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By

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Introduction

1. At the outset, I must pay my respects to the great political leader and freedom fighter, the Late Lala Lajpat Rai, In honour of his revered memory, this college has been founded and this institute has been established. When I was a young high-school student, we used to hear the names of the Trinity, 'Bal, Lal, Pal'. Bal was Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Lal was the Lala Lajpat Rai, the Lion of Punjab and Bipin Chandra Pal belonged to Bengal. These leaders were at the head of the movement for Swaraj. Tilak gave us the slogan, 'Swaraj is my birth-right, and I shall have it'. Lala Lajpat Rai fell a victim to the lathis of the British Police Officer, Mr. Sandurs. Pal was a leader in the movement against the Partition of Bengal.

2. I must also thank the authorities of the Institute, and especially my friend Dr. B.R. Rairikar, Ex-Principal of this college and the present Principal, Prof. Shirhatti for having invited me to give a lecture in this series and for having given me an opportunity to meet this distinguished audience and the learned president.

CHOICE OF THE SUBJECT

3. There are problems galore not only in our country but also in other countries of the world. Our age has been christened as an age of Anxiety, a time of Troubles, and what Leonard Hobhouse observed after the First World War in relation to the World as a whole aptly describes the present situation in our country. " We seem to see through a thin crust of civilisation barbaric lust for power, the idolizing of leaders, the cynical flouting of moral principles, unprecedented patterns of individual conduct, organised social depravity, the cults of violence and terror and the crass indifference to life. We seem to have lost the sense of limits¹. We cannot predict not

simply what will happen, much worse, we cannot even be sure what will not happen. Instead of selecting any of the pressing problems of the day, I have chosen to speak on a subject which leaves me open to the charge of escapism, of running away from the immediate urgencies and anxieties. My defence is that I wish to see current problems and temporary solutions in a larger context. We must not lose sight of basic values in dealing with crises and emergencies. We must keep first things and rise above the level of expediency and opportunism. I am not sure that I shall succeed but there is nothing like trying.

SCOPE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

4. The social sciences study man and society. They are still in the making. There is a division of labour among the social scientists. There are sciences like Psychology, Politics, Economics, Sociology, and the like. Each science studies a different aspect of human behaviour, individual and social. Behaviour is a wider category and includes action. There are some things a man does not do at all; they just happen to him; an accident like one's scooter colliding with a truck, a disease like cancer or luck in lottery happen to a man independently of his desire, intention or purpose. When one finds some object flying towards one's eyes, one blinks, but when a beautiful, young nymph goes by, some young men wink at her. The distinction between blink and wink is the same as that between reactive behaviour and meaningful behaviour or action. Human action, individual and social, is the subject matter of the social sciences.

5. Physical Science deals with facts about the properties of things and the relations among them. Social Science deals with facts about men, and the relations between men and things and men and men. Unlike physical Science Social Science concerns itself with people's motives, ends, values, desires, attitudes, and such other mental events as facts,

and also historical and institutional facts.

SOCIAL SCIENCES AND SCIENTIFIC METHOD

6. Now facts are either individual like Rajiv Gandhi's foreign tours or general like Maharashtriyas Brahmins are vegetarians. When we establish connection between facts, they become generalizations, for example, Increase in Wages means an increase in prices. These are called laws which express regularities. They are also called hypotheses because we cannot test all instances of a law. It is possible, therefore, that laws may turn out to be false.

7. We establish connections between facts and formulate laws in order to explain and predict phenomena. We have found a law which connects higher education with higher income. We can, therefore explain why Hari's income is higher than that of Gopal as follows :- Education leads to vertical mobility. Higher class means higher income. Therefore, higher education means higher income. A theory is a connected set of laws and has the logical form of explanation. Durkheim has given a useful illustration to show how statistical uniformities are incorporated into a body of substantive theory. It has long been established that in a variety of populations Catholics have a lower suicide rate than Protestants, Such an empirical regularity becomes significant for theory only when it is derived from a set of other propositions. This is what Durkheim accomplished in the following manner :-

- 1) Social cohesion provides psychic support to group members subjected to acute stresses and anxieties.
- 2) Suicide rates are functions of unrelieved anxieties and stresses to which persons are subjected.
- 3) Catholics have greater social cohesion than Protestants.

- 4) Therefore, lower suicide rates should be anticipated among Catholics than among Protestants.²

8. This is a brief account of the aims and objectives of scientific method pursued by any science, natural or social.

APPROACHES TO SOCIAL SCIENCES

9. At this stage we may distinguish two principal approaches employed by social scientists in their study of man's activities. They are (1) Objectivism and (2) Subjectivism. There are other compromise approaches which make use of some of the features of both these approaches which, therefore, may be neglected.

OBJECTIVISM

10. This method is followed by those who believe in a unified science. The natural sciences made great progress by using this method of observation and experiment. It was, therefore, recommended for the social sciences. While experiment in the social sciences is possible only to a limited extent objectivism insists that immediate data of all science is sense-experience. Hence basic concepts must all be defined in terms of observable characters including speech.

