JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY

School of Social Sciences
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SOCIALIZATION PROCESS, PERSONALITY STRUCTURE
AND SOCIAL STRATIFICATION : A STUDY OF
SELECTED GROUPS

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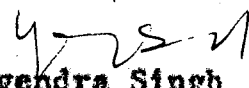Master of Philosophy.

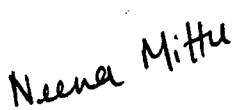NEW DELHI
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D E C L A R A T I O N

Certified that the material in this dissertation has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this or any other University.

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INTRODUCTION

SOCIALIZATION, PERSONALITY STRUCTURE AND SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

Personality of an individual is the organization of culturally patterned systems including his beliefs, attitudes and values in totality which distinguishes him from other men. From a bio-psychological point of view personality is the organization of mental and physical elements which interact and modify each other within each individual distinguishing him from others. The biological and social factors constantly incract in moulding the personality structure. Every individual inherits cultural heritage from his own cultural framework which is manifested by his personality. Inheritance of cultural heritage takes places as a result of transmission of it through different ways of socialization which in turn help in the formation of socio-psychological makeup of individual personality. The critical period of socialization is the childhood, the experiences acquired during this period have irreversible effects on the personality. Thus, the study of socialization remains incomplete without the appearance of its counter part, the personality. On the other hand, socialization methods and patterns of subcultural groups depend upon the social position of the family or groups to which the individual belongs. The fields of socialization, personality structure and social stratification have been approached from different frames of reference. The study of these areas, thus involves the convergence of various disciplines. For example, social psychology, sociology and anthropology are involved directly. Indirectly, the other social sciences like economics and political science also emerge in the picture. (See, Hyman: 1959 & Levine: 1969).

Socialization of Homo sapiens is a unique process, as the period of child dependency is the longest here. Socialization broadly, refers to the process of social learning by which an individual is made to learn to adjust to the group by acquiring social behaviour of that group. Thus, the central idea of

this process lies in the internalization of the culture of
the society into which the child is born. There is no stage
in one's life where an individual ceases to learn social roles.
As role learning is a continuous phenomenon, the socialization
process continues throughout one's life, i.e. it is as broad
as life span. (Wheeler, Brim: 1962). Although the principles
of socialization have universal features, yet socialization
process varies in specific social settings. Various groups in
a particular social setting emphasize distinctive methods of
socializing the children, which ultimately perpetuate a type
of personality syndrome relevant to the conditions of these
groups respectively. Thus, in more sociological terms, members
of the same group or same social class to which the group belongs
possess homogenous behaviour. Therefore the personality outcome
as the result of the socialization of the children, is stereo-
typed according to the cultural norms of the classes. (Zigler:
1970). The heterogenous behaviour of members of different
classes tend to produce different types of personality. The
impact of social class on the socialization process and its
byproduct (personality) has remained the focus of many eminent
social scientists in the occident (see, Havighurst and Davis:
1946; Soars et. al. : 1957; Caven: 1964; Miller and Swanson:
1958; Kohn: 1959 & Maccoby and Gibb: 1959).

It becomes difficult to delineate the relationship between
socialization process, personality structure and social strati-
fication in one concept, what is required is study of the rela-
tionship among them. The variables emphasized during the so-
cialization of the children are determined by the social and cul-
tural institutions of the society. The emphasis of the variables
is also conditioned due to the variations in the nature of
parental authority, economic sufficiency, family and community
structures. The resultant outcome is indicated by the types of
personality syndrome. For instance, if socialization variables
are more authoritarian in orientation, emphasizing on higher
obedience and responsibility or less motivation and self-reliance
and if there is more restrictive environment, these may reinforce
the establishment of autocratic family structure and development

of authoritarian personality characteristics in the children.
Such children, during their adulthood in turn establish auto-
cratic families thus, perpetuating authoritarian mode of
socialization. One the other hand, the equalitarian or more demo-
cratic socialization variables like self-reliance (independence),
spontaneity, less dependence on elders in the family, less
aggression etc. might contribute to the formation of more equal-
itarian personality traits. The children socialized in this
atmosphere may possess more democratic traits in their person-
ality structure and during their adulthood may establish
democratic families.

Every society, whether simple or complex, is organised
and characterized by its dynamic form. Modernization of society
is a natural process. Industrialization is an important pre-
requisite of modernization. If the atmosphere of the sociali-
zation is authoritarian and at the same time society is under-
going modernization it becomes difficult for children to develop
the characteristics in their personality suitable for moderni-
zing atmosphere. That is, under authoritarian conditions, the
democratic aspects remain suppressed. The relationship of
modernization with socialization process has been studied by
Hagen (1962), McClelland (1961), Rosen (1961) and White (1965).
These studies have shown the undeniable importance of childhood
experiences of the individuals, possessing variegated personality
types during their adulthood.

Prior to the anthropological studies made in the early
part of this century, the fields of socialization, personality
structure and social stratification remain unexplored. The
investigators of these mechanisms of cultural socialization
were M. Mead (Growing up in Samoa: 1928), Benedict (Chrysanthemum
& the Sword: 1945), Kardiner (Individual and his society: 1937),
and Linton (Cultural Background of Personality: 1945). These
works were concerned mainly with the transformation of tabula
rasa individual into the socially accepted member of society.
The works on "other cultures" influenced the succeeding genera-
tion of social scientists, who attempted to study the interaction

of the three major variables i.e., socialization, personality structure and social stratification. However, all those studies were deeply embedded in the theories of Freudian psychoanalysis. The works of Fromm (1937), Murphy (1947), Lewin (1952), Murray (1938), Allport (1937, 1961), Adorno & others (1950), Cooley (1902), Eysenck (1953), Kardiner (1945), Merton (1940), Erikson (1950), Sears & others (1957), Kluckhohn (1944), Whiting (1961), Parsons & Bales (1955), Cohen (1961), Hsu (1961) & G.H. Mead (1934) are some of the important works in this field. All these studies while dealing with psychobiological and psychosociocultural systems of personality have maintained the importance of family as an universal institution in moulding the personality structure through socialization.

