, Spanish-surnamed, and Oriental Americans."⁵⁶

Thus in pointing out the relationship between larger aspects of social policy, in this case affirmative action, and how it effects what is studied in school, Johnson raises questions which go to the heart of our understanding and recognition of ethnic groups.

In this vein the research of Lavender and Forsyth is revealing. The authors systematically examined the study of minority groups in American culture. They methodically searched all the leading sociological journals and found indications that the sociological examination of ethnic and minority groups have dealt overwhelmingly with the examination of black Americans to the exclusion of other ethnic groups. In noting the effects of this finding the authors observe that :

"In view of the small number of articles concerned with these ethnic groups, it is no wonder that so little is known about ethnic-ethnic, ethnic-black and ethnic-dominant society relations."⁵⁷

Resentment then can act as a filter in school. It can screen in or out knowledge, students, information about ethnic groups and it can also construct ethnic realities (courses) in the school. The school and its social and intellectual policies, its social reality constructs, and the control over the voices of the professions who examine ethnic phenomena become crucial in understanding American ethnic life. Crucial to this understanding of school relationships is an understanding of resentment in American culture. For as Williams so correctly advises :

"To take resentment out of education, we must concomitantly seek to remove it from every surface in our social lives."⁵⁸

RESENTMENT IN AMERICAN CULTURE

In a very real sense the *Bakke* and *DiLeo* cases, the observations of Ogbu, Williams and Johnson can all be seen as part of contemporary American culture. They are not separate distinct happenings, but rather form a part of a larger cultural whole. Our culture has always subscribed to the illusion that we are a classless society ; one based upon individual merit, initiative and talent. As a culture we have never thought in terms of classes and for that matter until only recently have we thought in terms of cultural groups. The real reason the special privileges and exclusive nature of admission programs for minorities causes resentment is not because a "special class" is being established but rather because such programs puncture the illusions of classlessness, and our cherished myth of individualism. For those without group affiliation, or with weak group ties, a feeling of political impotency can be seen to underpin this feeling of resentment.

Moreover, considering the increasing importance of credentials for job placement in a static economy one can fairly expect then, both a growth in individual resentment, and a similar expansion in educational legalisms. Endless arguments over tests, the meaning of their scores, admission programs, curricular matters, and controversies over the relationship of a course of study to the practice of a profession are likely to transpire. This expansion of educational legalisms will create a kind of intellectual displacement, a dislocation within individuals. The original cause of resentment will be displaced with a resentment induced by the growing cluster of regulations, rules, and laws attached to the schooling process. The specific event and its meaning will have been consumed by the social process; a social process increasingly resented by those who share or seek to share in the social ritual of education as well as those who manage the schools.

Returning to our earlier question regarding the functioning of the judicial process in American culture Martin Tolchin contends that :

"The extension of judicial authority into executive and legislative areas has evolved in the last 15 years largely as a result of class action suits that flowed from the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the decisions of the Warren Court, notably *Brown v Board of Education* in 1954."⁵⁹

and makes the salient observation that the :

"Courts have taken over the operation of jails in St. Louis, Baltimore, New Orleans, Toledo, New York City, Boston, Jacksonville, Knoxville and Lubbock and Harris counties in Texas. They run prisons in Alabama, Mississippi and Arkansas, state hospitals in Alabama, Louisiana and Mississippi and a school district in Boston."⁶⁰

The point to be made here is that the climate of resentment tends to focus upon the courts and their intervention institutions and *not* upon the failures of the political process. In the sense of an inability to live up to principle, our political process has collapsed when this judicial intervention occurs. Indeed, one insightful politician noted that :

"...Federal intervention gets local officials off the hook. Are taxes raised? Don't blame the legislators, blame the courts. Are priorities changed? Governors and mayors say they are not at fault."⁶¹

Thus the public resistance, the resentment at interference is reflected privately by the politicians. What is really a failure of individual nerve, a failure of political will, becomes a failed promise to the community. Rather than resent this failure, the community resents the court structure which seeks to have the political construction of reality measured against principle. What was once a political process for argument, debate and problem resolution becomes inverted. It develops into a bureaucratic, risk-free, self-serving political organization. It is not the fear of government by judicial oligarchy which is so deeply troubling, but rather the present absence of alternatives in our political system. All roads lead to the courts and the legal structure.⁶²

It is the lack of political commitment by various branches of government which is the issue. The resentment on the part of the public is not directed to this lack of commitment, or for that matter to their own lack of resolve, but rather to the social process of "repair" caused by the absence of the political commitment; *i.e.* court intervention. When moral standards, values and commitment are absent from a culture, or in a neo-pragmatic sense, are deemed surplussage to the techniques of modern politics; then the "objective reality" of quantified rules, regulations, procedures and laws become the only alternatives open to the social order for its maintenance and continuation.

In addition, it should be mentioned that the foreclosure of commitment in the political process in guaranteeing the rights to *all* groups in the society has forced ethnic and minority groups into the court system to seek their political (read moral) rights in a wide range of cases.⁶³ Thus even if one views the court system in a passive role, the modern political process forces issues and problems onto the judicial docket. Increasingly litigious minded groups demand the use of the legal structure as a forum for grievances and a position from which to politicize issues.⁶⁴ That the fact of having to initiate a legal proceeding induces additional resentment is obvious if for no other reason than the commencement of litigation is an open recognition of one's exclusion from the prevailing political process.

RESENTMENT IN THE COMMUNITY : TWO VIEWS.

Bearing directly on this point is the case of the *United Jewish Organizations of Williamsburg Inc. et. al. v Carey et. al.*⁶⁵ In this

case the petitioners argued that the New York Legislature, in seeking to comply with the Voting Rights Act⁶⁶ as construed by the Attorney General, violated the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution by deliberately revising a reapportionment plan along racial lines. They argued that the redistricting plans of the New York Legislature violated their constitutional rights in that the Hasidic community in Williamsburg, a cohesive and identifiable group of orthodox Jews, was split in half, into two districts whose racial composition would be about 65% black each, by the proposed redistricting plan. It was the resultant dilution of this political power which was contested by the plaintiffs.⁶⁷ *An ethnic group was seeking a forum to sanction (to translate) its concepts of holistic identity into political reality.*⁶⁸ As a group they argued they had had their rights abridged. The United States Supreme Court disagreed.

In holding the act of the New York Legislature constitutional the court declared that :

"It is apparent from the fact of the Act, from its legislative history, and from our cases that the Act was itself broadly remedial in the sense that it was 'designed by Congress to banish the blight of racial discrimination in voting...' South Carolina v Katzenbach, 383 U.S. 308-(1966)."⁶⁹

Indeed in *Gaffney v Cummings*,⁷⁰ the court recognized that redistricting plans would be vulnerable if "racial or political groups have been fenced out of the political process and their voting strength invidiously minimized."⁷¹ While in the case of *Beer v U.S.*,⁷² the court pointed out it considered the question of *what criteria* a legislative reapportionment plan must satisfy under the Voting Rights Act to demonstrate that the plan does not have the "effect of denying or abridging the right to vote on account of race." As the court said :

"*Beer* established that the Voting Rights Act does not permit the implementation of a reapportionment that would lead to a retrogression in the position of racial minorities with respect to their effective exercise of the electoral franchise."⁷³

For the court, this test was *satisfied* where the reapportionment increased the percentage of districts where members of racial minorities protected by the Act were in the majority. As the court stated in the instant case under review :

"Implicit in *Beer* and *City of Richmond*, then, is the proposition that the Constitution does not prevent a State subject to the Voting Rights Act, from deliberately creating or preserving black majorities in particular districts in order to ensure than its reapportionment plan complies with section five."⁷⁴

In noting that in the case under consideration that it was true that the New York Legislature *deliberately increased* the nonwhite majorities in certain districts in order to enhance the opportunity for election of nonwhite representatives the Court said that :

"Nevertheless, there was no fencing out of the *white* population from participation in the political processes of the county, and the plan did not minimize or unfairly cancel out *white* voting strength." (emp. supp.).⁷⁵

and further on the court concluded that :

"...We think it also permissible for a State, employing sound redistricting principles such as compactness and population equality, to attempt to prevent racial minorities from being repeatedly outvoted by creating districts that will afford fair representation to the members of those racial groups who are sufficiently numerous and whose residential patterns afford the opportunity of creating districts in which they will be in the majority."⁷⁶

In conclusion, the deliberate increase of minority representation at the expense of ethnic enclaves can be seen as a contributing factor in ethnic cultural resentment.

In another significant legal decision bearing on the notions of resentment, community and neighborhood the United States Supreme Court dealt yet another blow to identifiable ethnic and minority groups. This time however, the issue was not a particular group desiring to remain together as a group in the exercise of their franchise, but rather the ability of a suburban area to exclude members of a minority by use and manipulation of their zoning regulations.

The case of *Village of Arlington Heights et. al. v Metropolitan Housing Development Corporation et. al.*⁷⁷, involved a dispute over a suburban zoning variance for low cost integrated housing. Arlington Heights is a suburb of Chicago and the Metropolitan Housing Development Corporation, a non profit developer, con-

tracted to purchase a tract within the boundaries of the Village of Arlington Heights in order to build racially integrated low and moderate income housing.

The contract for the purchase of the land was contingent upon securing rezoning as well as federal housing assistance. MHDC applied to the Village for the necessary rezoning from a single-family to a multiple family classification. At a number of commission meetings, all open to the public, both sides touched upon the fact that the project would probably be racially integrated. Multi-family dwelling zoning and apartments had been constructed by the Village primarily as a buffer between single family dwellings and the commercial zone of the Village. *The request for the zoning change was denied* and the controversy wound through the court structure to the United States Supreme Court.

The United States Supreme Court in sustaining the actions of the Village's zoning commission against constitutional attack said that even though the lower courts found that the "buffer policy" had been applied *unevenly* in the past that nevertheless, this "evidence does not necessitate a finding that Arlington Heights administered this policy in a discriminatory manner."⁷⁸

In its opinion the court stated clearly that solely because the actions of officials have racially disproportionate impacts, they will not necessarily be held to be unconstitutional. In reaching the decision the court all but ended the test of disproportionate effects, i.e. does the social policy unfairly effect one group, in favor of a new evidentiary standard. Now those groups who are "*controlled*" or *find themselves in subordinate positions have to prove the existence of motive, of discriminatory purpose, behind the social policies which effect their group in an unfair manner.* In the words of the court :

"Disproportionate impact is not irrelevant, but it is not the sole touchstone of an invidious racial discrimination."⁷⁹

In defining the test for discrimination and exclusion of minorities the court stated that motive must be established. For the court to intervene the individual must have *proof of motive to discriminate.* In the court's words :

"When there is a proof that a discriminatory purpose has been a motivating factor in the decision, this judicial deference is no longer justified."⁸⁰

but that in the instant case,

"The respondents proceeded on the erroneous theory that the Village's refusal to rezone carried a racially discriminatory effect and was, without more, unconstitutional."⁸¹

In the eyes of the court the respondents simply failed to carry their burden of proving that discriminatory purpose or intent was a motivating factor in the Village's decision not to alter its zoning regulations.

All of these lawsuits are structural representations of resentment in contemporary American society. On the one hand they are a reaction against the modern social structure, while on the other, they are also a product of that same social structure. That a community, any community, let alone an ethnic or minority community, can arise against these artificial strictures and structures of schooling and contemporary urban ecology is an act of will. Moreover, whether the vitality of ethnic and minority groups can transcend this pettiness, jealousy and resentment remains an open question. To survive through history however, means more than losing resentment ; it means dealing with a sense of loss.

LOSS AS A SOCIAL THEME IN AMERICA : IMPLICATIONS FOR ETHNIC GROUPS

There is a strong element underpinning and influencing social policy in America which is based upon compensation for a sense of loss felt by American citizens. Individuals who experienced this sense of loss, a by-product of modernity, may ultimately find themselves in sympathy with the motives and aims of the active ethnic and minority groups in society and yet at the same time deeply resentful of these groups.

The sense of loss can be occasioned by those who have left their past behind, a mere function of the moment of history, and who seek both meaning and satisfaction in their lives in other, more modern, individuated ways. For these persons the sense of loss means that the social group of their origins has ceased to have either significant social or cultural importance. In this sense these individuals are resentful of those who cling to, use and manipulate the group reference politically, ideologically and culturally.⁸²

While they ultimately may be in agreement with the demands of ethnic and minority groups, for these individuals however, the

relevant social policy is a policy that deals with their feelings of loss and *not* with group based political arrangements fostering the groups' advance into the mainstream of American social and political life. These individuals want to be "treated" for this feeling of loss they have experienced and they want social policies developed to compensate them structurally for this often ill defined feeling.

Indeed David K. Cohen in an article entitled "Loss as a Theme in Social Policy" states that :

"If social policy has been shaped by contention over the extent of social democracy, it also has been the product of a mad rush to repair the traumas of becoming modern. If conflict over the extent of equality has been one major theme in the evolution of social policy, another has been the recurrent desire to recapture a community which seemed about to disappear."⁸³

For Cohen this sense of loss produced efforts to invent institutions, among them the school, which would and could replace the failing communities. As he says the feeling of loss :

"... Evoked a belief that primary institutions... families, churches and communities ...had lost their ability to pass a common culture along, and this became a powerful inspiration for the development of public education."⁸⁴

After depicting briefly the horrors of urban 19th century city life, the squalor of the immigrants, the poverty and family disintegration Cohen states that ideas about just how schools would work were fairly uniform.

"Most traditionalists thought of them as a redeeming environment...reformers hoped that schools would separate the deviant and deficient young from their inadequate surroundings, filling them with better sentiments and creating a new system of common morals. All agreed, though, that the point of public schooling was to create those collective sentiments and values which they feared were eroding. Schools would do intentionally and consciously what lost communities had once done reflexively and instinctively."⁸⁵

Thus the early notions about schooling, no matter how much they varied, were underpinned with notions that they would recreate social cohesiveness by refashioning personal values, sentiments

and ideas about social reality.⁸⁶ How familiar this sounds in an age where value clarification movements and back to the basics thrusts are currently popular educational themes.⁸⁷ However, as Cohen observes this social undertaking in the schools created a colossal paradox. As he says :

“As a result, in seeking to preserve traditional values, they turned naturally to the rational design of new institutions and to the conscious construction of social morality.”⁸⁸

and that :

“A second consequence was to weave a strange ambivalence into social policy for education: the wounds of modernization made public schools necessary, yet schools would be modernizing agencies.”⁸⁹

It is this ambivalence in modern schooling that creates many of the educational problems. It is an argument that the schools cannot “win”, because the nature of the controversy which lies at the heart of the debate about schooling is caused by different perceptions about school. Groups, depending upon where they are in the modernizing process (*i.e.* differentially located on a modernization continuum), may have quite different social themes underpinning their views regarding the function of the modern school. While the school may seek to follow a fairly uniform policy there is bound to be conflict because the pre-modern (ascribed) status of certain groups and the post modern (achieved) status of other individuals construct different social realities for school. Each position would see the school as providing quite different ranges of social and intellectual services for the students.