11. This method was first insisted on in psychology by the school known as Behaviourism. Early Behaviourism busied itself with establishing dependable empirical generalizations between human action which was the response, and that which evoked the response, namely, the stimulus. However it was soon realized that the probability of a given response depended not only upon the stimulus condition but also upon some characteristics of the responding organism. It might happen, for example, that what evoked the response might first stimulate some feelings or mental states which might finally issue

in overt behaviour. This is mediation psychology. It constructs intervening variables which attribute to the organism such 'non-observables' as emotional states, motives, habits, needs, attitudes, purposes etc. which intervene or mediate between the immediate situation and overt behaviour. These mediating processes differ from person to person and explain why different individuals or the same individual at different times behave differently in similar situations.

12. No one can deny the existence of mental states. The crucial question is how do we know these states. We cannot look into other peoples' minds. All scientists, however, accept the parallelistic hypothesis. According to it, if we know the state of a man's body at a given moment, we can infer the corresponding state of his mind at that moment. Bergmann, a philosopher interested in social science illustrates this by proposing the following definition for the phrase 'having the purpose of getting married'. 'X has the purpose of getting married' means by definition that the body of X is in that and that state. We can have similar definitions for 'having the purpose of getting rich quickly' and so on. It is claimed that in principle there is always a right physical description corresponding to the mental event.

13. This, however does not mean that minds and bodies interact. Our bodies are closed with respect to minds. Hence, the objectivists believe that a full-fledged social science of human activities can be formulated without mentioning anything mental. This, however, is possible if we have enough knowledge to infer from the bodily state the corresponding mental state in all sorts of situations. At present we do not possess such knowledge and talk about mental states in behaviour science by using such words as desires, purposes, motives etc.

14. It must be clear from the above that objectivism has still to make considerable progress before worthwhile results can be obtained. We can substantiate Mr. Bergmann's general statement by detailed criticism of some basic concepts.

OBJECTIVISM - CRITICISM OF SOME BASIC CONCEPTS

15. We have already seen that a given response depends not only upon the stimulus conditions but also upon some characteristics of the responding organism. To take account of this contribution of the organism to its own behaviour, Woodworth modified the S-R formula to read S₀O-R. This implicit stimulus of the organism is used to explain stimulus equivalence and distinctiveness. An apparently same stimulus may have different responses and ostensibly different stimuli may have the same responses. The same lecture may evoke praise from one hearer, and another may be bored by it. We may dislike both the ruling party and the opposition for both exhibit the same struggle for power. Which then is the real stimulus, the external one, or the inferred intervening variable? Some answer that both are important; some consider only the mediator as significant. There is a third view which considers equating observable behaviour with intervening variables of doubtful value. The above examples can also be explained by the fact that previous stimulations of the same type partly determine current behaviour of the organism. Hence the large differences in the responses of different individuals depend on their different life histories, which change some of the internal states themselves.

16. It was said a moment ago that in principle there is always a right physical description corresponding to the mental event. This is disputed by some psychologists. It is said that psycho-physical parallelism may not be

one/one; it may be many/one in either direction. This means there may be many physical descriptions corresponding to a single mental event and vice versa. L.M. Gordon in an issue of Mind says "It is not contingent that I have the wants I have^{e.g.} raising my voice, given a particular emotion, say, anger, but it is contingent that I do express them the way I do. There are no logical limits on the sorts of acts which can be expressions or signs of emotion.³"

OBJECTIONS TO OBJECTIVISM

17. Other objections to the objectivist thesis may be disposed of rather summarily. :-

- 1) Natural Science deals with external relations between things . Social Science deals with the internal relations between man and man. Suppose, for example, after the demise of the father, or Karta in a Hindu Joint Family, the brother separate and each establishes his nuclear family. Each of these families has naturally interests of its own against the interests of the families of the other brothers, But in order to keep up appearances, all the brothers, and the members of their families behave with one another as if no conflicts of interests and the resulting tensions exist. There is an atmosphere of cordiality and friendship when they meet on social occasions like marriage, birth-day parties, religious ceremonies etc. Will their overt behaviour give a clue to the inner tension and conflicts of interests? More generally how will objectivism distinguish between play - acting and the real situation? Say, writhing in pain and merely making movements without being really in pain?
- 2) The investigator must know the language, of the people he studies. He acquires such knowledge by sharing

their mode of life. He cannot, therefore, stand in observer observed relation, to the subject matter. This objection can be easily met. Though the investigator learns the language as a participant, he can still be an observer. To deny this is to commit the genetic fallacy. The origin of a thinker's views does not affect their validity.

- 3) We explain behaviour by stating its motives, needs, goals, desires, etc. i.e. by citing reasons of the action. Causal explanation provides causes, not reasons. Causal explanation is, therefore, logically inappropriate to explain human behaviour. This is rebutted by showing that rationalization is a species of causal explanation. The agent must have a pro-attitude towards the action and must believe it to be reasonable, e.g. he took rigorous training in tennis to win the Wimbledon title.