Different theoritical frameworks have been made use of in the study of socialization. Some of them as suggested by Y. Singh are: (1) the behaviouristic-interactionistic, rooted in positivistic/or neopositivistic traditions (Homans 1950), (2) the symobolic-subjectivistic rooted in ideational inter-pretative traditions of the society (Sorokin 1947, Becker 1957) and (3) the symbolic-interactionistic (Kardiner, Linton, Mead (G.H.) Parsons) frame of reference (Singh: 1967:52). The results of the studies of most social scientists indicate the importance of the last approach which involves the reciprocal interaction between biological individual and social institutions and culture, and their impact on personality formation, which is biosocial product of one's society and culture.

Objectives of the Study

In this study our main concern is to look for certain variables to operationalize the concepts of socialization, personality structure and social stratification. Secondly, we would compare the functioning of those variables in the context of various cultures and at various levels of social stratification. This is a necessary step in order to formulate a framework of their interaction comparatively, especially with regard to six cultures for which material is already

available. These six cultures are India, Japan, Philippines, Mexico, Kenya and U.S.A. It is assumed that socialization process differs according to variations in culture and social organization.

Since Indian culture is different from other cultures, the methods of childcare and child-rearing which together constitute the process of socialization would also differ here. Structural diversity of Indian society in terms of religion, mores, norms, values and beliefs of the various hierarchically organized strata (groups) is, indeed, integrated leading to its structural unity. Thus, the diversifying and the unifying factors of Indian ways of life are harmonious. Most aspects of the Indian social life have been studied. The process of socialization, personality formation and its relation-ship with social stratification however, have not been studied by Indian anthropologists and sociologists. Complicated and regionalized nature of our society has tremendous impacts on personality structure (1937). We may assume that different subcultures and strata withinthe society have different basic personality structures, which are the result of purposive socialization. However the variations in personality structure are not without some universality, especially at the biological level. At other levels such as culture, the variations become concrete and less universalized. Kluckhohn and Murray have rightly suggested that that "every man is in certain aspects like all other man, like some other men and like no other man" (Kluckhohn and Murray: 1949 : 35).

There is direct relationship between socialization process and social stratification. In a study of the relationship between personality structure, socialization and social-strati-fication two important problems emerge. First, whether the socialization and personality type are determined by the social stratification. How far could the system of social stratifica-tion of society be considered as determinant of its socialization process? Under what conditions change in social stratification lead to the modifications in socialization processes (its methods

and practices)? Secondly, can the existence of specific
patterns of social stratification of a society be viewed
as the projections of the individual needs as determined
by the socio-cultural environment? To examine these issues
we have formulated a set of questions through which we
could compare the relationships between socialization, persona-
lity formation and social stratification. These questions
are:-

(1)   Do the similar 'patterns' of socialization in different
classes of society produce similar type of personality?
How far are these methods of socialization relevant in the
formation of the basic personality, structure? (Linton &
Kardiner).

(2)   Does socialization of children always lead to their
healthy adjustments with the sociocultural milieu? Does
it help in maintaining the homeostatic conditions of society.
If it fails to do so, what sort of maladjustment (anomic or
chaotic situations) emerge?

(3)   Are the effectiveness of the society, its stability
as well as individual satisfaction maintained by the "basic
personality" structure of the members in that society?

(4)   How far are personality traits, socio-economic
conditions of the parents and surrogates influential in the
socialization of the children and formation of their per-
sonality structure?

(5)   How do the social stratification and family structures
of the society transmit and organize the processes necessary
for individual personality development and variations in them?

(6)   How far the personality structures of various sub-
cultural groups and strata within a society are consistent
with modernization and development processes in that society?

The main concern in dealing with above questions is to
analyze the distinctive patterns of socialization of the various
strata and develop a model for corss-cultural comparisons in
the process of socialization.

The present work is divided into three chapters. Since
it is a theoretical work based on secondary sources of data
collection, we have reviewed the relevant literature in order

to see the implication of socialization process in relation
to the stratification system in India and in other five cultures.
In chapter-I we deal with the operationalization of the
concepts socialization, personality structure and social
stratification. In chapter II, the interaction patterns
between these concepts would be analyzed comparatively in
the earlier mentioned six cultures. In chapter III, we deal
with the interaction between these concepts in relation to
family structure and caste system as existing in Indian
society.

CHAPTER I

OPERATIONALIZATION OF SOCIALIZATION PROCESS, PERSONALITY STRUCTURE & SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

Unlike the natural sciences the ultimate unit of study in the social sciences is the human being. A study of any social institution or social system involves the study of human behaviour, which is not fixed like the relationships of elements or molecules in the natural sciences. The recurring and periodic nature of natural phenomena however, is not validated in the social phenomena (which are aperiodic and nonrecurring).

Thus a fundamental step to start with, in social research is the precise formulation of the problems showing interrelationships of the concepts involved. The next step is operationalization of the concepts by establishing some variables or measureable attributes, which we may wish to examine in order to see the proper functioning of the concepts. Operationalization, therefore, is a scientific tool which aids in the delineation of variables of the problem. Thus, operationalization enables researcher to generate more accurate findings. Regarding the usefulness of operationalization in anthropological studies, Pelto suggests that the provision for the framework of information and data collection is made easier when we have established the operational definitions and measurable attributes of the major concepts. It is helpful in effective theory-building and testing (Pelto:1970:49). Operationalization as a step is very important and significant for crosscultural comparisions and it avoids haphazardness which is often met when proceeded without any specific framework.