In the end perhaps the vaunted universalism of any bureaucracy, the school included, has difficulty when pluralistic demands are placed upon it by its clients. Sadly, all too often the reaction is to search for and develop a uniform policy that pleases no one and which all resent and to deal harshly with those who are different.

In expanding our focus on the notion of loss as a central theme in shaping both the vision Americans have about what is wrong with our culture and in guiding our efforts at correction educators should be attentive to the words of Raymond Williams. In an article entitled “Developments in the Sociology of Culture”, in which he urges the systematic study of culture, Williams observes that :

"The older concern, in cultural analysis, with a very wide and general area of cultural contributions, has in part been shifted, because the culture has shifted, to a very important if very limited area, in which a new formation is evident : briefly, the institutional technology of higher education, in which several forms of cultural theory have become, within a privileged situation, privileged practices."⁹⁰

For David Williams, writing on education, this form of cultural analysis is characterized by the fact that :

"Institutions are not overwhelmingly supportive of research which is concentrated outside process-product or purposive-rational logic. Negligible public funding is available for studies in education as well as in the social sciences, which do not permit themselves to become extraordinary of eclectic positivism."⁹¹

It would appear then that these categories and methods of cultural analysis are created by modernization, by the level, availability, and structure of technology in modern society. They are the results of, and are the products of the division of labor and the operation of the economic structure of American society. As such these tools of cultural analysis are unevenly distributed and in reality can be viewed as the products of the operation of a distinct ideological view of social relationships. Ultimately the contest over these pathways of knowledge and the social construction of cultural realities is where the pluralism of our values and traditions as a culture are tested.

In this context, Raymond Williams urges that it is important to understand that tradition is an important concept for the sociological examination of culture. Tradition he says :

"...Is the study of intellectual *formations* ; classically, groups and movements of cultural contributors, which have a significantly variable and *often oblique relation to formal institutions*."⁹²

and that :

"Tradition is an important and relatively undeveloped sociological concept; secondly that work of this kind, as it is now usually done, involves active consideration of the relations between specific traditions and particular works and practices, and these are of great theoretical interest in a wider field."⁹³

New vistas are thus open if one avails themselves of the opportunities for the sociological examination of culture as sketched by Williams.

In a world where telephone calls compensate us with ersatz social bonds of intimacy ; where workmans' compensation, social security and health insurance relieve us for our loss of community ; where the aged and sick are isolated, exiled until cured or dead, the study of tradition is mandated. To outgrow our infatuation with social causality and to escape the inherent madness of narrow policy studies would be both a sign of intellectual maturity and structural significance.

Such an intellectual movement could be distinguished by a lack of any previous ideological system. It could offer in some sense a groping for a universal explanation for social loss we all share. That fact alone would given tradition a place in the history of sociological concepts. At the very least the examination would enable scholars as policy makers to deal with the two alternatives regarding the sense of loss in a new manner. Fresh insights could be applied first to the notion that the sense of loss persists because objective social and economic changes have obliterated the old order. Secondly, tradition as a unit of study could moderate the view that the task of modern society is not to reconstruct the past, but to create therapeutic institution which will help us work loss through and accept change. It is to the theme of tradition, more particularly the search for roots in American culture that our analysis now turns.

THE DREAM OF AUTHENTICITY : THE SEARCH FOR ROOTS IN AMERICA

The imagination of a world in which people are freed from political persecution and religious dogma had its origins in the late eighteenth century. It is the work of inspired reason ; the gleaming product of the Enlightenment and it is made all the more real by the American Revolution. Since the nineteenth century however, at least in the Western world, freedom has increasingly found its voice, first through literature, and then in scientific enterprise. While the record of our century, the twentieth, is incomplete a few noteworthy social themes have emerged. First, literature has become fragmented and privatized. At best it has been removed to the innocuous status of cultural surplussage-

amusement, escape, entertainment.....from the *real* world. While science and the development of technology have conquered the cultural descendants of the hosts who developed them.

However this may be, and it is always an enjoyable risk to talk broadly, nevertheless ultimately the authority of the imagination has its basis in the belief that it can transform the world, perhaps even realize what is truly the essence of the human experience. To achieve the former, a people must forget history; to accomplish the later however, history offers only a possibility; but it is the *only* possibility. Self consciousness and reason are both historical products, not scientific ones. In the end they provide the only injunction against the accelerated pathos of errors which characterize the contemporary era.

The most positive aspect of history, and by implication, the search for roots, lies in the fact that it provides a rationale for a people. The customs, traditions and the mores are only known and transmitted by history. The historical identity; the moral, political, and spiritual meaning of a group of people can be seen as contained in the metaphor of *Roots*. The experience of a people and their relationship to other people fashions an alternative to the adversary nature of the modern world. If Alex Haley's book *Roots* can make the black a historical being, then he as an author will have an honored and lasting place in American history.

Blackness is roots, a rooted sensitivity about life; and as such it is open to *all* criticisms that have ever been lodged generally about any creative workit is inaccurate, poorly researched, borrowed material (hand me down's) disorganized, poorly written, too commercialized, and in the end, not history at all. Moreover, to fault Haley on the drama of *Roots* is to ignore the major lessons of history. History is drama; a historical drama which changes and evolves just as do other human creations. To avoid the dramatic motif of history in favor of the security of facts is to modernize the discipline and to change it in the process. It removes history itself from its roots.²⁴ In the sense of *Roots*, history is the narrative, the story; the human hand rendering an account of the events at his or her command. What one often needs in order to acquire a better understanding of our society is not more facts. Facts in isolation are not very enlightening. Rather one needs to understand the facts one already has as part of the total dynamic process. Accumulating more information whether factual or

theoretical, will not necessarily help one to understand society. Instead, one needs to look at society in a new way,⁹⁵ and it is here that the narrative becomes crucial.

For example, in a society which has always equated manners with morals and not just visualized them as manners, the historical presence of the black as American takes on a whole new light. In America social behavior is the index of a deeper nexus of contractual agreement. Manners (read morals) are the hidden assumptions which make social life possible at all in America. Thus, a breach of etiquette, or simply not knowing the manners for the occasion (uneducated) ..something more serious than a breach...is tantamount to an attack upon the fabric of society and upon the bonds of the commonweal.⁹⁶ This is precisely the threat that blacks pose. When they "integrate" with the white world; the white world's response is that things have begun to come apart, or that they, the blacks, "just don't know any better."

Thus any breach of etiquette or violation of the code of manners interferes with social intercourse and raises the potential of a legal conflict. To say that blacks do not know how to behave is to level a deeper charge, one that is not unfamiliar and hardly innocuous. In a word, blacks constitute the heterogeneous element, the class of outsiders, in American culture. They will be outsiders until they develop a history; until they discover their roots.

By discovering one's roots however one does not mean a minority culture of angry parvenus who seek entry into the public institutions and private foundations of American Culture. True, ultimately this is what the special enrollment programs will mean be they in the private commercial sector (tokenism) or in the public sphere. To accept quotas is a view of the blacks as parvenus. Its meaning is : only a few with manners, or most assuredly only those select few with the *potential* to develop manners. The details of interviews, screenines and searches is simply an elongated test to assure those searching for a candidate *that black is not cultural but only visual*. Thus, the same escape from roots is open to the black just as it was open to all other ethnic groups only with a difference : *an explicit quota*.

Another objection to quotas and special admissions in American culture in this context, is that as structural arrangements

in society these social mechanisms underpin the, "We have no more racial problems" attitude which has oozed from American culture in the 1970's. The new attitude is caused by a major shift in American thought about race and minorities. For some, not all to be sure, the presence of affirmative action and quotas ends the issue. Racial discrimination as a problem has been incorporated into modern social management. As such it has become a "task" which is being "worked on" by administrators and policy planners. For others not familiar with these policies racism has evolved. It has become something new ; *a passion without fear*.

When fear leaves racism, whatever the highly varied reasons are in our culture, our question should be : what does the absence of fear contribute to the power relationships held together so tenuously in society ? Since all social constructs have a permeability, how does the evolutionary nature of racism affect these relationships ? Has, for example, human manipulation moved to a new, yet undefined level of abstraction ? Moreover, does to be black mean yet another denial of an exterior reality to the black social construction of reality ? If perhaps the reality of an integrated world has failed, then the construction of alternate realities becomes an issue for those persons who are black ; and the historical metaphor, as has been suggested, becomes a rich treasure in this regard.

At any rate, those individuals who can learn the manners and mores of American society (read, write and articulate in standard English) the vanguard blacks serve simultaneously to uplift and drag forward those who cannot,...the "laggards" of the inner city tribal brotherhood . and become the articulate voices of black culture. They are often black culture's most prized figures and they may also be viewed as its most complete victims. Critics and racists might shout that they have created a reality with the borrowed trappings of Western civilization; that what they create is inevitably second hand and by definition second best.

Without the slightest intent of racism, that this is untrue can be seen in both music and in professional sports; two areas both *reasonably* open to black participation in American social life. In each instance culture permeates the event. There is a difference in black music, its tonal structure, its lyrics, its cadence. With regard to sports, professional basketball clearly establishes the cultural

difference that black participation brings to the game. It has become a black game, with individual player moves unthinkable in coaching circles twenty years ago.

Ultimately however the argument must be that tribalism, the sub-culture "bondedness" of the blacks obstructs, interferes, or at the very least acts as a brake on the modernization process. Blacks in America are in a perpetual state of pre-modernity. The differential arrangements of rewards in society, ordered by an intricate webwork of insulting discriminations assure that blacks will always be one step behind all significant aspects of American society.⁹⁷

For example, if blacks graduate from high school in significant numbers, which they are now beginning to do, then the "degree does not mean anything", and the test for meaning moves to other non-degree areas such as work experience or travel. If blacks are admitted to public recreation areas, white go elsewhere, to newer resort areas to relax. A last example, culled from an almost infinite number, is when blacks move into a white neighborhood, whites overwhelmingly, although there are some outstanding exceptions, move to newer neighborhood with "better" social services.

Before proceeding further it should be pointed out that in American culture, modernization simply means a move from affective relationships to ones of neutrality. Objectivity enters social relations and a movement from diffuseness to that of narrowed, exact precision occurs. Status changes in the modernization process. It moves from ascription to something based upon achievement and at the same time society moves from particularism to universalism. All of these movements in American culture are necessary for a culture as representative of differentiation, problem solving (the infinite intellectual puzzles of social policy) and which permits enormous spheres of objectivity in social relations. "Let's leave it up to the experts", thus becomes the motiff of modern social life.

What must be recognized is that this process, only sketched here, cuts ancient tribal ties and obliterates identities. At the same time however, a cultural attack on the series of processes described above, constitutes in the eyes of non-minorities a regressive thrust in the development of American culture. That this is true is cer-

tainly suggested by the view of the hippies held by most Americans. They were dirty, threatened the manners and customs of society and ruptured firmly held notions of social decorum.

To survive in American society as a group people, a culture, Must we raise at this juncture the question of ideology? Does black culture need an ideology? This is not to argue for the truth content of a "packaged" ideology, but simply to lodge the question and to suggest that a fruitful manner in which to conduct the inquiry might be to view ideologies of black Americans as attempts to meet some of the very criteria attributed to the modernization process. Booker T. Washington, Marcus Garvey, more recently the Black Muslims and the Black Panther Party can all be viewed as black attempts to come to terms with the modernization process in a cultural perspective. On the other hand, the Urban League, the N.A.A.C.P. and C.O.R.E., at least in its initial phases, can be seen as accepting the modernization process and struggling to join in the fruits of its rewards.

Black history it is suggested in the context of *Roots*, then can be seen as more than a search for identity. It can be seen in the context of black resistance to civility; to manners and the abstractions of modern American social life. The pursuit of historical truth is not empirical but metaphorical. Historical truth for the black American is his or her essence. Black history is the story of an essence of a people. Since democratization in America was first established as the tribunal of each person's conscience and later became modernized and institutionalized to become coterminus with political rights, the historical story can only be suggested here.

One of our observations must be that since essence, the conscious being of people, exists independently of political rights (which all blacks do not at present have); the historical record should reflect this essence and not the litany of struggle over the civil and political rights. The former is unique, it is art in all forms; while the latter is, however well done, ultimately the plaintive wail of the outsider who has been captured by the lure of the modernization process.

The only fault with this position, and it is a fair criticism but one for which there is an answer, would be that ethnicity, in this context blackness, has itself become modernized. It has ceased to

be ascribed status and has become rather, an achieved status. Ethnicity and blackness have become something one's works at. One studies the history, discovers the essence of one group, learns terms, methods and ways of creating elaborate social rituals. Culture becomes something actively pursued, created and produced. As such with this specific end in sight, it can be argued that it becomes nothing other than an artificial counterpart to that it seeks to avoid, the sterile banality of modernized social life.

In addition as a contemporary social metaphor *Roots* and the search for family identity can be seen in the context of popular culture. As Thomas A. Johnson states :

"With the production of *Roots* the show that attracted the largest audience in the history of the medium,...the naming of children for its main characters has emerged as one of the most interesting aspects of this phenomenon."⁹⁸

Other popular off shoots of the interest spurred by *Roots* include significant increases in interest in travel to Africa, the West Indies, and a marked interest in studies of black Africa in general and of slavery in particular.⁹⁹

Indeed in the context of education, Jose Morese, Random House's marketing manager for colleges said :

"*Roots* courses have been sold to 150 institutions and the interest is burgeoning."¹⁰⁰

In addition, family heritage programs are popular in high schools, and blacks as well as other minority and ethnic groups are searching for their long lost past.