PRESENT POSITION OF BEHAVIOURAL SCIENCES

18. Farber has summarised the present position of the behavioural sciences in the following words. 'Theories unify a number of previously unrelated laws. The area thus integrated depends on the state of knowledge in a particular field of science. As the empirical laws known in behavioural science, are as yet few and far between, the unifying power of theory is, therefore, relatively, small.

CONCLUSION

19. I shall end this discussion of 'OBJECTIVISM' by quoting a small passage from Everett Knight's book "THE OBJECTIVE SOCIETY" which illustrates, a bit ironically, people's distrust in subjective feelings in taking crucial decisions like selecting a partner in marriage which some one has called a 'Leap in the dark'.

A popular programme on T.V. selected couples as

as proper mates for marriage. The computer was fed the objective data on thousands of people and then ground out the names of the Lucky pair who were ideally suited to each other. They reported publicly on the progress of their courtship. In the end (thanks for small favours) it was left to the couple themselves to decide whether or not they would marry. The stage when the machine decides is evidently the next step.

20. What was most appalling in this whole performance was the great spirit of cheerfulness and good fun with which both the audience and the lucky couple accepted this submission of the human to the mechanical. After all, the machine is objective, and therefore should know better than our mere subjective feelings whom we should or should not take in marriage.

21. Among the intellectuals, the detachment, the unwillingness to take sides, to be truly 'OBJECTIVE' results in nothing less than intellectual castration.

CHAPTER II

SUBJECTIVISM

OBJECTIVE AND SUBJECTIVE

22. The Subjectivists were totally opposed to objectivism. Hayek called it Scientism. He argued that it would be an obstacle to the progress of Social Studies. Concept formation in the two sciences is quite different. Breathing, burning and rusting are instances of the same concept because they come under the principle of oxidization; but they affect our senses differently. Similarly, we class together as instances of the same concept, say, a friendly smile, a wide variety of physical facts which have no physical properties in common. L.S. Stebbing says, "Physical science has now reached a stage of development that renders it impossible to express observable occurrences in language appropriate to what is perceived by our senses. The only appropriate language is that of mathematics".⁷ This quantitative nature of the natural sciences is not for their greater precision but for excluding qualities from their picture of the external world. But qualities are what the social sciences study, and in so doing they have to study the mind of man. This difference between the two sciences is denoted by the terms objective and subjective.⁸

23. Concept and meaning and Understanding

Weber's method of understanding has been interpreted in an extreme fashion by some of his followers. According to them, the social scientist must form an explicit hypothesis about the actor's subjective meaning; in order to form such a hypothesis, he must, by empathy and

imagination, understand the act as the actor understood it. The historian, for example, in order to understand past events, must recreate them before his mental eye by historical imagination. Such a stipulation, May Brodbeck thinks, is unduly restrictive of scientific investigation. She makes out her case by analysing the several different senses of the concepts of meaning and understanding.

24. I understand, the meaning, of an only son. This is referential meaning, what the term refers to. When the reference of a term, say, pressure, is known to be lawfully connected with other things, as the pressure of a gas is connected with volume and temperature, the term is significant and has meaning.¹ But I do not understand,² being childless, what it means to lose an only son. Yet having suffered the loss of loved ones, I can understand and sympathise, though less completely with the bereaved mother. I can understand³ why Ram left for the U.S. after graduation. This is intentional meaning.⁴ When the scientist studies, the reactions of Hari when the word 'fire' is uttered and decides whether it meant warmth or danger to Hari, it is meaning.⁵ It is a statement of the conclusions of the scientist.⁵ I understand⁹ that increased cost of production means an increase in selling price.⁵

25. According to Brodbeck, meaning and understanding² of an object or behaviour are alone of importance to the social scientist.⁵ He is interested in establishing connections between facts and formulate laws. This is what meaning and understanding state. The other senses² of meaning and understanding may be significant for psychologists or men of letters, but not for the social scientist. As She says in one place 'The sociologist

may understand religion without also understanding it.
He may call two patterns of behaviour in different cultures
'marriage', even though the Christian 'would not agree',
they were the same, not because they happen to have certain
features in common, but because they are believed to be
similarly connected to other aspects of behaviour and
society.
10

26. Controversy regarding understanding

It is in regard to understanding that there has
been a controversy among the natural and the social
scientists. Weber and others have argued that in order
to identify a phenomenon in the sense of meaning, to
understand its essential character, the scientist should
recreate it before his mind's eye and have an imaginative
experience of it. The phenomenon of religious martyrdom,
for example, cannot be understood without mentally constru-
cting the situation of the martyr and without entering
sympathetically into his emotions and attitudes. It is
only the intensely religious man who can truly understand
the significance which the martyr attaches to his action.
Winch makes the same point in a slightly different way.
Our actions, he argues, are governed by social rules. To
follow a rule, we must know the consequences of action in
accordance with it, as well as those of violating it. The
martyr knows that by courting death in an act of supreme
affirmation of his faith, he would live eternally, and
that by denying his God, he would be condemned to eternal
perdition. How can the scientist understand the meaning
of the martyr's action, unless he puts himself in the
position of the martyr and visualises as vividly both
types of consequences?