In the present chapter, we shall deal with the operationalization of the concepts of socialization, personality structure and social stratification to see their interaction. Methods and mechanisms of socialization involve a set of interrelated sanctions, techniques and variables. Socialization would be operationalized following the works

of Whiting and others in the six cultures. Personality structure, on the other hand would be operationalized in relation to Hagen's personality model. Operationalization of social stratification would be in terms of two major categories. e.g. caste and class.

(1)   Operationalization of Socialization

(a)   General   Generally, the process of socialization has been defined as, "the inculcation of the skills, knowledge, attitudes, necessary for playing given social roles" (Mayer 1968 : 4). The various definitions given so far of this process are more or less similar in content indicating the ambiguous connotative nature of the term. Every work has emphasized the transformation of a social human infant into social being through his interaction with social environment and family system. Undoubtedly, the major steps of sociali- zation are covered during the childhood where formal and informal agencies direct the younger generation towards the goal-directed behaviour. This period of human life has been weighted very heavily by social scientists. The significance of this process lies in its outcome of patterning of per- sonality structure as shown by various authors (see, Whiting : 1961; Sears et. al.:1957; Whiting & Child ; 1953; & Erikson : 1950). The social environment is limited during this period and the child is confined to the family which provides the first social interaction, thereby creating in the individual the need and the disposition to adjust to others (Barbu : 1971 : 150). Therefore, the family becomes an important institution which could not be exempted from any study of socialization process.

Socialization is an ongoing process; continues through- out in life, as learning of new social roles is always there. It becomes difficult to draw a demarcating line for sociali- zation or to point out its beginning or its end. Through its continuity socialization helps to sensitize the children to various structures and ordering of society. It is a process of acquisition of norms, perspectives and values

of economic, political and religious groups by the individual (Lindesmith & Strauss : 1968 : 5). In a broader sense, the unconscious and subjective process of socialization includes the entire framework of action and interaction within the social contexts. That is, socialization is learning of norms which are contingent upon values and norms of the society (Singh : 1967 : 52). Similar is the Parsons (1955) view on the internalization of social roles through socialization. Social roles according to Parsons are sets of rules and norms with patterns of behaviour which define various positions occupied and various functionaries in a given society. Shibutani views socialization as "the piece by piece accretion of habits in a continuous process of adaptation of a living organism to its environment coping with life conditions". (Shibutani : 1961 : 472). His use of term "habits" is similar to "social role" learning as formulated by others. The process of socialization helps in equipping the child for his adult roles in the society of which he is a part.

The ethnographic studies of socialization have confined themselves to studying the internalization of norms, process of learning through role models etc. Here, personality is viewed as a social product and socialization as a mechanism which perpetuates the social structure and socio-cultural patterns of a particular society. The problem of social change through socialization is not analysed adequately.

(b)   Mechanisms of Socialization   The mechanisms of socialization refer to the methods and practices which direct the social learning. Most theories of socialization have laid stress on the importance of culturally determined patterns of child-training. Social structure has a maidenhand in the specificity of the content of socialization of a society or culture. Culture and family infact, determine the techniques of society which are conditioned through the sanctions institutionalized in society for socialization process. The interaction between the techniques of socialization and the sanction is responsible for the functioning of required variables. The relationship between sanctions,

techniques and variables therefore, can be represented
in the following manner:

Table 1 : Table showing the Mechanisms of Socialization

Modes of Sanction	Technique	Variables‡
Negative (Restrictive)-Positive (Permissive)	Various specific techniques of punishment and reward for conformity behaviour. More physical punishment. Material Reward.	Aggression, Succorance
Positive (Permissive)-Negative (Restrictive)	Various specific techniques of punishment or withdrawal of rewards such as withdrawal of food, love and praise and affection.	Achievement, self-reliance, Nutturance, Sociability.

‡ Variables such as responsibility, obedience
and dominance are common to both modes of
sanctions in socialization.

In every society socialization of the children is
oriented from two modes of sanctions which are referred to
as negative (restrictive) and positive (permissive).
McDavid and Harari view socialization as standardized
rules of conduct which a society aspires to achieve. Every
society has different ways of enforcing the sanctions. They
write, "They (social sanctions) include standards for
reward of socially abandoned behaviour (positive sanctions)
as well as for punishment of socially unacceptable behaviour
(negative sanctions)" (McDavid and Harari : 1968 : 77).
The positive and negative sanctions are present in different
degrees in every society. Sanction is also defined as,
"the relationship of behaviour produced by the behaviour
of other organisms of the same species" (Scott : 1971 : 65).
Scott does not view sanctions in terms of norms or values

as Parsons has done but he views sanctions in terms of conditioners which in turn define norms and values of the society. Sanctions therefore act as social reinforcers implying norm as their patterns.

In the process of socialization two general sets of sanctions (norms) involved are restrictive or negative and permissive or positive, as we mentioned above. Restrictive (negative) sanctions are consequence of certain social conditions like low status, poor economic condition or protective parenthood. The restrictive sanctions emphasize control and regulation of child's activities by parents. Such sanctions are associated with less independency, less achievement, or what has been called by Burton as the undesirable aspects of the behaviour of permissive sanctions described below (Burton : 1969 : 339).

Permissive sanctions depend upon the nature of the permissive parenthood, sufficient status and economic condition of the parents in the society. In this atmosphere a child is treated as independent and responsible and therefore, is allowed to think on his own. Thus, simultaneous intellectual development also does not get stagnated. Parents, may encourage achievement in this type of socialization. Permissive sanctions therefore may relate to the following characteristics of the children: low aggression, low dependency and a high level of conscience development as shown by Burton. Both modes of sanction involve various specific techniques for "good" as well as "bad" behaviour of the children. Severe disciplining of the children is reinforced by the positive and negative sanctions. The modes of punishment exist when the child does not respond to the expected behaviour. For example, crying of the infants may be seen with indulgence. But as the child grows older his crying may not be approved. Demand of breast-feeding after a certain age may force the mother to use some kind of punishments like threats, scolding or withdrawal of love. Misbehaviour of older children may

involve specific punishment techniques like food deprivation
as found in Kenya and Japan, or even physical punishment
as criteria of negative sanctions found in India and Japan.
Father may also be used as the threatening agent. It was
found in the study of six cultures that the ratio of punish-
ment increases in the late childhood. Isolation and with-
drawal of love are commonly used to punish the children for
their misconduct.