However, in school programs or not, for some groups the search for roots is difficult if not impossible. Indeed as Barbara Gamrekian notes"

"For some blacks, the past is lost forever...obliterated by migrations, loss of name, and the oppression of slavery. But for others, it has been possible to reconstruct the past that had been forcibly denied them."¹⁰¹

However, Professor Elizabeth Clark-Lewis notes that :

"Up until 10 years ago it was not easy for blacks to seek their past. The very places where one had to go to do the research were off limits."¹⁰²

These and other difficulties can pose problems in working with

records especially in smaller communities. But as Jamesa Wiker a research specialist at the National Archives poignantly observes :

“Although this is the age of enlightenment, blacks may run into some resistance on public records. If that happens one should invoke one’s rights under the Freedom of Information Act.”¹⁰³

What constitutes a family history is not only genetic house-keeping, but also social action. It is the lack of social action in “countermodern” movement exemplified by family ancestor searches which make it fail as a moral alternative. The great families in the past and more recently in American culture, for example the Rockefellers and the du Ponts, were acknowledged for their social position based on their accomplishments. Over time, each generation was engaged in significant social action. Today for those of less fortunate background, the illusion that the common man “ranks” with the du Ponts because he can trace his family history back eight or ten generations becomes a balm for his current lack of both social mobility and historical depth.

However, it would appear that along with the popularity of ancestor research, the movement among adopted people to determine their genetic parents would lend credence to the argument that there is more to social life as constructed and perceived than the simple canons of behavioral psychology and the arrangements of environmental priorities orchestrated by callow politicians, “for our benefit.” Individuals feel that they are unique. They feel that to some extent their groups are unique and that this uniqueness forms and fashions in a large part their notion of themselves. Could it be that the other directed person will become the genetic directed person ? Our will science discover something yet undreamed in human affairs; *the cultural gene* ?

To be real however, roots must be social, ethical and political. We are all from families, but some families carry the fabric of history within their breasts and each new generation suckles. It is these roots, these larger cultural roots, which bear the most interesting promise for analysis. Thus if it is true that the inheritance of the American blacks represents much of the country’s moral wealth, then Alex Haley has inherited the obligation to tell what he knows to be the truth. Otherwise he will squander his Precious assets and talents between the commercials of modern

television programming. If however, *Roots* encourages black history, the telling of the story, then it will truly be a legacy to the future generations. It will be both a past in a popular sense, and more importantly a bridge to the past. With the presence of the drama of black history guiding those in the present, black culture will assemble and reassemble itself in counterpoint to American society. It will have the potential to be a continual moral alternative for those who with courage will select from its fruits and a loathsome object of scorn for those who cannot come to terms with either their own fears or cultural difference.

In terms of cultural inheritance however I think the potential the work generates for further historical research by blacks about themselves lies in an answer to the following question : How did whites get blacks to chase after and round up other blacks and cart them to the ships for eventual lives of bondage as slaves ? If this slave selling mentality can be viewed as false consciousness, perhaps initially induced by contact with modernity (the slave traders), then our concerns as scholars as well as those of black Americans should be to develop a contemporary test anchored in history for this false consciousness. More importantly, since history is never a dated medium, our question becomes : what is the evolutionary nature of this form of false consciousness ? What are its contemporary statements ? Who, for example, are the blacks today who are "selling out" their brothers and sisters ? What are their reasons for doing so ? How can one recognize these unfolding patterns of contemporary culturicide ?

Now that black America is entering the political arena these questions become crucial in a cultural sense. This is true because politics has changed in America. Instead of efforts to redress social, economic and political inequalities (politics as usual) all voters are now offered only vague notions of upward mobility. These almost psychic visions are nothing other than restatements of the rugged individualism theme in American life or else a variant of a new ascetic socialism that is entering American political affairs. In discussing the social action dimension of the new politics Arthur I. Blaustein suggests that it is an illusion. As he says :

"The 'new activism' is one that is actively committed to passivity, a state of mind which refuses to undertake the

slightest personal inconvenience to intercede on behalf of those in our society who are suffering the most."¹⁰⁴

To understand what new dimensions of political life may evolve, let alone ascertain whether or not those changes auger well or bode ill for ethnic and minority groups, one would have to engage in more in depth analysis than is possible within the structure of this essay. However, a few remarks about American politics are relevant.....at least as an afterword.....if seen within the ethnic context and if seen as tentative sketches about the future.

AN AFTERWORD : THE SOUTHERNER AS ETHNIC : COMMUNITY REDISCOVERED ?

The Southern tradition is quite unlike the American tradition and nowhere is this difference made more clear in succinct, albeit blunt terms than by the President of the Confederacy. Speaking in Jackson Mississippi during a triumphant western tour during the second year of the Civil War (December-January 1862-1863), Jefferson Davis addressed himself to the conflict between the North and the South. After a particularly bitter tirade about the Northern Leaders, President Davis pointed out the difference between North and South in saying that :

"Wher it ever to be proposed again to enter into a Union with such a people, I could no more consent to do it than to trust myself in a den of thieves...There is indeed a difference between the two peoples. Let no man hug the delusion that there can be renewed association between them. Our enemies are a traditionless and homeless race." (emp. supp.).¹⁰⁵

In the eyes of Davis and many southern compatriots the North represented a historical society opposed to their cultural traditions. The Northerner was rootless, bereft of community and uncompassionate in their incivility. In a word, the effects of modernization, experienced first by the North, was viewed by the South in a negative manner. Indeed, modernization was viewed as a direct threat to southern culture, its institutions and its patterns of social intercourse. So grave was the threat, so complete the rupture, that war resulted.¹⁰⁶ The South, as "aggressor" led an anti-modern rebellion.¹⁰⁷ As Shelby Foote notes in summarizing the alternatives open to the South on the eve of the Civil War :

"The choice, then, lay between honor and degradation. There could be no middle ground. Southerners saw themselves as the guardians of the American Tradition, which included the right to revolt, and therefore they launched a Conservative revolution."¹¹⁸

What is crucial is not a recapitulation of southern history but rather historical reflection ; insight than can lead one to interpret the meaning.....politically, socially and *culturally*.....of a contemporary southern President. The argument concisely stated is that if one can read the southern metaphor in our contemporary culture, one may be able to determine alternatives to ethnic resentment, the sense of loss in American culture. mindless modernization as well as gain key insights into our changing political process.

Of singular importance in this regard is the contemporary American President, Jimmy Carter. President Carter represents an ethnic region, the South. As he represents a defeated culturea culture based upon rejected principles (the quaint rules, customs, and codes of conduct associated with southern living), and a culture which still feels defensive about these constellations of consciousness. The southern culture is a culture that risked notions of dignity in personal terms on the battlefield and whose dreams of the future became a shattered reality. As C. Vann Woodward notes :

"The shattering of this dream and the harsh education that followed has not made the South the home of a race of philosophers. Nor does it seem to have made Southerners any wiser than their fellow countrymen. *But it has provided them with a different point of view* from which they might, if they will, judge and understand their own history and American history, and from which to view the ironic plight of Modern America."¹¹⁹ (emp. supp.).

The southern tradition is a tradition which has tended to deal in illusions. It has substituted myths about the past : The cavalier legend, the Plantation legend of antebellum grace and elegance, and the social redeemers who prevailed over the carpetbaggers all form a part of the southern social construction of historical reality. These themes combined with the fact that they had time to sink in, to become part of the ongoing life fabric of society, because the South only recently has been going through the econo-

mic expansion, reorganization and modernization that the North and East completed long long ago afford rich opportunities for the southerner in political affairs.¹¹⁰ Indeed Woodward poses the question in the form of a challenge when he asks :

"Would a hard-won immunity from the myths and illusions of Southern sectionalism provide some immunity to the illusions and myths of American nationalism ?"¹¹¹

In this context one might inquire whether or not the same urge to conformity that operates upon ethnic or national minorities to persuade them to reject their roots, their native heritage does not also operate to a degree upon the Southerner as well ? Or, changing the focus from the individual perspective to one of structural considerations ; has the vaunted American success story been only *marginal* to the Southern experience ? Whatever focus one selects, individual effects and idiosyncratic reactions or structural and economic conditions in society the assumption of a stable system of symbols and meaning shared by members of a culture is called into question. The process of examination can foster a break with the past or forge new historical links. As Woodward optimistically observes :

"In their unique historic experience as Americans the Southerners should not only be able to find the basis for continuity of their heritage but also make contributions that balance and compliment the experience of the rest of the nation."¹¹²

Departing from the notion of conformity in American social life and returning to the idea of Southern uniqueness...a defeated culture...our inquiry must now determine what alternatives remain open for the contemporary Southerner. Succinctly, being from a defeated culture presents certain clear options for the individual. 1-The past can be relived and one can engage in pretenses, illusions and myths about the contemporary world; 2-One can articulate and construct a social reality which screens out most of the surrounding world as effectively as possible. Underpinned by traditions (the southern politicians approaching their politics in Washington D.C. as a *region*) this can be effective when reinforced with schooling, legend, media and family structure; and 3-One can learn deeply from the historical experience, and have the self confidence to realize that traditions are only valuable if they lead to the evolution of a culture and a shared sense of mutual identity. As Bernard Mehl states :

".....We can take our history for granted and hide behind superficial masks or else search out those aspects of the past which make us US. Since we can never find out what we really are, the historical quest is never completed. The quest is an adventure in discovering our eternal presence."¹³

The eternal presence, change through diversity, can be maintained if self and cultural confidence are not threatened. This quiet confidence, the solidness of small town America, Plains, Georgia is what President Carter, read at his best, lends to the current American spirit. A rooted person can be humble, forgiving and can talk in a refreshing pragmatic manner. Arrogance, double talk, and enemies lists are alien creations for a person self assured and possessed with a sense of history and the security of cultural roots. The danger, if indeed there is one, is that these admirable characteristics might become something less than content. They could be illusions ; images of the modern world. *In popular terms Carter could represent the first in a line of nostalgia politicians.* This judgment might well be inescapable without structural changes in American society. Alterations in the distributive processes in American society as well as the definition and structure of work and the creative openings for cultural play will have to be forthcoming or the ethnic distinctiveness will become surplussage to the techniques of modern management.

However, the extended period of Southern history, characterized by the slow evolution of a series of wrong choices , the pretence of static relationships between the races, a code of formalism which became a genuine attempt to quash and control social evolution and the implicit presence of racism in every significant aspect of social life has both characterized the South and prevented positions of national leadership and management from coming to her sons and daughters. The civil rights coupled with changes in attitudes once thought immovable have however, the potential to create a political reality which can be differentiated from the dominant arranged reality in American social life.

In Southern terms, government is an organic thing. It is something more than a mechanistic creation. It is something more than a vehicle for the disbursement of political spoils or the operation of power. For the Southerner, *government is a reflection of our culture.* Government can tell us in cultural terms who we

all are and what we mean by our shared social experiences. The quality and movement to personalize the government and at the same time making it efficient, workable and adaptable whether through innovative legislation or executive leadership in reorganization and restructuring will be the Southern ethnic contribution to American politics. The potential to see government in cultural terms, as a product of cultural relationships and not as the operation of sacred organizational principles would truly be a lasting and much needed contribution to the American mosaic. Whether the potential can be realized is an open question ; but one toward which the themes discussed in this essay have ultimately been directed.

FOOTNOTES

1. See, Fanta, A.L., "Ethnicity and Education : Some Sociological Considerations" in *Sex, Race, Ethnicity and Education*. Michael V. Belok and Ralph Shoub editors. Anu Prakashan, Meerut, India 1976 p. 333-367.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 335.
3. Scheler, Max, *Ressentiment*, translated by William W. Holdheim. New York. Schocken Books 1972. p. 39.
4. This is Scheler's listing of the characteristics of resentment.
5. See, Jacques Ellul's work, *The Political Illusion*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York 1967. See esp. Ch. IV, V.
6. Fannon, Frantz ; *Black Skin, White Masks*. Translated by Charles Lam Markmann. Grove Press Inc. New York. 1967 p. 157.
7. Fiske, Edward B. "Schools, Like Doctors, Being Charged with 'Malpractice'." *The New York Times* March 9, 1977. p. 42.
8. Plax, Martin ; "Toward a Redefinition of Ethnic Politics." *Ethnicity* Vol. 3. No. 1. 1976. p. 19-33.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 29.
10. The importance of this issue is now being recognized in American politics with the disclosures of how the various intelligence agencies abused their charters and interfered with the civil rights of American citizens during the 1960's.
11. I purposely use the word satisfied. The issues, after a fashion, are resolved ; but the individual is left unsatisfied by the very process of resolution. See generally, J.P. Nettl, *Political Mobilization*. Basic Books, New York, 1967.
12. Illich, Ivan ; *Medical Nemesis : The Expropriation of Health*. Pantheon Books, New York. 1976.

13. See, Edgar Z. Friedenberg, *The Disposal of Liberty and Other Industrial Wastes*. Doubleday & Company. New York 1975.
14. Altheide, David L. ; *Creating Reality : How TV News Distorts Events* Sage Publications Beverly Hills, Ca. 1976.
15. Ellul, Jacques ; *Propaganda : The Formation of Men's Attitudes*. Vintage Books. New York. 1965.
16. Peter Berger mentions this in the sense of a "carry-over" where aspects of modernization are transported onto other areas of social life. See, Berger, Peter, Brigitte Berger and Hansfried Kellner ; *The Homeless Mind : Modernization and Consciousness*. Random House. New York. 1973. See, esp. p. 154-55.
17. As to the confusion of realm which exist within the individual, see : P.D. Ouspensky, *The Psychology of Man's Possible Evolution*. Vintage Books. New York. 1974.
18. Ellul, *op. cit.* n. 15. at p. 177.
19. Altheide, *op. cit.* n. 14. See esp. ch. 7.
20. Ellul, *op. cit.* Ellul says : "To put it differently : the objects of propaganda tend to become totalitarian because propaganda itself is totalitarian. This is exactly what I said when I spoke of the necessity to turn democracy into a myth." at p. 245.
21. Reinhold, Robert ; "Poll Links Sense of Powerlessness, Not Disillusionment, to Low Vote." *The New York Times*. November 16, 1976. p. 1.
22. Ellul, *op. cit.* p. 175.
23. See, Roszak, Theodore, *The Making of the Counter-Culture : Reflections on the Technocratic Society and its Youthful Opposition*, Anchor Books Garden City, New York. 1969.
24. Berger, et. al. *op. cit.* n. 16. See, pp. 216, 226-27.
25. On this notion see, Herbert Marcuse, *One Dimensional Man*. Beacon Press, Boston. 1964.
26. Here I merely mean to separate the social process for purposes of analysis. Legislation can also invoke legal sanctions as well as a sense of direct benefits to individuals.
27. Friedenberg, *op. cit.* n. 13. pp. 9-17.
28. Marshall Cohen "He'd Rather Have Rights." *The New York Review of Books*. Vol. XXIV, No. 8. May 26, 1977. p. 37.
29. Dworkin, Ronald ; *Taking Rights Seriously*. Harvard University Press Cambridge. 1977.
30. Lewis, Anthony ; "A White Enclave ?" *The New York Times*. February 17, 1977, p. 37.
31. *Ibid.* p. 37.
32. *Ibid.*
33. *Ibid.*
34. *Ibid.*
35. Altman, Lawrence K. ; "Medical Schools Urged to Intensify Recruitment of Minority Students." *The New York Times*. May 10, 1977, p. 10.