27. To argue in the above fashion, it is suggested, is to misunderstand the function of science. Art, literature and poetry excel in reproducing an event or action as nearly as it actually happened. Science is essentially a process of abstraction and analyses the associations and connections an event has with other events. Science will study the effect of the martyr's supreme sacrifice on the faithful, on the atheists, and on those on the margin, the doubters and waverers. To expect science to reproduce the event is to commit the reproductive fallacy. To understand death by poison, it is not necessary to take poison and die. It is enough to analyse the properties of poison and their effect on living organisms.

28. Undoubtedly, the point about the great difference between literature and science is well taken. Nevertheless, it may be asked whether it is possible to understand the effects of an event or action unless you identify it in all its contentual richness and distinctive elements. The process of abstraction and formalisation empties all meaning from an action or event so that it is an instance of a concept only in name. Let us take Brodbeck's example of a marriage. There are different types of marriage in different communities. A Hindu marriage is sacred and is expected to last not only for one life but for seven lives. Marriages are believed to be made in heaven and no man should part asunder those whom He in His wisdom hath joined together. As against this, in some other communities, a marriage is just a contractual arrangement and can be dissolved on the flimsiest of excuses. In still others, marriage is between parties, who because of their jobs, live in different cities more than 500 miles apart and carry on their marital relations with friends in those

cities. I have heard of a couple where husband and wife were talking about her children, his children and their children. Marriage is generally believed by sociologists to be associated and connected with family life, job-stability, bringing up of children, social insurance, care in old age, distribution of property, etc. Will the last two types of marriage fulfil these expectations ?

2. Talcott Parsons, in his 'Structure of social action' has furnished a conceptual scheme for the analysis of a unit act. It must have an actor, an end towards which an action is oriented, and a situation consisting of 'conditions' which are beyond the control of the actor and 'means' which he controls and uses to attain his end. Further there is a normative aspect to this means-end relationship, for both the means and the end are selected in accordance with some criterion of the agent. This normative orientation of action is an aspect which distinguishes it from the behaviour of things. Finally, Parsons points out that this whole scheme of action is subjective in character. It deals with things and events as they appear from the point of view of the actor whose action is being analysed. The scientific observer, that is to say, is very much concerned with the content of the minds of persons, whose actions he studies.¹¹

3. Explanation of purposive action

It has already been stated that social science deals with the relations between men and things and between men and men. Accordingly to explain purposive action, the various 'things' must be construed in terms of what the human actors themselves believe about those things rather than what can be discovered about those things by way of objective methods of natural sciences. A medicine or a

relation between motive and action. The expression of motive in action, language and gestures is subject to error. Men do not accurately know their own motives, nor do they express their motives at all accurately, they sometimes attempt to conceal or deceive. The contrast between physical objects and such scheming, emotional man is quite clear.

(%) Man, like the social scientist who studies his behaviour, thinks and acts on the basis of thinking and especially solves problems of many kinds.¹³ There are conflicts of individual interests, group interests and between individual and social interests. Each party to the dispute asserts that its demands are right and justice must be done to them. In a joint discussion each party's demands must be evaluated as impartially as possible and truth found out. An attempt must be made to find a solution which consists in establishing a consensus among all the parties as to what action is desirable. This process is essentially a discussion of values and as far as possible an objectively right solution is to be found. As an evaluative process it does not always satisfy all the parties as the Longowal Agreement and the Indo-Lanka Accord amply testify. This characteristic of man sharply distinguishes him from inanimate nature.

Finally, men not only use given means to realize given ends but also deliberate about and choose ends. In this respect Knight's position is unique for he has been emphasising in all his writings the exploratory character of man's behaviour. What men actually want is to find out what they really want, that is, what they ought to want. They want to be in the right. As Green has said, 'When I behave as I like and sow my wild oats, I am a slave of my passions. When I behave voluntarily as I ought to behave, I feel free and satisfied. Marx also speaks of freedom as the recognition of necessity. When one does what is necessary in a situation one is free and master

of the situation. To do otherwise is to court failure and disappointment. The essential significance of this is that man always wants to ascend higher and higher and in the process to change himself even to the ultimate core of his being. Walya, the fisherman, led the life of a marauder, plundering travellers that came his way of all their belongings. When one day he discovered that the members of his family, though they shared in his booty, would not share in the punishment meted out to him for his sins, he was flabbergasted and he had almost a rebirth. He changed himself from a sinner to the sage Valmiki who later wrote the Ramayana. Man is a discontented being, always reaching higher and higher in the pursuit of Truths. This is a cardinal distinction between man and all other objects of knowledge, which do not strive to change their ultimate nature or character.

33. These two characteristics of man, namely, problem solving and criticism and choice of ends are a source of indeterminateness in the causal sequence of human events. Laws can be applied to past behaviour, but it is not possible that the solution of any problem or the result of any experiment or exploration can be given in advance. Hence scientific laws, according to Knight, can be applied to only a part of human behaviour. ¹⁴

34. Rational and irrational action :

Another implication of the subjectivists' approach deserves to be noted. Action being purposeful is necessarily rational. One is unwarranted in calling certain goals of action irrational merely because they are not worth striving for from the point of view of one's own valuations.