On the other hand, occurence of some desired, con-
tingent event on the part of the children is rewarded.
Rewards include praise, approval or social acceptance more
commonly found in societies emphasising positive (permissive)
sanctions). In general, rewards are of two types; material
and nonmaterial, material rewards include food, money etc.
When a child does a good piece of work or starts taking
bath on his own or shares the responsibility of keeping
himself clean he is generally rewarded with verbal praise
and admiration as found in Japan, Mexico, America etc. In
India on the other hand, one may observe less praise for good
work, rare rewards for good behaviour. Material reward
has been found to be of great importance by Marotzkis' in
their study of child-rearning in Okinawa (Japan). They
write, "rewarding the child with food proves to be as affec-
tive a technique of socialization as threatening to deprive
him of food" (Whiting : 1963 : 507).

The functioning of these techniques is best observed
in relation to the demand of socialization variables like
obedience etc. from children, which we would discuss now.

Variables of Socialization

In social research, variables are referred to as any
quantity or characteristics which may possess different
numerical or qualitative values. These variables whether
qualitative or quantitative, help in measuring the phenomenon
under study. Variables of study may also help in the boun-
dary maintenance either loosely or rigidly depending upon
the nature of the problems to be studied. The selection
and definition of variables presents a crucial problem and

forms the basis of every study. Thus, to study the process of
socialization, we require to establish certain variables,which
may enable us to study the process meaningfully and make certain
tentative conclusions. Their application in different societies
may demand certain modifications in order to suit the social
settings. Maccoby furnishes certain classes of variables with
some history of their application. He emphasized the importance
of reward, punishment, warmth, interaction between child and the
parents, verbatism, restrictiveness permissiveness, family
position and aspects of social organization, as the important
variables to study socialization (Maccoby:1961 : 357-371).
Obviously, we may find that his variables reflect the mixture
of what we have called sanctions, techniques and variables..
Moreover, it is true that variables stressed during infancy
or early childhood do not maintain their continuity and need to
be changed in the later periods. Thus, the personality formation
of the child has strong bearing upon the selection of the vari-
ables. During the whole period of socialization, these variables
may change to suit the new emerging situations.

(c)   Selection of the Variables for the study We would analyse
socialization process comparatively, using certain suitable
variables. These variables have been formulated by whiting and
others (1963). With the help of these variables,we have tried
to compare cross-culturally the modalities of socialization and
also its variations on account of differences in family and caste
background in India. The selected variables are as follows:

(1)   Obedience: It is defined as "an attempt to meet the
demands of others". It implies that children must obey their
olders. It is one of the important requisites in socialization
institutionalized by various means. Variations in the studies
of six cultures have been found regarding the degree of stress
of obdience. Generally in all the societies, obedience to
father and surrogates is stressed more than to the mother and
surrogates. Thus, emphasis during socialization is laid on the
obligations of the children towards adult. In the traditional
society, this variable is of crucial significance, being associated

with the maxim that there must be "unquestionable obedience of children towards parents". Obedience makes children responsive towards their families in the society.

(2) Responsibility Every society has some expected roles to be performed by the children and tends them to realize their responsibility. Responsibility as a variable of socialization has been defined as "performing one's expected role duties". It is a mutual phenomenon existing between the parents and the children. Parents are responsible for providing security, support, education and food etc. to the children. They demand the similar things from the children during their old age. Sex differences reveal the picture of responsibility of both the male and the female children towards their families.

(3) Aggression Stressed as a variable of socialization, aggression reinforces the ego principle of the personality. It may be associated with goal attainment or may become end in itself. In the study of socialization it has been defined as "hurting others". A child during the period of his mental and social growth wants freedom of expression, action and thought. This need for freedom at successive stages come into conflict with the parental authority Therefore, children develop aggressive behaviour which is necessary for personality development in order to achieve the goals. In the late 1930's frustration-aggression hypothesis was formulated (Miller, Dollard, Doob, Mowrer and Sears: 1941) which states that aggressive behaviour is a logical and expected consequence of frustration. Aggression was viewed as the behaviour which removed the blockages of goal attainment (frustration) (Harari and McDavid : 1968 : 59-60). Some forms of aggression leading to the development of delinquent behaviour may be avoided while some specially acceptable forms of it may encourage motivation. Aggression as a variable is stressed more in the boys than in the girls. Development of temper tantrums or avoidance may develop for the aggressive behaviour of children towards parents, peers etc.

(4) Dominance Refers to the manipulative power of an individual over other people. It is defined as "an attempt to change others' behaviour". It is generally observed that adults in

almost every society dominate over the children while the
reverse is tabooed. In societies where woman does not have a
respectable position like that of the men, the sex difference also
is observed in dominance training. As the child grows, the way
of his upbringing creates enormous differences thus, the distinc-
tion in behaviour become greater. His social effectiveness is
largely affected by the ways in which he learns how to control
and submit to the control of others. Since dominance and affili-
ation are interdependent, therefore an individual needs to be
closely related to others for his most insistnent needs (English
1961).