36. *Ibid.* p. 10.
37. 416 U.S. 312, (1974).
38. 13 C. 3d 34, (1976).
39. Mimeo copy of the opinion, at p. 2-3.
40. *Ibid.* p. 5.
41. *Ibid.* p. 6.
42. *Ibid.* p. 10.
43. *Ibid.* p. 11.
44. *Ibid.* p. 14.
45. *Ibid.* p. 14.
46. *Ibid.* p. 14.
47. *Ibid.* p. 15.
48. Jacobson, Robert L. ; "Italian-American 'Applauds' Intent of University's Special Admissions." *The Chronicle of Higher Education*. Vol. XIV No. 4, March 21, 1977. p. 6.
49. *Ibid.* p. 7.
50. *Ibid.* p. 7. How, for example, one determines minority status can become a play on roots. For example, does the surname of the father prevail over that of the mother ? Or does the student have a choice in terms of ethnic identification ?
- 50 a. Williams, David C. ; "Ressentiment and Schooling". *Educational Theory*, Vol. 26, No. 1 (Winter 1976) p. 75.
51. Ogbu, John ; *"The Next Generation : An Ethnography of Education In An Urban Neighborhood"*. Academic Press, New York, 1974.
52. *Ibid.* p. 137.
53. *Ibid.* p. 137.
54. Putting students through the curriculum of the modern school more often than not includes courses which are specifically designed to "cool out" specific groups of students. At the University level these courses which present difficulty for the students are most often found at the freshman introductory course level and they are designed to reduce and weed out those students who cannot master the course of study.
55. Johnson, Sheila K. ; "Ethnics in Academe." *The New Republic*. Vol. 175, No. 25. December 18, 1976, p. 8-9.
56. *Ibid.* p. 8.
57. Abraham D. Lavender and John M. Forsynth ; "The Sociological study of Minority Groups As Reflected By Leading Sociological Journals." *Ethnicity* Vol. 3 No. 4. (1976) p. 394.
58. Williams, *op. cit.* p. 80.
59. Tolchin, Martin ; "Intervention By Courts Arrouses Deepening Disputes." *The New York Times*. April 24, 1977. p. 1, 50 ; at 50.
60. *Ibid.* p. 1.

61. On the changed nature of modern politics generally see, Ellul, Jacques ; *The Political Illusions*. Alfred Knopf. New York. 1967.
62. Rodgers, Harrell R. and Charles S. Bullock ; *Law and Social Change ; Civil Rights Laws and Their Consequences*. McGraw-Hill. New York 1972 ; provides an excellent discussion of this process. See especially Chapter 9.
63. *Ibid.* p. 69-139.
64. *Ibid.* p. 227.
65. *United Jewish Organizations of Williamsburg Inc. et. al. v Carey et. al.* 429 U.S....., (1977) No. 75-104. 45 L.W. 4224.
66. 42 U.S.C.A. Sec. 1973 (c).
67. *Op. Cit.* p. 4223. Petitioners also said they were assigned to voting districts solely because of their race and that this violated the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

Under the previous voting plan the Hasidic community of Williamsburg was located entirely in one assembly district (61% nonwhite) and one senate district (37% nonwhite). The petitioners argued the new plan "would dilute the value of each plaintiff's franchise by halving its effectiveness" solely for the purpose of achieving a racial quota and therefore in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

In this context, the lower court said that : "...So long as a districting, even though based on racial considerations is in conformity with the unchallenged directive of and has the approval of the Attorney General of the United States under this act, at least absent a clear showing that the resultant legislative reapportionment is unfairly prejudicial to white or nonwhite, that—that districting is not subject to challenge. (510 F. 2d. at 525).

68. See, Berger, et. al. *op. cit.* n. 16. At p. 168.
69. *Op. cit.* n. 65, at 4224. See also *South Carolina v Katzenbach*, 383 U.S. 308 (1965).
70. *Gaffney v Cummings*, 412 U.S. 735, at 741.
71. *Ibid.* p. 741.
72. *Beer v U.S.*, 425 U.S. 130 (1976)
73. *Ibid.* p. 141.
74. *United Jewish Organizations of Williamsburg Inc. et. al., op. cit.* n. 65. at p. 4225.
75. *Ibid.* at p. 4227.
76. *Ibid.* at p. 4227.
77. *Village of Arlington Heights et. al. v. Metropolitan Housing Development Corp et. al.* 429 U.S....., No. 75-616, (1977).
78. *Ibid.* at p. 16.
79. *Washington v Davis*, 426 U.S. 229, at p. 242.
80. *Op. cit.* p. 12-13.
81. *Ibid.* at p. 15.

82. In this context, see, Sullivan, Ronald; "Plan to Build Ritual Bath in Teaneck Stirs Dispute Among Suburb's Jews." *The New York Times*. September 29, 1975. p. 33. As Sullivan states: "Many Jews don't even know what a mikvah is. The fact that we want to have one represents a resurgence of an Orthodox faith commitment that many Jews here have forsaken—and they do not want to be reminded of that. *In some ways it's a sense of embarrassment for them.*" (emp. supp.).
83. Cohen, David K. ; "Loss as a Theme in Social Policy." *Harvard Education Review*. Vol. 46, No. 4. November 1976, p. 553, at p. 554.
84. *Ibid* at p. 554.
85. *Ibid*. at p. 557.
86. As Cohen says: "Traditional reformers; saw solidarity as a product of order, whereas democrats thought solidarity should result from greater equality. Community was central in both traditions of thought, but the perspectives were remarkably different." at p. 559.
87. See, Daniel Bell, "The Public Household." *Public Interest* No. 37, Fall 1974. p. 29-67.
88. Cohen, *op. cit.* n. 83, at p. 559.
89. *Ibid*. p. 559.
90. Williams, Raymond; "Developments in the Sociology of Culture." *Sociology* Vol. 10, No. 4. September, 1976. p. 497-506 at p. 502.
91. Williams, *op. cit.* n. 50a. at p. 77.
92. Williams, *op. cit.* n. 90 at p. 499.
93. *Ibid*. at p. 500.
94. Fanta, A.L. ; "Some Troubling Thoughts About Cliometrics." *Journal of Thought* Vol. 11, No. 3 July, 1976 p. 218-226.
95. Williams, *op. cit.* n. 90.
96. For an interesting exploration of this thesis see, John Murry Cuddihy, *The Ordeal of Civility: Freud, Marx, Levi-Strauss, and the Jewish Struggle with Modernity*. New York: Basic Books, 1974.
97. Rodgers and Bullock, *op. cit.* n. 62.
98. Johnson, Thomas A. ; "Harlem Baby Named Kunta Kinte, for 'Roots' Hero". *The New York Times*. March 13, 1977 p. 36.
99. *Ibid*. p. 36.
100. *Ibid*. p. 36.
101. Gamarekian, Barbara; "Blacks Searching For the Long-Lost Past." *The New York Times* February 21, 1977, p. 28.
102. *Ibid*. p. 28.
103. *Ibid* p. 28.
104. Blaustein, Arthur I. ; "California Still Dreaming: A Citizenry With Its Collective Head in the Sand," *Harper's* Vol. 254, No. 1525 June, 1977 p. 19, at p. 21.

105. Foote, Shelby ; *The Civil War : A Narrative ; Fredericksburg to Meridian* Random House, New York. 1963 p. 14.
106. Nevins, Allan ; *Ordeal of The Union : Fruits of Manifest Destiny 1847-1852*. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 1947.
107. Foote, Shelby ; *The Civil War : A Narrative ; Fort Sumter to Perryville*. Random House, New York. 1958. See especially Chapter I.
108. *Ibid.* at p. 65.
109. Woodward, C. Vann ; *The Burden of Southern History*. Vintage Books. New York. 1960. p. 1-5.
110. *Ibid.* Ch. 1.
111. *Ibid.* p. 13.
112. *Ibid.* p. 16.
113. Mehl, Bernard, *Classic Educational Ideas ; From Sumeria to America*. Charles E. Merrill, Columbus Ohio. 1972. p. 8.

2

Conversion has been taking place in various forms and levels such as individual, family and group. In general, it seems easy to take action on individual basis rather than on group or family basis. It is rather difficult to find so many persons at one time in a family or group who may commit themselves to one's idea or action such as conversion. On the other hand one can hardly think of getting support from family or community members on such a sensitive point as embracing an alien religion. Naturally, it is largely done on an individual basis and in a rational way. The highest percentage among the First Generation converts—who converted in their own life time—was of individuals. 1451 cases of First Generation individual conversion were recorded in Meerut District. These 1451 cases do not include 23 cases of counter-conversion, since they have been discussed under a different heading. Various records of these 1451 cases will be quite sufficient to give **interpretation of motive in the problem of conversion** in a generalised way, which is sometimes not possible in a single case, however famous and important it is, such as the conversion

of Emperor Constantine (A.D. 306-337). Gibbon had discussed this at length in his renowned work "Decline and Fall of The Roman Empire", but he had failed to draw out any definite conclusion since only one case was before him, and **empirical generalisations were never followed**. Glanville Downey has observed :

"The problem of the 'decline and fall' is a famous lesson in methodology, but it involves so many subsidiary problems that a full analysis would take us too far from our present purpose. Instead we may turn to another crux of ancient history, the conversion to Christianity of the Emperor Constantine the Great. Here we shall be able to study, in terms of a single episode and a limited body of evidence, an interplay of religious and secular factors which illustrate admirably the significance of the historians perspective on religion."¹

But it is not our purpose.

However, so many interpretations of motive behind the conversion of Constantine to Christianity had been forwarded by historians such as Gibbon's, but they are not so important from the sociological point of view as they have been forwarded by historians from a historical point of view. Neither sociologically this could be generalized nor empirically proved. They have only historical importance, whatsoever. Downey has rightly observed:

"Historically the conversion of Constantine provides the student with an admirable opportunity to analyse motivations and forces which sometimes seems personal, sometimes impersonal.

Our investigation has dealt with the inner mind of an individual and with personal motive which are capable—whether justly or unjustly—of being challenged. But while the personality and the thoughts of Constantine form key to one problem, here the historian must take into account other types of evidence ; and the problem of the conversion of Constantine offers us another kind of lesson in methodology."²

So before us there is not only a single case of conversion for interpretation and motive analysis as it was before the historians. 1451 cases of First Generation individual converts were recorded in Meerut District which make the basis of empirical-inductions and generalisation. Let us see what impression they leave when viewed collectively :

TABLE 1

Religion Wise Classification of the First Generation Individual Converts.

S.No.	Conversion to	From Hinduism	From Islam	From Christianity	Total
1.	Hinduism	—	210 (14.5)	90 (6.2)	300 (20.7)
2.	Islam	385 (26.5)	—	36 (2.5)	421 (29.0)
3.	Christianity.	605 (41.7)	125 (8.6)	—	730 (50.3)
Total		990 (68.2)	335 (23.1)	126 (8.7)	1451 (100.0)
Percentage					

Above is the net balance-sheet. Hindus are the biggest looser and they stand first in order of loosing to Islam and Christianity. Christianity is the biggest gainer and the Islam stands second in gaining. Out of 1451 individual converts 990 (68.2) have been converted from Hinduism to Christianity and Islam, while converts to Hinduism are only 300 (20.7%). Out of these 990 converts from Hinduism 385 (26.5%) have been converted to Islam and 605 (41.7%) to Christianity. Conversion to Christianity and Islam from Hinduism is roughly in 3:2 ratio. In other words if there are five Hindu converts three have been converted to Christianity and two to Islam. The ratio of loosing and gaining in Hinduism is roughly 10:3. While 10 Hindus desert to alien religions only 3 come in from alien religions to Hindu fold to compensate nearly less than one third of losses. Christians and Muslims embracing Hinduism come to 14.5% and 6.2% respectively of the total converts. To make it more clear 300 (20.7%) out of 1451 embraced Hinduism in which 210 (14.5%) were Muslim and 90 (6.2%) Christians, making a ratio of 7:3. We may calculate it to individual percentage, but to avoid it at this place to save from overlapping double percentage it is better to give a clear-cut ratio when comparisons are to be done.

Muslims remain in a gaining position by a rough margin of 4 to 3. Thus they gain by 25%. Out of 1451 cases 421 (29%) were converted to Islam. Among these 421 Muslims converts 385 (26%) were Hindus and 36 (2.5%) were Christians, making a rough ratio of 12:1. Thus the majority converting to Islam is

again of Hindus. On the losing side 335 (23.1%) Muslim had been converted to Hinduism and Christianity. Out of this 210 (14.5%) deserted to Hinduism and 125 (8.6%) to Christianity. If we take a separate stock of accounts, Islam lost 210 (14.5%) persons to Hinduism while it gained 385 (26.5%) from Hinduism. In the same way it lost 125 (8.5%) persons to Christianity but could gain only 36 (2.5%) from them. Thus, the position of Islam is a strange one in the field of conversion. *It is losing to Christianity by a rough margin of 2:7, while it is gaining from Hinduism by a margin of 13 to 7.* From sociological point of view this fact is indispensable and for its interpretation we would have to go deep into social, psychological and cultural factors behind it. The other empirical facts collected for this study will be useful to have a deep look into this strange situation.

In short it is not possible to give answer in nut-shell as **why Islam is losing to Christianity and gaining from Hinduism.** It will not be logical to jump to early conclusions without going into details and into other aspects of the problem. For several reasons it would be more appropriate and logical to put this discussion in the last chapter of the study, when every empirical analysis is before us to make the facts crystal-clear. It will be more logical **to view this fact in the light of other existing facts in the whole galaxy of empirical analysis.** However, in short, I shall discuss this point here by way of reference.