As pointed out above, action as understood by the

acting subject is data, the ultimate given, for the social scientist; hence what an individual deliberately aims at is necessarily rational. It is in this subjectivism, says Hirsch, that the objectivity of science lies.¹⁵

35. Conclusion :

That science is Wertfrei can be stated in another way also. In the light of our ultimate value we judge the values of all other things. Since ultimate values are plural, every single ultimate value must be considered partial, arbitrary and beyond argument. No ultimate value can therefore be proved to be scientific. All science is only a means to achieve chosen ends. There is no passage from 'Is' to 'Ought'. Nothing in any kind of science can tell you what you ought to do. It is in this sense that science is wertfrei, that is, free from the taint of value judgement.

36. We may close this subjectivist approach to social science with the words of Weber, "Verification of subjective interpretation by comparison with the concrete course of events is, as in the case of all hypotheses, indispensable".¹⁶

CHAPTER III

VALUES AND SOCIAL SCIENCE

Values and Natural Sciences - Social Science

37. Natural Science has now an autonomous empire of its own, and its voice has the authority almost of the word of God. In studying inanimate things, the natural scientist is free from preferences, prejudices, interests or values of any kind. This is the method of acquiring objective knowledge. When the social scientist gives an account of a political event such as the Bofors issue or of a social occurrence like communal violence or delineates the character of a contemporary literary figure, political leader or an artist of genius, his report is likely to be partial, biased and coloured by his values. Is bias avoidable in social science? This issue in all its varied aspects must now be studied.

38. According to Weber, we select those subjects for investigation which have value-relevance. Parts of reality became significant to us because they are related to our values. That is why it is worth while for us to know them in their individual features.¹⁷

39. This is true, however, of all sciences. A physicist may study whatever interests him, optics or Quantum theory. He may also choose a subject for which adequate finance is available from the Government or some philanthropic institutions.¹ What is important is that the scientist proves his conclusions by adequate evidence which others can check. Whatever the subject selected for study, the logic of proof is the same.

40. Is Social Science Value-free ?

A caveat must be entered here. Important subjects may not be taken up for research. Schultz has mentioned that the study of poverty within agriculture is neglected because the poor in agriculture are politically impotent and politicians are interested in immediate results. Even if research workers do not accept political coercion, their work must bring them into contact with the poor in farming and they must not be carried away by the prevailing folklore that all is well with agriculture.¹⁸

41. It often happens that a social scientist discovers facts that a society is infested with parochial loyalties and fissiparous tendencies. In critically examining the adequacy of the means employed by the powers that be for establishing social stability and integration, the social scientist's objective analysis might really be a disguised recommendation of social policy.

42. There is a more subtle argument for the view that social science cannot be value-free. When a man accepts a bribe for doing his duty, we call him corrupt. It is a generous act when a man gives a princely donation to a worthy cause anonymously. In such cases, it is said, there is a fusion of facts and values, which cannot be avoided in social science. Earnest Nagel, however, suggests that if we distinguish between characterising value judgements and appraising value judgements, the distinction between facts and values will become quite clear. A judge has to decide whether on the evidence available, a particular act amounts to fraud. He is indentifying an act by examining its attributes and properties. It is characterising value judgement. Similarly a doctor finds a patient anaemic,

which is also a like judgement. He may later make an appraising value judgement that such a condition is undesirable. In a characterising value judgement the scientist does not commit himself to any values other than those of scientific probity. It is, of course, true that when a social scientist uses such terms as corrupt, generous or cruel, they have an appraising connotation. The natural scientist also makes such judgements when he describes a chronometer as inaccurate or a machine as inefficient. Nevertheless, it is not inherently impossible to distinguish between the two types of value judgements.¹⁹

43. Social Scientist and Commitment to ends

Lynd accuses the advocates of pure and neutral social science of sanctifying the status quo. They often support, perhaps unconsciously, the values of the going system, such as competition, individualism and the dominance of pecuniary values.²⁰

44. Social Scientists must take particular care not to commit themselves to any social ends or ideals. But the adequacy of means to achieve a given end is an objective statement or a conditional assertion. Some members of the Sikh Community want 'Khalistan' on the lines the Muslims got Pakistan. The rest of the Indian Community is opposed to this attempt at Balkanising the country by dividing it into separate, independent States. The Khalistanis want to achieve their goal by terrorism. Now how a goal is to be achieved is a factual question and not a value problem. If sufficient evidence is made available by sociological enquiry, both 'Khalistanis' and their opponents might agree that terror tactics will not only not achieve 'Khalistan' but only result in alienating the 'Khalistanis' from the rest of the Indian Community.

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45. Bergmann cites passages from well-known writers which assert facts and logical connections which are obviously due to their values. Mill asserted that laws governing the behaviour of individuals in large groups can be deductively derived from laws that govern ^{their} behaviour in isolation or in small groups. By this Mill meant that sociology can be reduced to psychology. This is purely a factual question. But Mill offered his thesis as a logical truth, i.e. as the result of a purely logical analysis of the subject matter of the two disciplines. This was because Mill valued individualism.