(5)   Succorance — Relates to "asking others for help". A human
child is not equipped with all the qualities of social life when
he is born. During his childhood he depends upon his parents for
protection, food, love and support for his survival. A child
becomes dependent by association with a person, whose presence and
activity brings reward to him. Thus child's earliest social
responses to that person are dependency over him and compliance
with his suggestions. The succorance-nurturance pair is often
talked by the social scientist, as the child's need of succorance
values nurturance of elders. Dependency may be instrumental
(dependent behaviour as a means of satisfying other ends) or
emotional (autonomous dependency motive in which nurturant warmth
from others is an end in itself, as shown by Sears (McDavid and
Harari: 1968 : 57).

(6)   Sociability is defined by Whiting (1963) as "making
friendly approaches to other adjustments". This variable in the
study of socialization has not received much attention and is
usually peripherally involved. A human child, in order to
become social has to learn many things like not to hurt others'
feelings, to respect others' rights, to adjust with others and
to be obedient. To attain all those, a child must learn as how
people act towards each other and to be friendly with them.
Sociability as a variable has been studied by Riesman and many
eminent psychologists.

(7)   Achievement is another variable of socialization defined
as "striving to meet internal standards of excellence". The

basic urges in a human being are to sustain life. The satis-
faction of these basic urges depend greatly on the social
environment and existing cultural patterns. The need to achieve
(to meet standards of excellence) develops in the childhood
which plays important roles in later life. Often, it is viewed
as coupled with motivation which is related to aggressiveness,
dominance and competence as shown by McClelland, Inkles etc.
Different varieties of motivation imply different degrees of
related competence. It is generally seen that, achievement
motivation is associated with the male role more than with the
female role. The children who are motivated to achieve have
a tendency to possess more characteristics of innovative
personality.

(8)   Self-reliance in socialization is related to "doing
things for one's self". A child is socialized to do things on
his own i.e., to be independent. A child is taught the parti-
cular distinction between acceptable and unacceptable forms of
dependency. This variable enables child to be self-sufficient
and autonomous. In reality this variable of the child-sociali-
zation may suppressed, due to nurturant parental care. If a
child is not allowed to develop autonomy which he desires, may
lead to the dependency conflicts in his later life.

(0)   Nurturance is the another important variable in the study
of socialization. It is defined as "giving help or emotional
support". A child is usually expected tolook after the younger
sibling, if there is any. This helping behaviour, he may
realize through his succorance needs. In India, a young child
may also help the mother in doing little shopping as suggested
by Minturn and Hitchcock (1960). The nurturant behaviour of
the children depend upon their temperament. Girls may nurture
in the household works. Sex differences are clearly evident
in the stress of this variable.

Each variable is culturally recognized. In the study
of socialization and personality formation these variables are
interrelated. Their accumulation in a biological individual
in accordance with the existing socio-cultural conditions give

us unique nature of personality syndromes. Hierarchical organization of these variables may be observed during the socialization of children in every society. Cultural indoctrination and internalization of skills and committment enable the children as they grow into adults to play the roles of the major institutional statuses they occupy in the society.

(2)   OPERATIONALIZATION OF THE CONCEPT PERSONALITY

(a)   General Personality is a multidimensional reality. It has an organismic unity which manifests biosocial and psychological structures of the individuals. The concept of personality occupies an intermediate position between the concepts of society and culture. It helps in understanding of the phenomenon of consensus (Barbu: 1971, 156). The general conclusion of most studies that personality is a product of socialization cannot be avoided. It is the sumtotal of individual's inborn and intellectual traits. It is difficult to have a permanent static personality pattern under the changing sociocultural and ecological conditions. Thus, personality development may be viewed as an outcome of constantly interacting and changeable components like biological, psychological, social and cultural forces. In other words, the variables shaping the personality structure of growing up children are dynamic in nature. Personality is the continuity of functional forms and forces manifested through sequences of organized regnant processes and overt behaviours from birth to death (Kluckhohn & Murray : 1953). The dynamic characteristics of personality has also been analysed by Allport. He defines personality as "the dynamic organization within the individual of those psychophysical systems that determine his unique adjustment to his environment" (Allport : 1937 : 48). It is quite obvious that all the aspects of social organization of the society stand in dynamic relation to each other. In order to maintain the homeostatic conditions of the society, the individuals possess dynamic features in their personality structure.

Individual personality is associated with the process of socialization, the content of which varies from culture to culture. A child, in the process of his self-actualization and

self-awareness, becomes aware of cultural patterns of the
society. The relation between personality and the culture is
therefore mutually interdependent. The priority of one to the
other is however, difficult to establish. The anthropological
studies of Mead, Benedict and Linton have laid stress on the
comparative and developmental methods. The findings have been
conceptualized in terms applicable, both to the cultural and
personality structures prevailing in the subsequent societies.

(b)   Basic Personality Structure   Uniformity of the socializa-
tion methods in different segments of the society produces the
personality structures of the most socialized adults, which tend
to resemble one another closely. Such behavioral uniformities in
personality as determined by existential and social background
of society is termed as basic personality structure by many social
scientists. Linton has suggested that the earlier experiences
gained through socialization, have everlasting effect on the
personality. He postulates that there emerge similar configuration
of personality traits due to subjection to the similar experiences.
The concept of "basic personality" is commensurate with the type
of socio-psychological structure dominant in a given society.
Linton has defined this concept as the one which "represents
the constellation of personality characteristics which would
appear to be congenial with the total range of institutions
comprised within a given culture" (Kardiner : 1959: vi). Thus,
the common earlier experiences among the members of the given
society, manifest the commonly shared personality characteristics.

The basic personality structure as a concept explains that
people of a given culture tend to be somewhat alike in personality
structure. Regarding this concept Linton suggests further that,
"It does not correspond to the total personality of the indivi-
dual but rather to the projective systems or, in different
phraseology, the value-attitude systems which are basic to the
individual's personality configuration. Thus, the same basic
personality types may be reflected in many configurations".
(Kardiner: 1945: viii). Kardiner like Linton, views the early
childhood as a decisive period in the mental development of the
individual. The formation of the personality is most influenced

according to him by the parent-child relationships. He lays
emphasis on the specific manner in which theparents handle the
child's erotic and aggressive impulses. This determines the basic
layer in the individuals personality, to which Kardiner refers as
the primary system of emotional security.