Could it be concluded that Christianity stands superior to Islam? No, we cannot put things this way. If we put the combined number of 721 Hindu and Muslim converts against 730 Christian converts even then it is less. Thus out of total 1451 converts 730 have been converted to Christianity while only 721 have been converted to Hinduism (300) and Islam (421). The fact is this that since Christianity is not very old in India, hardly 300 years old, most of its population belongs to Hindu or Muslim converts. So further reconversion to their original religion is not easy and desired. On the other hand casteless Christian religion attracts the lower strata of Islam, whose social and economic position is no better than Hindu Schedule Caste. This lower strata of Islam had developed a rigid caste system, such as of Hindus, and no wonder most of the Christian converts are from this group which is economically weak and socially backward.

The net gainers, clearly on both sides—Hindu and Muslim—are the Christians; and the net losers, clearly on both sides—Muslim and Christian—are the Hindus. Muslims are gaining on one side and losing to the other.

Conversion to Christianity is in the same ratio as the lower strata of Hindus and Muslims is in their population ratio.

The Christians stand first in order of gaining from conversion. Out of 1451 converts 730 (50.3%) had converted to Christianity. Among these 730 Christian converts 605 (41.7%) are from Hinduism and the rest 125 (8.6%) are from Islam. Thus the conversion ratio to Christianity from Hinduism and Islam is roughly 5:1. 730 (50.3%) have embraced Christianity while those who deserted it are only 126 (8.7%)—90 (6.2%) deserted to Hinduism and 36 (2.5%) deserted to Islam. 605 (41.7%) have deserted Hinduism for Christianity while only 90 (6.2%) have deserted Christianity for Hinduism. In the same way 125 (8.6%) have deserted Islam for Christianity while only 36 (2.5%) have deserted Christianity for Islam. The balance sheet showing net gain or net loss will be useful to have a correct judgement as how the three different religions communities stand in the trial :

TABLE 2

Net Gain or Loss by Three Religious Communities in the Process of Conversion.

S. No.	Religious Community	Converted-Deserted	Net gain or Loss
1.	Hinduism	300 — 990	—690
2.	Islam	421 — 335	+ 86
3.	Christianity	730 — 126	+604
Total		1451 — 1451	00

Note : Conversion and desertion in the above three religious communities are complementary to each other.

In all the three religious communities conversion or desertion are complementary to each other. In the process of conversion (300) and desertion (990) Hindus have lost 690 persons and this number has been gained by Muslims (86) and Christians (604).

421 individuals embraced Islam while 335 deserted it, thus leaving a net increase of 86 persons. In comparison to Islam, gains by Christianity are phenomenal while its losses are negligible. 730 people embraced Christianity while only 126 deserted it, leaving a net gain of 604 persons. It is necessary to make it clear at this

point that those 36 people who deserted Christianity to Islam belong to those families whose fore-fathers were originally Muslims, and who before several generations and centuries back converted to Christianity. Detailed records of it had lost in the mist of history.

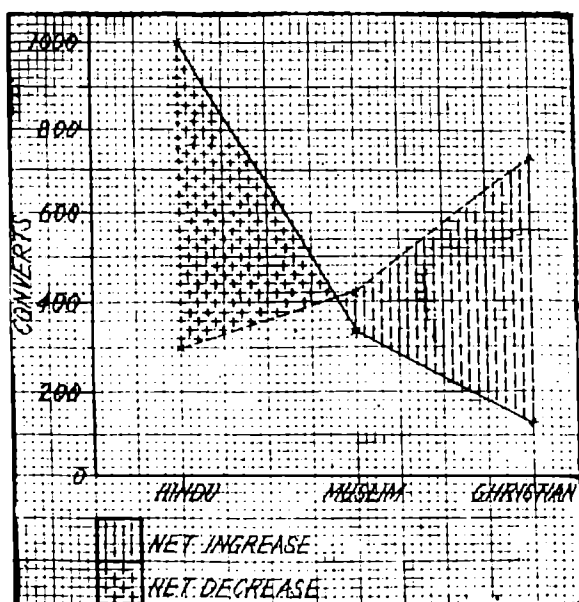


FIG. 1.

Conversion and Desertion in Three Religious Communities.

THE PROBLEM OF CHRISTIANITY

Christians constitute the smallest and negligible portion of the population in Uttar Pradesh. Except in some districts their population is lesser than 1 per 10,000. But from conversion point of view this community has developed a dangerous and menacing attitude, towards Hinduism in particular. As it is clear from the above mentioned facts the smallest community is being embraced by the highest number of converts. By the lowest computation 25% of the Christian population belong to first generation converts. Several facts expressing important trends, come into limelight when we go through the Census Reports of India 1961.

TABLE 3
Districts in Which Christians Have Increased by More Than 10 Points in Urban Areas (1921-61)³.

Year	U. P.	Dehradun	Mujaffar Nagar	Merut	Shahjahan pur	Agra	Lucknow
1961	6	18	2	5	5	7	11
1951	7	22	2	7	4	8	13
1941	6	23	4	7	4	1	13
1931	14	63	11	24	11	21	32
1921	15	81	8	26	14	23	28

From the above table we see that Christians have increased by more than 10 points in five urban areas in Uttar Pradesh, but gradually, on the whole, from 1921 their rate of increase is coming down. In 1931 it went up only in Mujaffar Nagar and Lucknow but afterwards it is gradually coming down. In Agra it came down to 1 point in 1941 from 21 points in 1931, and then again shot up to 7 points in 1951, showing a relatively constant trend of 7 points increase in 1961. In Shahjahanpur it has increased by 1 point in 1961 from 1951. This trend in five districts is confirmed by the

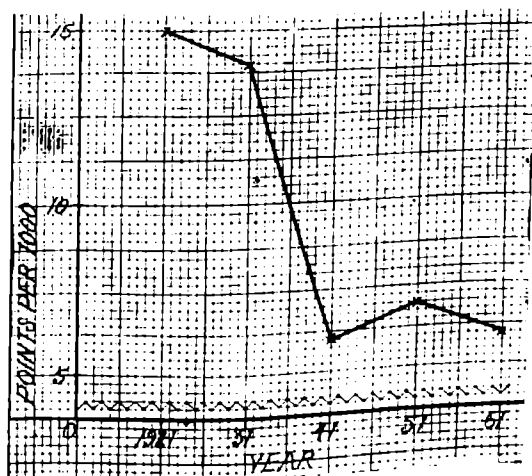


FIG. 2.
Fall in the Growth rate of Christian Population in Urban Areas of Uttar Pradesh

total trend shown in Uttar Pradesh, which is also on the decreasing side, but has become almost constant after once decreasing in 1931. It also shows a minor 1 point rise in 1951.

What is the reason behind such a sharp fall in the growth rate of Christian population in urban areas in particular? Actually this rate of growth does not represent the birth rate, but conversion. It may be easily interpreted as fall in the conversion rate since 1921 and steep fall since 1931. The year 1931 is important from religious and political point of view, which adversely affected the cause of Christianity in India and particularly in Uttar Pradesh. This was the rising storm of Arya Samaj—the Hindu Revivalism and the right wing nationalism.

Since the beginning of the National Movement after 1900, Christians were playing in the hands of their British masters through the petty padres and were anti-national. They were perfectly playing the role of a traitor. There are several instances when every Indian executioner in India refused to draw the hanging noose for the condemned Indian Nationalist Terrorists, they readily and shamelessly performed the task and this community never expressed even a feeling of remorse for this act of treachery. History after 1921 is crystal clear how these Christian traitors joined hands with the Muslim communalists. The objects were both political and religious. Both Christians and Muslims wanted to spread their religion in India and political power. For both of these objectives they got full support from their British masters. First quarter of the 20th century was a dark period for the Hindus when large number of Hindu population—particularly of the untouchables—was economically lured or forcibly converted by Christians and Muslims.

As the reaction came the Hindu revivalism. Arya Samaj took up the challenge. First it denounced the Hindu conservatism for its inhumane outlook towards Shudras and untouchables and started treating them at par with all other Hindus. Arya Samaj denounced castism. In the external field it challenged the so-called superiority of Islam and Christianity over Hinduism and questioned theoretical and scientific validity of their religious principles. Arya Samaji scholars openly challenged Maulvies and padres for Shastrarth in public.

Swami Dayanand Saraswati passed severe strictures on Islam and Christianity in his holy book *The Satyarth Prakash*. These

Shastrarths were not merely theoretical discussions or debates in nature but knock—out duals for religious survival for those participated and accepted the challenge. The basic condition for the Shastrarth from Arya Samaji scholars was that whosoever fails to answer the questions about his religion and to prove theoretical and scientific validity of his religion shall have to renounce his religion and be a convert.

This proved fatal to the designs of Christians and Muslims. In the first phase Muslims as well as Christians did not take it so seriously, but soon they realised they have stepped into quicksands. Hundreds of Maulvis and padres came forward for Shastrarth but lost the battle and had to denounce their religion in public and that too before their own religious community, and embrace Hinduism. Hollowness of Islam and Christianity was being printed in a systematic way and serious questions were asked. Soon the Maulvis and padres lost their taste for proselyting. Now they had to think for themselves and had to save their own people from being converted to Hinduism. Now it was not a pastime, it was a risky job. In 1903 a graduate Maulvi of Punjab Abdul Gafoor lost in Shastrarth and had to renounce his religion before embracing Hinduism. In 1908 Mirja Gulam Haidar converted. As bad luck would have him, a famous Christian missionary Mr. Robertson accepted the Shastrarth challenge and lost it. He was converted into Hinduism on the occasion of Arya Samaj's annual covention in Kashi where he delivered a long speech and falsified Christianity. These are only few examples.

SHUDDHI MOVEMENT

In 1923 the Shuddhi work in India was organised by Swami Shradhanand under the name of Bhartiya Hindu Shuddhi Sabha (Indian Hindu Shuddhi Organisation). Though this work was being done since the foundation of Arya samaj in 1875 but now it came out in a well organised form and with a determined spirit. Swami Shradhanand was the organiser and he started his work from Punjab and Delhi. The main aim of Shuddhi Sabha was to 'bring back in Hindu fold those who had deserted it'. Never before this philosophy was practised by the orthodox Hindus. Swami Shradhanand said that Hinduism had degenerated itself by not allowing to come back those who deserted it. We cannot afford to continue this policy of 'minus', but we have to follow a policy of 'plus'. By a policy of 'plus' he did mean converting people from

Christianity and Islam into Hinduism. This movement gain momentum in India, particularly in Punjab, Delhi, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh and successfully checked the Missionary activities. This is why we observe a sharp fall in the growth rate of Christian population in urban areas in Uttar Pradesh from 14 points to 6 points. Roughly the same is the case with the rural areas.

In some urban areas the Christian population have actually decreased up to 24 points after 1921 and is gradually decreasing.

TABLE 4

Districts in Which Christians Have Decreased by More Than 2 Points in Urban Areas (1921-1961).⁴

Year	Azamgarh	Rai Bareilly	Garhwal	Basti	Jalaun
1961	2	2	24	2	1
1951	1	2	26	1	1
1941	2	1	4	2	1
1931	2	3	20	2	1
1921	1	3	15	0	4

This was the result of intensive Arya Samaj activities in these districts. On the whole out of five districts four districts Azamgarh, Rai Bareilly, Basti and Jalaun are not showing any fluctuation in decrease of more than 1 point since 1921, and the net decrease never goes below 3 point. The case of Garhwai is somewhat different. Here the Christians are decreasing at an alarming rate and the rate of decrease is increasing sharply; from 15 points in 1921 to 24 points in 1961.

Some other reasons have also been forwarded in the Census of India 1961, for the decrease in the Christian population in Uttar Pradesh.

“Christian constitute another small minority community. In 1921 and 1931 the proportion of Christians to one thousand urban population was around 14; in 1941 it suddenly came down to 6 and has continued at that figure since with slight fluctuations. The main cause for reduction is the reversion of imperfectly converted Christians to their original religion, departure of the British and a large body of Anglo-Indians from the country, and migration of Christians to more developed areas in search of better

prospects. District which have more than 10 Christians per thousand urban population are Almora (27) Garhwal (24), Dehradun (18), Jhansi (15), Allahabad (14), and Lucknow (11). The reasons for comparatively high proportions in Garhwal and Almora can be traced to the greater activity of Christian missionaries in those areas. In the urban areas of Tehri, Baharaich, Jaunpur and Ballia districts there is only one Christian to a thousand population, and in Uttar Kashi none." ⁵

RELIGION, SEX AND CONVERSION

1451 cases of First Generation individual religious conversion—who converted in their own life time—were recorded in Meerut district. These 1451 cases does not include 23 cases of Counterconversion, since they have been discussed under a different heading. These cases have been discussed and classified sex and religion wise. Out of 1451 cases of First Generation individual converts 315(21%) are female while 1136 (79%) are male. Out of these 315 converted ladies 144 (9.9%) had converted to Hinduism, 41 (2.5%) to Islam and 133 (8.6%) to Christianity. It will be more appropriate to have a general view of the data in the beginning and then to go for detail analysis and comparisons.

TABLE 5
Individual Converts : Sex and Religion

S. No. Conversion to —	From Hinduism		From Islam		From Christianity		Total		Grand Total
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
1. Hinduism	—	—	100	110	56	34	156	144	300
	—	—	(6.9)	(7.6)	(3.9)	(2.3)	(10.8)	(9.9)	(20.7)
2. Islam	350	35	—	—	30	06	380	41	421
	(24.1)	(2.4)	—	—	(2.1)	(0.4)	(26.5)	(2.5)	(29.0)
3. Christianity	500	105	100	25	—	—	600	130	730
	(34.5)	(7.2)	(6.9)	(1.7)	—	—	(4.7)	(8.6)	(50.3)
Total	850	140	200	135	86	40	1136	315	1451
Percentage	58.6	9.6	13.8	9.3	6.0	2.7	79	21	100
Combined Percentage	68.2%		23.1%		8.7%		130%		100%

An overall analysis, without sex, has been given in detail in the previous pages. Now we have to see how the facts come up when further divided on the basis of sex and religion. It is to be observed whether they show any variation from the previous overall analysis or indicate any peculiar tendency when separately analysed (on the basis of sex).

CONVERTS TO HINDUISM

Male : Out of total 1451 individual converts 300 (20.7) have converted to Hinduism in which 156(10.8) are male and 144(9.9) are female. Thus they have converted to Hinduism in 11 : 10 ratio. Out of these 156 male converts 100 (6.9) have converted from Islam and 56(3.9) from Christianity. In number they stand third to Christianity and Islam. 850(58.6) Hindu male deserted Hinduism—? 50(24.1) embraced Islam and 500(34.5) embraced Christianity.