46. Herbert Spencer argued against poor relief because such measures were unnatural. They tried to interfere with the inexorable laws of nature, those of a free market economy. Bergmann characterises the argument as 'a stupendous logical blunder'. As if anybody could go against the laws of nature'. The real reason was that Spencer was fiercely attached to the freedom of the individual from all government interference, including even benevolent interference.²¹

47. Cohen on Values

Morris Cohen is a Sociologist who has said that exclusion of value-judgements from social science is undesirable as well as impossible. "We cannot disregard all questions of what is socially desirable without missing the significance of many social facts; for since the relation of means to ends is a special form of that between parts and wholes, the contemplation of social ends enables us to see the relations of whole groups of facts to each other and to larger systems of which they are parts".²²

48. Indian situations + Values

This can easily be seen by analysing our own personal experience. Our various and disparate actions fall into a pattern when we know the end for the realization of which they were the means. What a man does and refrains from doing can be given meaning only in the light of his norms and principles. I have been intrigued by the colossal and glaring contrast in the behaviour of my countrymen during the freedom struggle and since independence.

49. During the freedom struggle under the leadership of Tilak, Gandhiji, Nehru, and others, ordinary men and women achieved heights of glory by performing feats of heroic suffering and sacrifice. Babu Genu threw himself before a loaded truck and achieved immortality by making the supreme sacrifice. There were many like him, 'bright stars, steadfast in their loyalty to truth and non-violence, in lone splendour, hung aloft the night'. Gandhiji preached the message of truth and non-violence. It was the coming of the second Christ. He bore his cross bravely for the sake of humanity. By and large, the people practised Gandhiji's preaching and never swerved from the path of virtue and morality. Subhash Chandra Bose organised the Indian National Army. The army, navy and the air force turned against the British. To cut a long story short, the British Government found it impossible to run the government. Major Attlee introduced and the British Parliament passed the Indian Independence Act on 19th July, 1947, granting freedom to India. But there was a fly in the ointment; India was divided into Bharat and Pakistan.

50. Since freedom, we have been sliding down the inclined plane. We established democracy by creating a dynasty. Our electoral system strengthened caste by electing a

majority of our legislators from the majority caste in almost every state. We have an expensive government whose budget runs into hundreds of crores of rupees. We have ingenious and unheard of taxes. Still the Central Government resorts to loans and deficit financing. Inflation continually erodes the value of money and raises prices. As a free people we do not set great store by the British standards of discipline, law and order. Population explosion is the root cause of all our ills; still it goes on increasing. Shortages of essential commodities and services leads to black money and a parallel economy. There is corruption from top to bottom. An ex-Governor of Maharashtra promised never to take a bribe but refused to promise not to give a bribe. There is some progress in industry and a green revolution in agriculture. The Public Sector Industries, the commanding heights of the economy, have accumulated huge losses and have been advised to raise prices to make profit. With all this, our per capita income is about Rs. 3000/- at present prices, and only Rs. 500/- at 1970-71 prices. There is an upsurge of centrifugal and fissiparous tendencies. A sizable portion of the sikh community work to achieve Khalistan by terror tactics. Similar attempts by other communal groups appear to have been settled temporarily by negotiations. But the Punjab problem persists. The Government seems to wait for the complete annihilation of the Sikh extremists; they, on their part, become more violent and take to bomb explosions. As the years pass, innocent men and women by the thousand are done to death and their families are razed to the ground. How long this agonizing experience will continue no one can say !

51. Almost all political leaders, literary artists, master musicians preach in lectures, in newspaper and

periodical articles, in songs and through radio and television the supreme need of national integration, even of emotional integration. This is usually done precisely at the moment when the cementing bonds of unity are giving way. A mere reaffirmation of our faith, while nothing concrete is being done to root out the causes of disintegration, heightens the gap between what is and what should be and encourages the growth of cynicism, hypocrisy and that general state of affairs called anomie, - life without norms.

52. Freedom has turned us inside out and shown the real stuff we are made of. The maxims that seem to govern our conduct, are 'everyone for himself and devil take the hindmost' and 'after me the deluge'. Democracy is said to give the people the right to commit mistakes and learn. No doubt the people will one day learn but there does not seem to be any possibility of their doing so within the foreseeable future.

53. We can now realise by hindsight that what was socially desirable in 1860 was social reform rather than political freedom. In that year a controversy raged in Maharashtra as to whether social reform should precede political struggle for freedom or vice-versa. Gopal Ganesh Agarkar, Editor of Kesari and Principal of Fergusson College, was vehemently on the side of social reform, while Lokmanya Tilak was the leader on the other side. Agarkar said, 'We must first reform ourselves and put our house in order'. Tilak quipped that there was no house for us to put in order. It was, therefore, necessary to take charge of the house first and then carry out the necessary reforms. Agarkar was not unmindful of the necessity of achieving freedom and power. But he knew that freedom means responsibility, initiative, balance, impartiality and the rule

of law. For a people who had been slaves for centuries, liberty might go to their heads and degenerate into licence. It might add one more instance to Acton's celebrated law of corruption. Hence in order to preserve freedom and use it for the progress of our people, we must educate them, for virtue is the child of knowledge and vice of ignorance. We must free them from the stranglehold of caste, status, religious ritual and antiquated beliefs. In a free society, there are bound to be conflicts of social interests as also disagreements between classes, castes and communities, but we must see to it that something like a rational compromise is possible. Our people must possess public spirit, social conscience and good-will so that they triumph over prejudice and selfishness. The struggle for power is a persistent fact of political life, but we must so organise our social life and institutions that no one has too much power. Power must be diffused in the whole of society. Agarkar's vision was that of a people redeemed from their age-old ailments of poverty, disease and ignorance and able to shoulder the responsibilities that come in the wake of freedom.