Different phraseology has been used to describe the concept
of basic personality structure. For instance, Linton prefers it
to call it as "Status personality (Linton: 1936)". He views
personality as a conceptual construct connoting a type of behaviour
dominant within a given culture. According to him a culture or
a society consists of various statuses occupied by the members.
Individual's participation in it is associated with his position
in the social structure (Status). Each status requires specific
constellation of the cultural patterns. Integration and function-
ing of society as a whole, is dependent upon adjustment of all
the statuses with each other. Similar, though not identical
characterization of basic personality structure have been noticed
in the formulation of other social-scientists. Role structure and
the personality structure of the individual constitutes a coherent
unit. For instance, in modernizing societies, the existing
personality structure may be inconsistent to perform the bureau-
cratic roles. Merton has tried to show the relationship between
personality structure and bureaucratic organisation (Merton:1940)
He found that the one and the same bureaucratic role is played
in various ways according to the personality of its occupants.
Therefore, Merton suggests that bureaucratic personality structure
is necessary for the modern industrial society. Riesman (1958)
gives characterological types of personality. He shows that the
determination of personality type is dependent upon the demographic
trends (population size) and mobility patterns of the society
which indirectly also determine the nature of its social organi-
zation. His theoritical mental construction is more oriented towa
rds the study of social character. His typology of (a) 'tradi-
tion directed' (b) the 'inner directed' and (c) the 'other
directed' personalities, is based upon social conformity and
response to social control. Like Hagen he has tried to show the
emergence of innerdirected personalities from the tradition

directed through process of growth in modernization.

(c)   Operationalization of Personality (adopted from Hagen's
        On the theory of social change:How economic growth begins):

Hagen goes a step further when he views the economic growth of a
society in terms of socio-cultural and psychological parameters.
His theory is based upon alterations in values and attitudes of
the children in a society, seen as a consequence of change in the
socialization patterns due to the "withdrawl of status respect".
This change has been given in a specific model of the society by
Hagen, when he writes, "the chain of causation from social structure
through parental behaviour to childhood environment and then that
from childhood environment through personality to change" (Hagen:
1962 : 8).   Elucidating the relationship of childhood and history,
he gives following kinds of personality, which we have adopted for
our purpose.

1.   Authoritarian Personality.

2.   Creative or Innovative Personality.

3.   Retreatist Personality.
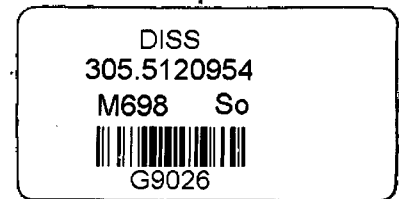
        The above personality types are composed of or manifest
different elements or operative attributes. In terms of these
attributes personality can be operationalized or measured. For
example, the chief elements of authoritarian personality would be:

        (a) No perception of phenomena around the individual - An
authoritarian person views the world arbitrarily. He does not
perceive reality and remain aloof from others action.

        (b) Non-creative imagination - As the child learns to per-
ceive his world as governed by arbitrary powers, he must submit to
them. His personality is precluded from the development of the
creativity.

        (c) Conformity - An authoritarian is also the conformist
adhering to social norms. He accepts the traditional group norms
or individual expectations of him held by others, combined with
his decision to adhere to these norms or expectations (McDavid and
Harari : 1968 : 326-327).

(d) An authoritarian persons feels uneasiness at facing unresolved situations.

(e) Lack of individuality and orginality is another characteristics of a person having authoritarian personality. He relies upon the judgement or will of other individuals, superior to him in authority.

(f) It has been observed that an authoritarian person in order to play the expected roles effectively, imposes his own desire or power over others.

(g) Generally a person possessing authoritarian personality has relatively weak 'manipulative' needs of autonomy, achievement and spontaneity.

(h) He has strong aggressive needs (need aggression, dominance and compliance).

Similarly the major attributes of the creative personality are negative of the authoritarian type. They are as follows:

(a) Openness to experience - meaning that creative person has a tendency to perceive phenomena. For instance, this has been shown by social psychologist Lawrence who relates openness to experience to lack of rigidity (Lawrence : 1962)

(b) Creative imagination - of which the central component is the ability to let one's unconscious processes work on one's self. However, family environment may be considered as the crucial accelarator of creativity. Overemphasis of conformity, rigidity, and co-operation block the development of creative elements in one's personality. (Whiting, Charles S.: 1958). The positive factors leading to development of creativity may comprise other features of this type of personality, which are given below:

(c) Sensitivity, which permits individual to note many things, as he views the world around him. It is generally viewed as coupled with sociability.

(d) Originality of an individual (creative) amounts to capacity to arrive at a new conception and converting it into action

or material forms. The creative person is one who originates something and completes it independently.

(e) Non-conformity and confidence in one's own judgement and evaluation are basic to the creative personality. Merton has also suggested that nonconformity is deeply rooted in the original nature.

(f) Autonomy of mind and permissiveness.

(g) Spontaneity in facing and attacking problems and in resolving confusion.

(h) A creative person whows high sense of responsibility towards achievement i.e., motivation. Such persons have a drive or inner urge to acquire knowledge as shown by Lawrence (1962), McClelland (1961).