Female : 144(9.9) female have converted to Hinduism in which 110(7.6) have come from Islam and 34(2.3) from Christianity. These facts are showing peculiar tendency. The total number of Hindu converts (20.7%) is very low in comparison to Muslims (29%) and Christians (50.3%), but the percentage of female converts to Hinduism have turned the table. Here they stand first in order of merit. 144(9.9) female have embraced Hinduism while only 41(2.5) have embraced Islam and 130(8.6) Christianity. Less ladies have deserted Hinduism than have embraced it. **Why when a chance is given they choose Hinduism in first preference ? Is Hinduism more appealing to female than male ? Does Hinduism discreetly hold some subtle attributes which appeal more to a woman ?** In a way, the answer could be given in yes. Perhaps it is the social freedom, grace and sober attitude of Hinduism towards ladies that functions as a magnet. 110 Muslim and 34 Christian ladies have embraced Hinduism while only 35 Hindu ladies have embraced Islam and 105 Christianity respectably. Islam is the net loser of women in the process of conversion.

TABLE 6
Conversion and Desertion of Women in Three Communities.

Religious Community	Converted — Deserted	Net increase or decrease.
1. Hindu	144 — 140	+ 4
2. Muslim	41 — 135	— 94
3. Christians	130 — 40	+ 90
Total	315 — 315	00

Note : Conversion and desertion in the above three different communities are complementary to each other.

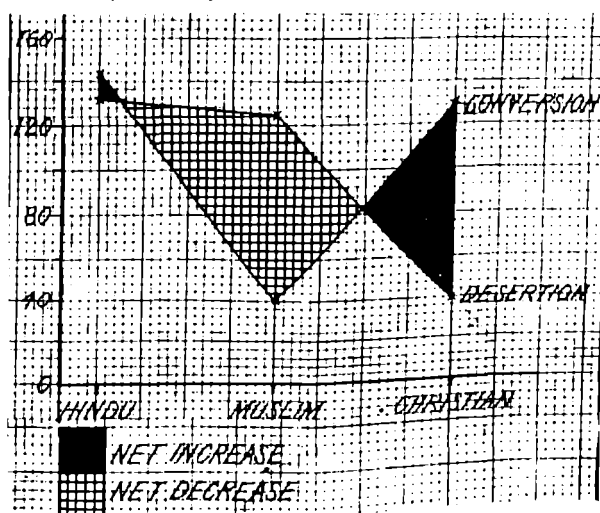


FIG. 3.

Net Increase or Decrease by Conversion of Women in Three Communities.

CONVERSION TO ISLAM

Male : Out of 1451 cases 421 (29%) have converted to Islam in which 380(26.5%) are male and 41(2.5%) are female. Among the 380 males 350(24.1%) have come from Hinduism and the rest 30(2.1%) from Christianity. The sex ratio of conversion to Islam of male and female is 19 : 2 which shows a big disparity. 200 (13.8%) Muslim male deserted Islam—100(6.9%) went to Hinduism and further 100(6.9%) to Christianity

TABLE 7
Conversion and Desertion of Male in Three Communities

Religious Community	Conversion	—	Desertion	Net increase or Decrease
1. Hindu	156	—	850	— 694
2. Muslim	380	—	200	+ 180
3. Christian	600	—	86	+ 514
Total	1136	—	1136	00

Note : Conversion or desertion in three communities are complementary to each other

Female : Out of 1451 cases of conversion 41 (2.5%) women have been converted to Islam, in which 35 (2.4%) have come from Hinduism and 6 (0.4%) from Christianity. On the other hand 135 (9.3%) women deserted Islam for Hinduism (110) and Christianity (25) respectively. In the case of male converts Islam was looser only to Christianity by a lesser margin and was gainer from Hinduism by a big margin, and thus was overall in gain. But here in the case of female Islam is looser to both Hinduism and Christianity. Few women ; as indicated in table 14 have embraced Islam than deserted it— **81.5% for Hinduism and 19.5% for Christianity.** **Why there is high percentage of women deserters in Islam ? And why most of them (81.5%) choose Hinduism as their destination ?** Why they have given a poor second in preference to Christianity while their male folk has kept it at par with Hinduism ? These questions are very important from social and psychological point of view and their avoidance could be detrimental for correct generalisation.

The Islamic ideology had resulted in a number of social and cultural drawbacks. The position of women is very low in Islam and woman is regarded no more than a handy business commodity. One can easily divorce her without falling into any social, legal or economic complications. Generally the girls are discouraged to study in coeducational institutions. Further more, Muslims have acquired a bizarre attitude not to get them educated. A Muslim gentleman explained in a very strange tone "It is sufficient if they could read Quran. Education is dangerous for them, especially of any other language than Urdu."

In social field, thus, they are regarded backward and uncultured even by the lower caste Hindus. Especially the Muslim ladies

feel more embarrassed of it. When they compare their position with the Hindu ladies, they come only to see that they are virtually trapped to die in a prison without wall. It is but natural that they are attracted towards Hinduism. A fact that the converted Muslim ladies are generally educated confirms that they are not happy under the influence of Islamic ideology.⁵

CONVERTS TO CHRISTIANITY

Male : Out of 1451 individual converts 730 (50.3%) have converted to Christianity which is the highest percentage in all the three communities. Out of these 730 converts 600 (41.7%) are male and 130 (8.6%) are female. Among these 600 Christian male converts 500 (34.5%) are from Hinduism and 100 (6.9%) from Islam making a conversion ratio of 5 : 1. On the other hand 56 (3.9%) Christian male have deserted to Hinduism and 30 (2.1%) to Islam.

Female : Out of 1451 converts 130 (8.6%) female have converted to Christianity in which 105 (7.2%) have come from Hinduism and 25 (1.7%) from Islam. For woman Christianity is the second choice after Hinduism for conversion, and Islam stands a poor third in this respect. 56 (3.9%) women left Christianity for Hinduism and another 6 (0.4%) for Islam. The number of ladies who embraced Islam (6) is the lowest while those who went for Hinduism (34) is six times higher. After opening long interviews with the converted ladies I have come to the conclusion that those who have embraced Hinduism have come in by choice and desire while those who have embraced Islam or Christianity have mostly gone due to compulsion. This observation which is fully supported by empirical facts goes against the findings of Christian scholars⁶ who had discussed conversion more religiously than sociologically. These religious sociologists have not succeeded in treating this aspect systematically and empirically. Even the scope of enquiry of some of the brilliant works has been limited to the 'history of Christian conversion' as well as 'Christian history of conversion'.⁷

FOOTNOTES

1. Glanville Downey : Religion in Historical Perspective in "Religion in Philosophical and Cultural Perspective" (New York 1967), edited by J.C. Feaver and W. Horosz, p. 443.
2. *Ibid*, pp. 444, 451.
3. Census of India 1961, Vol. XV, Part I—A(1) Uttar Pradesh, p. 315.
4. *Ibid*.
5. *Ibid*.
5. Anand P. Saraswat, "Putting Experience Against Philosophy", Research Journal of Philosophy and Social Sciences, April 1977, No. 1, p. 72.
6. Ernst Troeltsch. "The Social Teachings of The Christian Church."
7. Saraswat, Anand. P, Religious Conversion : Some Methodological Aspects of Research, in "Research in Religion" (1977) Ed. R. N. Sharma, Anu Prakashan Meerut, p. 168.

3

One of the most important objective of Psychology has been understanding of role of attitudes and beliefs in human behavior. Among the beliefs the problem of superstition has been tackled by many disciplines like Theology, Sociology, Anthropology and Mythology but much emphasis by these branches has been placed on the origin and development mystical character in superstition. It is only during recent times Psychologists attempting to free themselves from mystical ideologies and trying to understand it in scientific terms.

Superstition according to some is false belief for others it is definite 'mental or moral deficiency'. For Greeks it is fear of 'super-man power' and for Freud man's 'unconscious' is brought on 'conscious' by superstition. For Krech and Crutchfield they are those beliefs which :

- (a) have been demonstrated to be at variance with the objective facts
- (b) are likely to be shared among many members of a society
- (c) frequently involve a disposition to ascribe phenomena.

Keeping all these definitions and explanation in mind, it can be concluded that all kinds of beliefs, no matter of religion, sex,

caste, supernatural power, numbers, animals, birds, farming, seas, business, marriage, birth etc. which have no scientific or empirical evidences but the society generally believes them as true, are superstitions.

Superstitions may be divided into different categories namely belief, magic, Animism and omen.

1. **Belief**—is “an attitude involving the recognition or acceptance of something as real” ‘like worshipping of God for salvation’.
2. **Magic**—“a term applied to primitive superstitious practices and to explanations of physical processes based on a belief in supernatural agencies”.
3. **Animism**—“a belief that objects in nature possess, or are the abodes of souls or spirits”. e.g. Indra is the God of rain.
4. **Omen**—is a phenomenon supposed to fore shadow a future event the two having no causal connections. When great disasters are about to fall on a state or nation, it often happens that there is some warning.

The present paper makes an enquiry into the superstitions prevalent in 3 communities viz., Napalese, Rajasthanis and Sindhis (domicile of U.P.) with their respective relation with age, sex education and occupation. The data for the study is the list of the prevalent superstitions prepared by three M.A. students* of Psychology in 1964 under the supervision of the investigator.

The sample for the proposed study consists of the residents of 3 states—U. P., Nepal and Rajasthan. The distribution is as follows :

- | | |
|-------------------------------|----------|
| 1. Sindhi (domicile in U. P.) | —140 |
| 2. Nepalese | ... — 50 |
| 3. Rajasthanis | ... —100 |

The present study aims to :—

1. classify superstitions on the basis of nature, form, content and purpose.

* 1. Km. Shanta Agarwal—Rajasthanis.

2. Km. Padma Jetha Nandani—Sindhis (domicile of U.P.).

3. Sri satya Narayan Yadav—Napalese.

2. find out the prevalence of superstitions with regard to age, sex, education and occupation.
3. to isolate, and culturally and psychologically interpret some common superstitious beliefs prevalent in the above three communities.

The data can easily be classified into 2 types of superstitious beliefs (a) social and (b) Personal. The results clearly elicit the considerable emphasis on superstitions having social colouring. It may be due to the fact that most of the superstitions arise in the very adjustment of man to his environment. Social needs thus appear to be quite dominant. It may also be due to the fact that the specific needs demand emotional experiences, and perceptions of man are conditioned by the nature of his society or the environment *i.e.* they are determined by the stimulus pattern to which he is subjected or it may be said that the world in which the individual finds himself and in response to which he must develop his superstitious beliefs and attitudes are characteristics of particular cultural pattern and are made up of people, objects and events of particular kind.

Superstitions have been categorised into 2 forms.

- (a) **Predictive superstitions**—those which show causal relationship as such former event predicting the occurrence of latter one
- (b) **Indicative**—Superstitions showing necessary relations of togetherness between two events.

Considerable frequencies (approximately 70%) for predictive forms in comparison to indicative ones clearly reveal the emphasis on functional nature of superstitions. When the causal relationship is known, action can be modified so as to bring the desired results as far as possible. If the cat crosses the path the future event can be modified by staying back home. On the other hand in the indicative type of superstitions there is no chance but to accept the event which has been indicated as occurring in the future by another event. Prevalence of such forms clearly indicate that only those superstitions which possess the dynamic and functional characteristics survive and the rest fade away. It can safely be accepted that they are not an offspring of a particular religion event, but also a production of the social, cultural and psychological setting.

The following table (1) shows distribution of predictive and Indicative forms of stereotypes in three communities.

TABLE 1

	<i>Rajasthan</i>		<i>Nepal</i>		<i>U. P. (Sindhi)</i>	
	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>
Predictive	450	74.8	21	67.7	394	70.00
Indicative	145	25.2	10	32.3	171	30.00
Total	575	100.00	31	100	565	100.00

An analysis of the superstitions with regard to content in the community of Nepal reveals few important classification. They are :

TABLE 2

	<i>Freq.</i>	<i>%</i>
(a) Omens	9	29.01%
(b) Social Behavior	7	22.59%
(c) Cultural Behavior	5	16.13%
(d) Supernatural good or evil	4	12.91%
(e) Suspiciousness or insuspiciousness of days	3	9.97%
(f) Religious Behavior	2	6.46%
(g) Economic Behavior		
Total	31	100.00

Content may refer to any idea, object or act which arises in critical situations involving dangers, uncertainty as to future, chance happenings, accidents, epidemics, war, flood, famine and fire, they (idea, act) may again be abolished or concrete. Since superstitions comprise of critical situation, the magical interference in the material world becomes essential and as these situations involve warning and most of them are beyond the reach of human beings they are considered as spiritual messages of the cause of event. The ignorance and obscurity of the causes leads one to believe in 'supernatural' or 'spiritual messages'. Probably this accounts to the major role of Omens in the contents of superstitions or Omens obtaining an inextricable hold in the tangle of superstitious beliefs may result from man's desire to foresee the future. Emphasis on Social Behavior as a content of superstition also emphasical, it suggests the primacy of social and cultural

need. The results evidently suggest the desire to maintain the cultural heritage at a sometime an attempt to intergate it with the present need of the society. The superstitions of these types are mostly the indicative of behaving that should be adapted for it and will result in good social interaction living.

Superstitions relating to inauspiciousness and auspiciousness of days are also concerned with the social aspect of life. Most of the superstitions relate to unlucky Number 3 and unlucky No. 13, which are inauspicious Nos. in Western Culture, or it may be accounted in terms of 'transmission of culture'. The assimilation of Western Culture or the fusion of East and West may be the main reason.

In terms of origin of these superstitions it may be suggested that (i) individuals mark or take notice of those when they hit one, never when they miss or (ii) probably conjectives and obscure traditions many times turn themselves into prophecies. Whatever may be the cause, it is true that individuals with ups and down are almost certain to have theories of numbers.

Superstitions dealing with entirely supernatural powers, economic values, and religious values have lesser importance. A practical colouring in the beliefs rooted in religion and supernatural fate or luck appears to be the trend of the existing superstitions.

An analysis of the data with regard to purpose reveals very stiking and important findings. Superstitions have been classified into 6 categories with regard to their purpose.