54. I do not know what significance you attach to these facts and their relation to each other and to the larger society of the Indian people. We boast that we are the spiritual leaders of mankind. Our ancient sages and seers have taught us wisdom that is without a parallel in any other country. Our spiritual books, especially the Gita, contain all the norms and standards for leading a good life here and hereafter. But we seem to have fallen on evil days. To what a pass we have brought this country within forty years of freedom!

55. Winston Churchill was a remarkable man. It was his statemanship and war strategy that saved England from Hitler's air attacks in the Battle of Britain. He rose and warned Attlee in memorable words which show his amazing foresight : " Liberty is man's birth-right. However, to give the reins of government to the congress at this juncture is to hand over the destiny of hungry millions into the hands of rogues, rascals and freebooters. Not a bottle of water or a loaf of bread shall escape taxation. The blood of these hungry millions will be on the head of Mr. Attlee. India will be lost in political squabbles.... It will take them a thousand years to enter the periphery of philosophy or politics. Today we hand over the reins of government to men of straw ".

56. We may sum up by saying that it is undoubtedly difficult in social inquiries to prevent our hopes and fears, our judgements as to what ought to be, from affecting our investigation of objective facts. Nevertheless, these are practical difficulties which must be overcome by exercising care and diligence. If the distinction between factual and value judgements is quite clear it should be possible to minimise, if not eliminate altogether, the value bias in our research work.

CHAPTER - IV

MANNHEIM ON VALUES IN SOCIAL SCIENCES

57. Karl Mannheim has a distinguished niche of his own in the history of social sciences. He was a sociologist of repute who left Germany when Hitler came to power and went to England where he remained till his death in 1947. He became a leading influence in the London School of Economics. He was essentially a liberal and tried to blend certain key ideas in Marxism with certain liberal principles. For Hayek, planning was the Road to Serfdom, but Mannheim proposed a comprehensive programme of 'planning for freedom'.

58. Mannheim had a versatile mind. He has been greatly misunderstood and his principal thesis of the Sociology of Knowledge has been virulently criticized. He has taken a diametrically opposite position to that taken by every other social scientist in regard to the study of human behaviour. Only a gist of his seminal ideas is possible here.

59. Mannheim in his book 'Ideology and utopia' distinguishes between Ideology and Sociology of Knowledge. That thought arises not in a social vacuum, but in a definite social milieu is common to both. In a situation of conflict, we assert that our opponent is thinking ideologically. We mean that he is consciously or unconsciously twisting the facts so as to serve his own interests. It is not to his advantage to recognize the true nature of the situation. But we assert that our own statement of the problem is infallible and true. Marx also argued that all thinking is socially determined but regarded his own thinking as infallible and absolute. But Mannheim points out that the general formulation of the total

conception of ideology requires that all points of view, and not merely the adversary's point of view, are ideological. This is how the simple theory of ideology develops into the sociology of knowledge. Marx used his theory as a polemical weapon against the capitalist class; Mannheim turned it into a method of research in social and intellectual history. The Sociology of knowledge does not speak of twisting or distortion but states that mental structures are differently formed in different social and historical situations. In his researches in sociology of knowledge, Mannheim does not use the term 'ideology' because of its moral connotation, but instead speaks of the perspective of a thinker. He means that the thinker's whole mode of conceiving things is determined by his social and life situation. A couple of illustrations, interesting in themselves, both of ideological thinking and of sociology of knowledge will make the subject clearer.

60. Is there anything like objectivity ?

An exciting Japanese film, *Rashomon*, is an apt illustration of ideological thinking. The film is in the form of a story told by a forester. He reports that a Japanese lady and her husband were attacked in the forest by a highwayman. The lady was raped and the husband killed. Then at the police station, they all tell the events that happened, the husband speaking through a medium. Each party arranges the facts in a pattern that puts his own position in the best light. As we listen, our tension mounts. We are not sure whether what really happened was murder and rape, whether the lady was treacherous or loyal, the husband cowardly or heroic, the highwayman, an aggressor or victim. It is discovered that the woodsman was an eye-witness to what happened in the forest. He tells his story. But a

dagger is missing. It turns out that he has stolen it. He had not been an impartial spectator, he, too, is a participant. Since all of us are participants in what happens, there can be no such thing as objectivity. The affairs of men take place in a hall of mirrors, each with its own angle of distortion, and all we can report is what we see in the mirrors, for there is nothing else to see. We never see what really happens and in fact it makes no sense even to ask.²³ As Mannheim says, 'henceforward the problem implicit in the term 'ideology' - what is really real? - never disappeared from the horizon.