Appearance of Retreatism

Variations are however, persistent in both the authoritarian and the innovative personalities like intelligence or non-conformity The nature of child-rearing and nurturing practices during personality development determine the development of above mentioned characteristics. The change of personality (from authoritarian to innovative) is a historical process. Traditional society under the atmosphere of authoritarianism constitutes vicious circle of traditional pattern of social organization and authoritarianism. According to Hagen, disturbances in this vicious circle may be observed, when a group in this society meets "withdrawl of status respect" due to the colonial power of some outside group or due to dissatisfaction in inner working of the society. This new condition is a result of loss or rejection from the person's reference group. Tensions so developed create anxiety among the members which affect their behaviour in the home and thus the environment in which the children are brought up also changes. The children who are socialized in this new or changed environment retreat from increasingly conflicting demands and become apathetic (Guthrie: 1970 : 14-16). Retreatism undermines authoritarianism, it creates circumstances conducive to the development of creative personalities

The members of "withdrawl of status respect" group provide a home in which children are expected to achieve and are motivated to regain the lost respect. Retreatism forms the root of creative personality. Hagen adopts Morton's typology of adaptation to analyze the effects of "withdrawl of status respect" and emergence of creative personalities. The historical sequence of this change in personality is "authoritarianism, withdrawl of status respect, retreatism and creativity". (p.217).

Retreatist Personality   The basic characteristics of a retreatist personality, are:

(a) A retreatist person does not live in the atmosphere of traditional authoritarianism and non-conformity.

(b) He is frustrated and aggressive.

(c) He is assertive (apathetic) and domineering.

(d) He is anxious and irritative.

(e) He has suppressed within himself the accepted values of his group and the society.

(f) Lack of self-reliance is a feature of retreatist person.

(g) Retreatist persons possess diffe-ent degrees of creativity.

(d)   Ideal typical construction for the study

Hagen's model is merely a construct, though comprehensive. It has limited application and becomes difficult to test in larger number of societies. Spiro criticizes Hagen's theory when he writes that "Situational variables (structural and cultural) are often ignored or unappreciated in an attempt to stress the importance of affective and cognitive personality variables" (1965 : 1145). Hagen has tried to show the validity of his model with certain illustrations by examining histories of economic growth in England, Burma, Columbia and Japan.

For our present study we would construct a paradigm, in

order to analyze the relationship between the mentioned sociali-
zation variables and types of personality. Validity of this
paradigm may be seen as the degree of variable stresses (high,
medium low) during socialization (Whiting and others) in different
socio-cultural and psychological conditions of the societies.
The other side of the coin i.e., the personality outcome, is
viewed as patterning of these variables. Although Hagen does
not talk of these specific variables, they are manifested in
different degrees in his theory.

Table 2   Paradigm showing relationship between socialization
variables and types of personality syndromes:

SOCIALIZATION VARIABLES	PERSONALITY SYDROME		
	AUTHORITARIAN	RETREATIST	INNOVATIVE
1. Obedience	High	Medium	Low
2. Responsibility	HIGH	Medium	Low
3. Aggression	High	Medium	Low
4. Dominance	High	Medium	Low
5. Succorance	High	Medium	Low
6. Sociability	Medium	Low	High
7. Achievement	Medium	Low	High
8. Self-reliance	Medium	Low	High
9. Nurturance	Medium	Low	High

As pointed by Whiting and others that the effect of the
childhood experiences on adult behaviour is great. Some
elements must have caused change in the childhood, which may
lead to personality change as shown by Hagen. Personality
formation as a process of socialization is conditioned due to
the positions of the families in the stratification system of
the society./ Therefore, the next step is to look for the ways
of operationalization of social stratification.

(3) OPERATIONALIZATION OF SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

The term social stratification in social sciences donates the process in which groups become differentiated from one another and are arranged in graded strata. Analysts of social stratification view society as a series of related strata. Social stratification is a composite reality dividing society in terms of superordination and subordiantion or superior-inferior units. Social stratification has a great bearing upon the socialization process and personality formation due to the more or less fixed status of the individuals and their families in the society. Thus, class (relating to economic position), status (social) and power (political position) universals in every society form the content of ubiquitous process of social stratification. Social stratification is manifested in the existence of higher and lower social layers, each having distinctive distribution of rights and privileges, duties and responsibilities, social values and power as suggested by Sorokin. The term social layer refers to what has been commonly called the social class. Each class has its own subculture. The relationship between sohcial class and child-rearing has been associated with the production of the basic or modal personality characteristics. The parents of a specific class employ specific patterns of socialization resulting in the personality types which determine adult behaviour (see, Sears et.al.: 1957; Swanson and Miller: 1960 and others).

The class and caste systems of stratification are two important models through which relationship of socialization with stratification can be analysed. The class system is relatively more open than the caste system. Open and closed systems of stratification form an ideal continuum. According to Parsons the closed system of stratification is based on ascriptive, particularistic, affective and diffused orientations. The closed system of stratification implies rigidity of the class system where mobility is restricted. The existence of rigid patterns of socialization and personality emerge in closely stratified society. On the other hand, open system

of stratification in Parsonian terms would be based on achievement, universalistic, affective neutral and specific orientations. Open system of stratification is rather a characteristic of modern societies. The status is based on one's achievement pattern with much incidence of mobility.

Absolute equalitarianism of a society is rather a utopian notion as an urge to achieve more and more may be observed among the members of different groups to improve the status and the ways of living. It is an ambiguous conception not only for societies with open stratification but also with closed system of stratitification. In fast changing societies with rapid rate of modernization, the class divisions form a crucial segment. Feeble class divisions do exist in almost every society (primitive or modern) including the 'classes' Soviety society. Classes are embeded even in our caste system also, due to more or less fixed political, social and economic positions of the members. Thus class is a multidimensional and cultural reality. Most suitable and inclusive definition of class has been given by Lenski. He defines it as "an aggregation of persons in a society who stand in a similar position with respect to some form of power, privilege or prestige" (Lenski : 1966 : 74-75). A person who belongs to upper class enjoys certain prestige and privileges, due to possession of property and social position. He has resources to achieve the desired goals and may be gratified psychically in comparison to "have nots". These people (haves) form a minority only, ruling over the majority in a society.