1. Defense and organisation
2. Maintenance of tradition
3. Interpreting
4. Symbolising
5. Educating and Civilising
6. Fulfilling wishes.

A perusal of Nepal data reveals the maximum frequencies for the superstitions. Having wish fulfilment purposes such superstitions are mostly personal, which give fantastic and imaginary personal satisfaction e.g. crossing the way by a cat at the time of journey is indicative of misfortune suggesting fanstastic wish of the way farer.

In U. P. (Sindhi Community) much emphasis is placed on superstitions having defense and protection purpose from anticipat-

ing or real environmental threats and in some cases protection of wealth and property. Purpose of protection may be of 2 types (a) warning *e.g.* crying of a cat or a dog at night is the sign of some one's death in that direction in which the dog is crying (b) guiding-leading the action for protection of organism *i.e.* if a child is afraid then a small iron knife should be worn round the child's neck.

In Rajasthan maximum frequencies are for superstitions having the purpose of protection and defense.

Superstitions having other purposes are also prevalent but the defense and protection by modifying the actors, appear to me none important in these communities suggesting the insecurity matrix of an individual.

Other important superstitions in the three communities are those which relate to maintenance of tradition and thus emphasizing the role of cultural norms in the Indian Community. Traditions are followed spontaneously, they are convenient and tension reduce, they are accepted because they are popular. It appears that superstitions beliefs are fundamentally irrational, may have arisen spontaneously and spread without ever having had the sanction of authority.

SUPERSTITIONS AND INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES

An analysis of the data (Table II) with regard to the education status and superstitions, reveals that there is a measurable trend towards increased belief in non-scientific statements with increased schooling in the communities of Nepal and U.P. (Sindhi Community). Literates are more superstitious than non-literates. This supports the previous finding when education was found to have an impact on unscientific belief (1955). In the case of Rajasthan the picture is different by illiterates. The basic difference in the 2 communities indication no (+) correlate of education and superstitious beliefs. There is one consensus of opinion that highly educated individuals are less superstitious, that the individuals of other categories.

TABLE 3
Showing superstitions beings and educational status.

Education Community	Nepal		Rajasthan (100)		U.P. (Sindhi) (140)	
	f	%	f	%	f	%
Illiterate	103	37.8	436	76.00	179	9.0
Primary and						
Secondary	193	66.2	113	19.8	1053	22.6
Higher			27	4.2	449	5.4
Total	296		575	100.0		

A perusal of the data with regard to age reveal another interesting finding. Neither the young nor old are as superstitious as adults. Table II clearly indicates the frequencies of the three age groups in the three communities. In Nepal out of 1964 responses 930 were mentioned by adults. In Sindhi Community the percentage of the responses of adults was 47% as compared to 44% of individuals of old age group, though in Rajasthan No. is of responses of the old group are none than those of adult group. Increased belief in increased age might suggest the increased anxieties and complexities of life. The higher the complexity the higher the tension reduces in which superstitions appear to be one fall of superstitious beliefs in old age might be attributed to the reconciliation and with dreams consequently lesser aspirative characteristics of an old man. All these aspects lead one to conclude that superstitions are not a part of human nature, they are learned concepts varying in kind and intensity with the situation. To put it specifically social and cultural variables are one of the most important statements of superstitions in human behavior.

TABLE 4
Showing the frequencies and percentage of superstitions of 5 communities with regard to age.

Age	Communities		Nepal		Rajasthan		U.P. (Sindhi)	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Adol			138	44.3	13.8	29	5.00	
Adult			122	93.0	12.2	196	34.2	
Old			10.0	32.1	10.00	350	160.8	
Total						375		

SUPERSTITIONS AND SEX

Results reveal that there are no significant differences with regard to sex. The result of all the three communities with regard to this variable do not support each other. In Rajasthan omen appear to be more superstitious, in Sindhi community almost equal number of responses were given by both male and female, while in Nepal male respondents appeared to be more superstitious than females (may be due to some 'shy' factor). No conclusive results can be divided on the basis of the study, though previous studies in this field in this country by Sri C.P. Agarwal (in Rajasthan) reveal that female are more superstitious than men.

TABLE 5

Showing the superstitious beliefs (in percent) male and females.

Community	Nepal	Rajasthan	U.P. (Sindhi)
Sex	%	%	%
Male (46)	68	24	50
Female (94)	32	76	50
Total	100	100	100

SUPERSTITIONS AND OCCUPATIONS

With regard to occupation the results of all the three communities reveal that businessmen are more superstitious than service people. The results thus suggest the dependence of 'supernative' in uncertain situation e.g. speculation by this class. Speculation which is an unscientific knowledge based on wishes and anxiousness, mixed with planned effect leads one to reduce the anxiety to take shelter of reliastistic observances. A brief observation of superstitions in Sindhi community reveals that most of them relate to project and less in business. Further it may also be suggested that emphasis on gain and loss puts a stamp on the 'Economic value orientation superstitions' of business man.

Observation on some common superstitions of 3 communities

1. Interrupting when one is ready to go for some work.
2. Devil eye
3. Cat crossing the path

4. Itching sensation in left hand of a woman and right of a man bringing luck.
5. Crying of the dog and cat bringing the death news.
6. No. 3 and 13 to be avoided
7. Sneezing

An observation of table of superstitions may illustrate the fear of success and the warding off of competitive every in the custom of abjuring 'evil eye' which has its origin in a wide spread ancient belief that certain persons could be harmful or even kill with a glance. *Flight from self assertiveness or openmindedness* appears to be the phenomena. The list clearly reveals that despite subsequent cultural emphasis on emotional independence and self assertiveness, of earlier configurations are rarely entirely eliminated and may find partial expressions in the kind of popular superstitious beliefs of which 'notgetting interrupted when going out' is a representative example.

It may be attributed to the 'rivalry' factor also in all the culture. The competitive nature of an individual makes every person potential rival against every other person for the goods and gratification of life and thus resulting in avoidance, reluctance and denial in the disclosure of one's programme and goal.

Another wide spread superstition in this community is of the 'cat crossing the path leading to some trouble'. It is a warning (-) we an oment viz. an event supposed to indicate dest. Animals probably in the primitive culture had the special capacity of bringing messages. Not only that they possessed the power and capacity of security deadbody and the crying of dog brings death news.

It may also be interpreted in terms of the insecure mind of the perceiver, obscurity of meaning in future and the disposition of the individual. Proneness to these superstitions might be governed by 'emotional instability'.

Further the sneezing superstition is also very common in Indian community, it as an ill omen much emphasised by things and Dacoits while starting off for their mission, it may also be interpreted in terms of insecure, anxious characteristics of an individual with the obscurity of field which he perceives. As anxious, insecure persons are discontent without positive information

about significant matters, they are apt to grasp readily at strawfacts in the absence of relevant data.

Having sensation on left hand of a woman and right hand of a man may be traced back to the creation of universe, wherein Brahman having determined to create the universe, became Infold; Right side-male left side-female in this way left bringing luck for a woman.

An over all perusal of the results suggests that cognitive distortion is based on importance, ambiguity, insecure, and anxious disposition of an individual. These may be defined as the part of a man's value system which are closely related to the devices of social control.

Summarising, superstitions may be interpreted in 2 ways.

1. The tendency to repeat stimulus response patterns once they have been set up i.e. a dynamic interaction of past experience and present sensation.

2. Factor of motivation—It may be an anxiety arousing situation which produces emotions of fear and danger or some planned effort to resolve or reduce the tension of the situation e.g. birth, death, sickness. Thus an individual reduces his personal tension and anxiety by transferring them to religious or ritualistic activities.

In nutshell it may be stated that generalisation, ignorance, religious beliefs, traditional beliefs, importance and insecurity appear to be responsible for the formulation of superstitious beliefs.

ABSTRACT

Superstitions in the present study have been defined as all kinds of beliefs no matter of religion, sex, caste, supernatural power, numbers, animals, birds, farming season etc. which have no scientific or empirical evidences but society generally believes them as true.

The paper makes an enquiry into the superstitions prevalent in three communities viz., Nepalese, Rajasthanis and Sindhis (domicile of U.P.) with their respective relation with age, sex, education and occupation.

The study aims to :—

1. Classify superstitions on the basis of nature, form, content and purpose.

2. Find out the prevalence of superstitions with regard to age, sex, education and occupation.
3. Isolate and psychologically interpret some common superstitious beliefs prevalent in the above three communities

RESULTS

1. With regard to types, much emphasis is placed on superstitions which are socially oriented.
2. The frequencies for predictive form of superstitions are considerably higher than for indicative ones, emphasising the functional value of superstitions.
3. An analysis of contents indicate importance of omens, social behavior, and cultural behaviour.
4. The data on the basis of purpose has been divided into 6 categories, among which (i) defense and protection and (ii) fulfilling of wishes have been emphasised.
5. Businessmen are more superstitious than servicemen.
6. Adults are more superstitious than old and young.
7. Highly educated are less superstitious than literate, and illiterates.
8. Isolation of common superstitions indicate that superstitions are not entirely rooted in 'religion' they are socially and culturally modified. The factors generalization, ignorance, religious faith, traditional beliefs, importance and insecurity appear to be responsible for the formulation of superstitions.

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4

Sociological research on public life penetrates in a large scope and more and more steadily in the sphere of different scientific activities. Therefore, the problem related to the place of sociology of science in the system of metacognition and to the relationship between sociology and other sciences is very important. During the last decade, science is studied as an information system in anumber of publications. This approach turns out to be very fruitful in many respects. It enriches our notions about different aspects of science and allows to reveal and to solve new problems. However, there is a limit to this approach and its possibilities. Every attempt to make it absolute, as it happens sometimes in some research works, leads to obscuring the quality characteristic of science, to under-estimating its social aspects, the particularities of its functioning and development during the different social and economic formations (Yachiel, 1975). This is an important consideration for carrying out sociological studies on science within its complicated multiple relationships. Sociology may be developed successfully as a science only when uniting on different levels sociological theories and methods of research and cognition, only as a general system of theories (Dobrianov, 1970). Sociology of science is a

specific form of sociological cognition, therefore it is a branch of sociology. Because of its particular features and in order to achieve its research aims, sociology of science should be based on the knowledge of the other sciences. By revealing the structure of scientific activity as a social system, sociology of science is playing a directing methodological part in respect of the other branches of science.

The necessity of use of the results of the studies of economics of science, for instance, is quite obvious so far as this branch is studying specific social relations integrated by sociology of science during analysis of sociological relationships in scientific activities. Scientific activity, *i.e.* production of scientific knowledge, is not only conditioned by social factors, but also by its own "logic". Sociological knowledge of science could not supply reliable information about actual and future social consequences of functioning and development of science, if it was not based on information supplied by history of science or logic of science. In their turn, logic of science, economics of science, history of science, etc. use the results obtained by sociology of science.

(a) Sociology of science and history of science. Usually history of science is considered to be a science placed on one level with sociology of science, psychology of science, etc., *i.e.* as a branch of science which studies, together with sociology and psychology of science a definite aspect of scientific activity. In fact history of science is part of the sciences, the purpose of which is to study science from another point of view, namely from the point of view of historical knowledge. It is, therefore, part of history or it may be considered as an aspect of every branch of science studying scientific activity and having a theoretical aspect and a historical aspect (Dobrianov, 1965, Stefanov, 1971). However, history of science is not only a sum of the historical aspects of the different branches studying the science. It is not studying one or another aspect (sociological, economic, etc.) of the historical development of science, but its entire development from its origin to now as a component of the sociological structure. In this respect, it reveals the natural development of science not only by studying and analyzing different phenomena and events in science development, but also by including the results of the historical studies in the different branches of science dealing with science on the basis of history.

Every component of the sociological structure of society may be studied from theoretical point of view. Arts are subject to studies, for instance, by theory of arts and history of arts. However, arts have become a subject of study of sociology of arts dealing with sociological relationships within the arts and between arts and the other components of the sociological structure or between arts and society as a whole. At the same time, the sociological aspect of arts may be studied not only from theoretical point of view, but also from historical point of view. The sociological aspect of arts is apparent throughout its whole history from its origin to now. The purpose of the socio-historical studies of arts is to reveal the natural development and manifestations of arts, thus enriching additionally history of arts.

The case of sociology of science is similar. It is studying and revealing from historical point of view the sociological aspect of scientific activity in the course of its historical development and the development and manifestations, during the different periods of its history, of the social condition of science, of its social functions, etc. These are historical and sociological or socio-historical studies of science which enrich the whole science. The studies of science are classified according to different indications: field of study (sociological, psychological, etc.), type of study (theoretical, historical). Historical knowledge of science from sociological point of view is an important part of history in science.

History of science is of great importance, since it embodies all the achievements and variety having resulted from the development of the scientific thought. The study of history of science enables not only to learn different facts connected with the development of science, but also to reveal the natural laws of this development and of the appearance of basic scientific trends, the sociological aspect of a scientific discovery and its consequences for science, society, etc. It is by studying actual phenomena and facts of the historical development of science that sociology of science, psychology of science, etc. can understand the causality between them and discover the laws of functioning and development of science acting during its long history. The purpose of studying science history is also to master these laws, in order to explain the events the crucial periods and the fundamental problems of science (Kedrov, 1972). The theoretical as-

pect and the historical aspect are in a dialectical unity. It means that if history of science is necessary for correct development of theory of science, it will not be less important that learning and interpretation of historical facts and phenomena should be based on the theoretical foundations of science. The purpose of the history of science is not only to describe and simply set forth the historical events in their chronological sequence or to explain them from the point of view of the causes of science development, of their internal logic, of the psychology of scientific creation and technical inventiveness, it is also to discover the laws of development of science and technique. Consequently, not only sociological, psychological, logical or socio-psychological studies are required in order to get historical knowledge, because they reveal only different aspects of the historical development of scientific activity. To discover the general laws of science development is beyond the possibilities of these studies. This problem can be solved by history of science which has a theoretical, as well as a historical aspect.

(b) Sociology of science and philosophy. In the sphere of relationships between sociological and other studies on scientific activity, it is the relationship between sociology of science and philosophical knowledge of science that is essential.