61. We have in our country political parties ranging from the extreme right to the extreme left. The image of social reality in their minds cannot obviously be identical in character. Some are revivalist, stressing our glorious past and trying to restore 'Ramarajya' in this country. Other parties are intellectually so strongly interested in changing the present condition of our society that they only see in the situation what tends to negate it. The members of the ruling party in their thinking are so intensively interested in the existing condition that they are simply blind to certain facts which would undermine their sense of domination. Thus ideology obscures the real condition of society to the parties themselves and also to others.

62. Max Weber had already shown in his sociology of religion how the same religion was variously experienced by peasants, artisans, merchants, nobles and intellectuals. Mannheim shows that the same concept means very different things when used by persons occupying different positions.

63. In early nineteenth century, when an old-style German conservative spoke of 'freedom', he meant thereby

the right of each estate to live according to its privileges or liberties. If he belonged to the Protestant movement he understood by it 'inner freedom', that is, the right of each individual to live according to his own individual personality. When a liberal of the same period used the term 'freedom', he was thinking of freedom from precisely those privileges which to the old style conservative appeared to be the very basis of all freedom. The liberal conception was an equalitarian conception of freedom, 'being free' meant that all men have the same fundamental rights at their disposal. Thus even in the formulation of concepts, the angle of vision is guided by the observer's social position.²⁴

64. Mannheim's conception of science

Because our subject is 'Science and Values', it is necessary to refer briefly to Mannheim's conception of science. The natural sciences have made universal validity the basic criterion of scientific knowledge. It is, however, not appropriate to knowledge as a whole. The concept of science must be revised to include other kinds of knowledge, which though not of universal validity, none the less constitute scientific knowledge.

65. Our experience shows that we can get relevant knowledge in the actual course of conduct and in dealing with practical problems. A practical man of affairs dealing with concrete situations is more intelligent than a theorist, for he has some knowledge that is intimately tied up with practice while the theorist has no such knowledge. Again, all knowledge depending on the subjective standpoint and on the life-situation of the knower is excluded from scientific knowledge, though it is not necessarily erroneous. But most important of

all, the social scientists were exhorted to exclude interest and values which constitute the human element in man from their scientific work.

65.A. As a matter of fact, Mannheim takes the bull by the horns and categorically declares that interest is inevitably reflected in all thought including scientific thought. In the social sciences we can do nothing without evaluative conceptions. As a matter of fact 'there is a positive and constructive significance of the evaluative elements in thought'. As an illustration he mentions the biblical statement, 'The last shall be first'. It is an expression of the revolt of the lower classes in society against their oppressors. In order to understand its full meaning, the observer must realize the tension between social classes. Unless he sympathises with their struggle for ascendancy, with their persistent oppression extending over centuries, he cannot make sense of the potential of social tension and resentment.

66. In order to work in the social sciences one must participate in the social process, but this does not mean that the person participating in it falsifies facts or sees them incorrectly. Anyone participating with other men and vital social relations obtains a more precise and penetrating insight into his fellows. Even our simplest action based on some evaluative decision involves an interpretation of other human beings and one's own self. The Prime Minister's declaration that nothing will be done for the farmers under pressure is an instance in point.

67. We may be completely detached in studying physical things, but in the social sciences we must take into account the values and goals of action in order to understand the significance of many of the facts involved.

"In our choice of areas of research, in the selection of relevant data, in our method of investigation, in our organization of materials and also in formulating our hypotheses and conclusions, there is always an implicit scheme of evaluation".²⁵

68. Mannheim does not mean that there is nothing but arbitrary personal judgements and propaganda in social science. He asserts that the social scientist is concerned with an objective analysis, but knows that after eliminating all conscious evaluation, an irreducible residue of evaluation is inherent in the structure of all thought.²⁶

69. In our times decision-making has become very difficult. On every issue there is a multiplicity of authoritative opinions. Our social sciences treat only of the means to achieve given ends. They furnish only instrumental knowledge. Robbins has declared that nothing in any kind of science can tell you what you ought to do. According to Mannheim, however, the most important role of thought in life consists in providing guidance for conduct when decisions must be made. Implicit in every real decision such as our valuation of the character of our friends and neighbours or how society should be organized is our considered judgement as to what is evil and what is good.

70. All historical knowledge describing events in time and space is relational in character. It depends on the subjective standpoint and the social situation of the knower. Every level of reality has its own form of knowledge. It is really anomalous that so far no one has paid any attention to this kind of knowledge on which depend our most crucial decisions regarding our political and social destiny. Such knowledge is by no means as

illusory experience. It arises out of experience in actual life-situations. It is true it is not absolute yet it is knowledge none the less. Out of such life situations arise norms which are effective as real sanctions for conduct. Of course this knowledge is relational, and when the social situation changes, the system of norms must change with it. In this way the sociology of knowledge will furnish a foundation for the scientific guidance of social life.²⁷

FOOT - NOTES

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