Philosophy analyzes the type of relations to reality which is characteristic of science as a form of public consciousness, as a theoretical consciousness defining the human orientation in the world (see Shvirev, 1972). The development of scientific activity is subject to social laws and to the inherent logical and gnosiological general laws of scientific knowledge. The purpose is not to underestimate or to overestimate the sociological and philosophical study of scientific activity, but to reveal their interaction and mutual complementing (Pavlov, 1970). The organic interconnection and interaction between cognitive and social components of scientific activity are irrefutable. Moreover, to reveal the nature and the development of science as a knowledge, it is necessary to combine the theoretical, cognitive and sociological approaches or, as Frank (1960) is stating with full right, the logical and methodological analyses of science should be transformed in sociological scientific studies. Usually we examine the immediate specific influence of philosophy (by means of gnosiology of science) on

sociology (appearing as sciences on the same level in this respect without affecting the irrefutable implied general methodological importance of philosophy for the theoretical way of thinking and the private manifestation of the functions of the universal philosophical method. The progress of the specific scientific reflection on science does not cancel at all the philosophical reflection. However, this progress determines to a great extent which problems and in which form these problems appear in the philosophical analysis of scientific knowledge, first, and second, it enables philosophy to realize its specific aims and methods when studying scientific knowledge contrary to specific scientific reflection on scientific knowledge.

The attempts of sociology of science to go into the area of gnosiology of science are of special interest. When dealing with problems related to gnosiology of science, Girginov (1972) underlines that because of the social character of knowledge, science of knowledge should also have a sociological aspect. Drawing the attention to the close connection of gnosiology with sociology, he expresses the opinion that it would not be possible to clarify a number of important gnosiological problems without the aid of sociology. The results obtained with the aid of sociology of science represent very valuable data for epistemology. Pfannens-till (1972) carried out a very interesting study with a view to characterizing the influence of sociology of science on gnosiology.

(d) Sociology of science and science of science. There are great differences in literature as to the relationship between sociology of science and science of science. Certain authors consider sociology of science as part of science of science, others think that science of science appears as sociology of science (see Zvorikin, 1970, etc.). Diemer (1972) includes sociology of science in science of science. He defines two basic branches of sociological study of scientific activity: sociological study of the internal structure of scientific activity and sociological study of the relation between science and society, *i.e.* macrosociology and microsociology of science.

At present, the prevailing opinion is that science of science is a complex study of science unifying the efforts and the results of the work of logicians, historians, psychologists, sociologists, economists and other scientists who provide a complex information

about science by studying different aspects of scientific activity. Indeed scientific activity is studied by many sciences to a certain extent. It is a complex formation with various aspects which may be studied from the point of view of different sciences.

Important aspects of science and scientific work are studied by history of science, psychology of science, logic of science and others which may be considered as specifications of the relevant sciences. It is characteristic about these branches that by studying one or another aspect of science, they provide the necessary scientific information from the point of view of development of knowledge and with a view to meeting the requirements of the social administration of science. By their nature the complex studies, *i.e.* the simultaneous studies of a subject by different sciences, can not reproduce the subject as a complete system, neither include nor reflect the whole mechanism of functioning and development of science. Therefore, it is natural that the concept of some scientists (Mikulinsky and Rodny, 1969-1971, Minkov and Kachaunov, 1970, etc.) of the complex nature of science of science represents to a certain extent an understanding that it has a systematic character. In this case, complex studies mean various, but systematic studies expressing the interconnections between the different components of the system that is the scientific activity. Science of science does not include all studies on scientific activity. It includes only studies on the general laws of functioning and development of science as an integral system. The other studies of science carried out by other sciences clarify different aspects of science. Science is a complicated dynamic system having its own specific laws of functioning and development characteristic for the system as a whole. This means that a generalizing information on a higher level, *i.e.* in the form of a complete study of science as a system, is necessary in addition to the information supplied separately or complexly by the different sciences studying one or another aspect of science. Such information about structure and general laws and complete mechanism of functioning and development of science is supplied by science of science. Consequently, science of science is not a "federation" of several sciences, it is not an ordinary complex study of science, but it is an independent science of the entire system of scientific activity, *i.e.* a science having its own special subject of study. Of course, science of science is

based on information supplied by other sciences studying different aspects of science and on the complex studies of science, without, however, becoming a "federation" of such sciences or a certain complex science (see Stefanov, 1968, Yahiel and Benev, 1970). The work on specifying the subject and the methodology of science of science and on its development as a relatively independent science will contribute to clarify better the relations between science of science and the other branches of science and particularly between science of science and sociology of science. Since science of science is not a complex science, it means that sociology of science is not part of science of science, but a relatively independent science like all other sciences studying science. There is a relationship between science of science and sociology of science. By revealing the whole mechanism and the general laws of functioning and development of science, science of science uses the results obtained by sociology of science. Sociology of science is developing on the basis of information supplied by science of science. While science of science studies scientific activity as an integral systems with its general laws of functioning and development, sociology of science is interested only in the sociological aspects of this system and of the social relations appearing in the scientific activity. Therefore, it is clear that from this point of view science of science is collecting more general information than sociology of science. The dialectics of the relations between these two sciences shows, however, the opposite phenomenon too. While science of science is interested mainly in functioning and development of science as an integral system, one of the most important tasks of sociology of science is to study the functioning and development of this system in its interaction with other social systems (production, etc.) and also its functioning and development in its interaction with society as an integral social body. It is evident that from the point of view of interaction of science with the other spheres of social activity and with society the information supplied by sociology of science containing the relevant information of science of science is more complete as to its scope.

(d) Sociology of science and economics of science. Recently an ever increasing number of economists and scientists have undertaken to study economic problems of scientific activity (Konson and Sominsky, 1968, Dobrov, 1969, Iordanov, 1969, Golossovsky.

1969, Naydenov, 1972). Science has economic aspects which have an immediate bearing on the development of the social system. Parallely with the increasing importance of science and its becoming a productive force, its economic problems become more important particularly from the point of view of the evolution of the social productivity of labour. The intensification of the economic productivity of labour. The intensification of the economic aspects of scientific activity is also connected with the emergence and development of the new function of science related to the application in production of the knowledge achieved by it. This function is expressed in the part played by the scientific organizations as an initial element of the complex "science technique-production" and in their participation in the introduction of their achievements in the work of the next elements dealing with the preparation of production, putting into operation, utilization and propagation of new techniques, in carrying out management and control of production in series or introduction of new techniques (e.g. scientific production organizations, complex scientific research institutes, etc. – see Gatovsky, 1974). The gradual formation of economics of science as a relatively independent science encounters difficulties of theoretical nature. It is necessary to concentrate the efforts to create a scientific methodological basis unifying the incoherent actions and establishing a common language with a view to studying the theoretical problems of economics of science. According to Lebedev (1971) economics of science is dealing first of all with the problems related to its subject and components, to the explanation of the particularities of the appearance of the general laws of the economic development in the field of the scientific work and the establishment of rational connections with the other spheres of labour. Problems of planning the scientific activity, of its financing by connecting it with practice, economic stimulation of scientific research and practical work, introduction of new techniques and technologies in production are problems of economic character.

The efficiency of application of the scientific results in practice has not only economic consequences. It is not possible that society which is vitally interested in getting maximum economic results from the funds spent for scientific activity, is not interested in such a synthetic parameter as is the economic efficiency of

science, particularly as to the scientific elements at the service of production. According to Gliazer (1973) economics of science bring something new, not only because it studies the scientific activity, but because it represents an economic study. This is due to the circumstance that production of material wealth is different from production of knowledge in certain respects. The general subject of economics of science is the scientific production. Science is not examined through the narrow prism of economics or as an activity serving the production. It is considered as a social system in which the economic relations are only one type of relations characteristic of that system. It is possible to say that this approach to science is based on sociology. The sociological approach to science gives the possibility to disclose correctly and to appreciate the economic aspects of scientific activity and their relation with the other cognitive and properly social aspects, to seek their actual place and importance in the integral sociological context. We see that the positive connection of sociology of science with one of the other sciences studying scientific activity appears in this approach. The relations between sociology of science and the economics of science are developed on the grounds of the mutual utilization of the results of the relevant studies and the common studies. It is not possible that sociology discovers the scientific and social efficiency of the introduction of an innovation without taking into consideration its economic efficiency.

(e) Sociology of science* and psychology of science. Psychological elements and their importance for acceleration or delaying the results to be obtained from scientific work are manifested clearly in modern science as a specific activity and as a social system. Imagination, inspiration, intuition, motivation and other aspects of scientist's mentality which may stimulate or delay the process of production of knowledge are the subject of the study by psychology of science. In addition to these individual psychic phenomena, *i.e.* phenomena connected with scientist's personality, psychology of science deals also with socio-psychological moments of scientific work. According to Mikulinsky and Iaroshevsky (1972) the relations in the scientists' collectivity and in science and their influence on motivation, intellectual and communicative aspects of scientist's work are the main object of

social psychology of science. The growing interest in social and psychological phenomena in science is due to the fact of which one becomes more and more conscious that scientist's qualities and the individual work cannot be explained correctly without establishing their connection with the social environment and the complicated system of relations proper to the modern science, without analyzing their social interconnection. The scientists' collectivity is considered as an environment contributing to or hindering the individual work and as a research field from the point of view of its social and psychological aspects. Although the field studied by psychology of science in the different countries is the same in principle-psychological particularities of scientific work and influence of different factors on it, structure and typology of scientists' personality, motivation of work, relations between persons in the collectivity-the approach to these problems and the way of solving them are different in the different countries, as scientists' psychology changes in every epoch as a result of the change in the social conditions and in the social importance and level of science development.

The psychological analysis of scientific work becomes gradually one of the most important analyses of science as a social system (see Christov, 1976). The scientific activity includes various works and has different degrees or intensity. Psychology is interested whether the different kinds of work are subject to general laws and in the reasons for the different degrees of work. It is important for it to clarify the conditions generating scientific work, whether and how it is possible to stimulate it. Interaction between primary perceptions (human experience) and secondary perceptions (knowledge obtained through education, reading, meditation, etc.) is beneficial to work. Moreover, it is said that there is a certain equilibrium between receptivity and enterprise of a creative personality. What is almost generally accepted is that two contrary components may be distinguished in thinking-the realistic way of thinking and imagination. The first one sticks to facts, logic and prescribed criteria, the second one operates freely with data, uses analogy, expresses hypotheses. If scientific work is considered only from formalistic and logical point of view, without studying the motives, emotions, interests, *i.e.* the psychological and socio-psychological aspects of this work, and without

analyzing the social factors influencing scientist's work, it will not be possible to find out the character and the "mechanism" of scientific discoveries. However, if we are not interested in science only as a result of the creative process, *i.e.* as a system of knowledge, it will turn out that emotions and other psychic sensations, imagination, intuition and the "climate" in the collectivity, *i.e.* the psychic and socio-psychic moments can not be separated from the scientific work and the movement towards new scientific information. In any case, it is not only the problem related to scientific work that reveals the objective necessity of research connections between psychology of science and sociology of science. The life in an ergotope (labour collectivity) where scientific research work is carried out, the relations existing in the same, the influence of the personal and social factors and their interaction, the structure of the creative personality and its qualities such as concentration, clearness of purpose, feelings for the novelty, passion, courage, assiduousness, personal initiative, conformism or non-conformism and others, the motivation and the relationship between internal and external motivation are the main field where psychic and sociological elements intersect and require the united efforts of sociologists and psychologists. Scientific work is a specific creative process the subject of which is the scientist and the scientists' community. The organic connection between sociological and psychological elements in science and the objective necessity of combining sociological and psychological approaches, when studying it, are resulting therefrom.

The relationship between the sociological and psychological aspects of science reveals their social essence and clarifies sociologically and psychologically the importance of the motivation factors in the process of production of knowledge, the appearing conflicting situations and their influence on functioning and development of science, *etc.* The analysis of the psychological factors having an effect on scientific work completes sociological knowledge of science and vice versa, the results of the sociological studies on scientific activity represent a basis for more complete revealing of individual and social psychological aspects of this specific human activity.

(f) Sociology of science and ethics of science. The necessity of ethic study of science is conditioned by the general laws, the

requirements for development of science and the requirements of the practice and of the administration of scientific work with a view to increasing its efficiency. The moral factor is closely connected with the nature of the creative scientific activity, since its origin and since it became a relatively independent sphere of social spiritual life. If the supreme inherent purpose of scientist's research work is to reach the truth, it will be evident that science requires good faith, probity, adherence to principles, fight for truth. The ethic elements in science are various, they accompany the process of production of knowledge and the life of scientists' community, as well as the personality of the scientist. These aspects may be seen in the attitude of the scientists towards his predecessors, their work, for instance, in whether the scientist has a good attitude to the contribution of his predecessors, whether he quotes them and does not pass over them in silence or plagiarize. The ethic aspects of the mutual relations can be clearly seen in the conditions of collective work. Whether these relations are fair and loyal, whether there are self-interest, envy, jealousy or a kind comradeship, a tendency to mutual support and common achievements-such are some of the actual ethic problems which have inevitably a positive or negative effect on the "climate" in the scientists' collectivity and the productivity of their work. The responsibility of the scientist for correct use of the results of his work and his attitude to this point is another set of ethic problems which are specific for the scientific activity. The moral aspects of the scientific activity and of the relationship between science and society and the moral ideas and appreciations of the scientists have a deep and universal influence on science and society. This is due to the radical changes during the last decades in the internal structure and the functional importance of science. Intrastructural and infrastructural social relations in the scientific activity are multiplied and increased.

The growing importance of the moral factor is connected with a very particular feature of the present days-this is the ever growing importance of scientists and their large participation in the government of society. There reasons to state that as a result of the empirical and theoretical studies of the ethic problems of science, ethics of science becomes gradually a relatively independent branch of ethics. The completeness and the scientific

value of the sociological knowledge of science and of its connection with society depend directly on ethic knowledge of science. Because of the synthetic character of sociological knowledge, information supplied by sociology of science is a basis required for empirical and theoretical ethic studies on science. Sociological and ethic knowledge exists in many fields during study of scientific activity which interact permanently.

Interaction between sociology of science and other sciences from theoretical and historical point of view is not only very desirable, but also necessary for their development. The studies on the problems related to the relationship between sciences studying science will help on their part to clarify better the problems related to the subject, the place and the limit of each of these sciences and to consolidate at the same time the relations and the interaction between them. Finally, this has a great importance for perfecting the organization and the administration of the scientific activity and to increase its efficiency with a view to using most completely the scientific achievements in practice, achieving better theoretical results and developing it further. The relative "autonomy" appears ever more clearly in the pace of development of modern science being ahead of the development of the sociological structure of society, in the fact that at present science blazes a trail for development of production, generates new types of production and becomes a factor of social self-regulation and a leading element of human progress.

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