The caste system of Indian society may be delineated through the following model (figure 1) if we assume it to be a closed system. As an open system, however, the overlap between caste and class positions have not been as symmetrical as shown in the

diagram. There are indeed the cases of unevenness (see, Beteille : 1966; Bailey : 1960; and K. Gough : 1970; etc.).

```
                    Upper castes (Twice-Born)
                    Rajputs, Brahmins,Vaishyas       Upper

Caste System        Middle Caste - Clean          Middle        Class
                                   Shudras

                    Lower Castes - Unclean Shudras  Lower
                                   and untouchables
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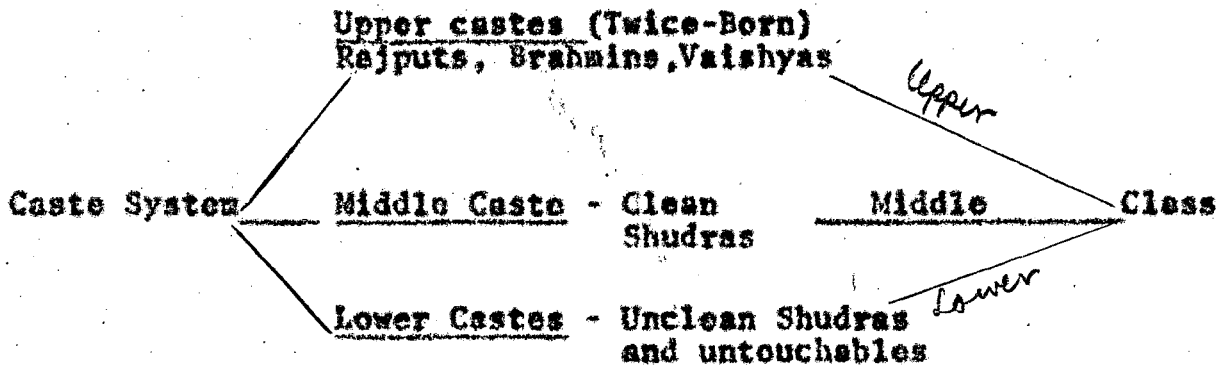
Figure 1 : Operationalized Model of Social stratification.

Class and caste differences in terms of socialization have been observed empirically in the important areas of parental values, achievement, aggression, independence and conformity. In India no work has been done to study the relationship of social stratification and socialization process. The prolific investigations carried out in the western societies give intensive details about the interaction patterns of socialization, personality structure and social stratification. The study of socialization patterns in a society involve the study of the role of various subcultures and strata within the society in this process. It is our object in this study to analyze some of these problems.

CHAPTER II

SOCIALIZATION, PERSONALITY STRUCTURE AND SOCIAL STRATIFICATION: THEIR INTERACTION IN SIX CULTURES

Socialization, personality structure and social stratification are interrelated concepts. Cultural heritage of a society is transmitted through socialization to the younger generation. Culture consists of meaningfully interrelated parts and therefore may be conceived as living systems. An individual as a member of particular culture adopts a set of cultural norms and values, and perpetuates them in turn. In this manner he reflects the sociopsychological makeup of his own cultural setting. Hence the relationship between the personality structure, socialization and social stratification becomes cumulative in nature.

Our main concern in this chapter is to analyze the various aspects of the problems related to socialization, personality structure and social stratification. First, we shall analyze the functioning of the socialization variables in six cultures mentioned earlier. Next step would be to look for the interaction patterns between the operationalized variables and the personality syndromes in each culture. That is, we shall analyze the variations in the patterns of the functioning of these variables on the criterion of the ideal typical picture of the personality structure (as discussed in Chapter I). This might lead us to arrive at some conclusions regarding "the personality structure in six cultures". Finally, we shall compare the child-rearing practices in the periods from infancy to the childhood comparatively (in six cultures) to get a cross-cultural view of these practices.

(1)   Socialization variables in six cultures

The studies of six cultures (Whiting and others) are based on the general assumption that experiences in infancy and early childhood play significant roles in psychological and social makeup of personality systems and also in the crucial and effective development of mental faculty of incumbents.

These developments take place in the course of socialization, which is a two way process. It is associated with (a) the internalization of cultural norms and transmission of cultural heritage, and (b) it acts as a mechanism of personality formation. In a study of these factors of socialization, we cannot avoid the roles played by social structure and social organization. The more complex the society, the more variegated are the modes and methods of socialization. The variables of socialization remain more or less the same but their operation differs, due to the changes in the nature of social-settings. The variables stressed during socialization seem to be congruent with the actual social situations.

Six relatively different cultures studied are as follows:

(1)   The Gusii community of Nyansango in Kenya studied by Robert and Barbara Levine.

(2)   The Rajputs of Khalapur in northern India studied by Leigh Minturn and John T.Hitchcock.

(3)   The Taira village in northeastern Okinawa (Japan) studied by Thomas and Hatsumi Maretzki.

(4)   The Ilocos of Tarong in Philippines, studied by William and Cornne Nydeggar.

(5)   The New Englanders of Orchard Town in America, studied by John and Ann Fischer.

(6)   The Mixtecan Indians of Juxtlahuaca of Mexico studied by Kimball and Romnaine Romney.

The studies of these cultures proceeded along the same hypothetical considerations. Investigations were conducted on the child-rearing practices, environment and the maintenance system (comprising the economic, political and social aspects). Implicitly, the constant interaction of the maintenance system, ecology and socialization was observed in depth to reveal the interrelationship of personality and culture. The main assumption made was that "different patterns of child-rearing will lead to differences in personality of the children and thus to differences in the adult

personality" (Whiting : 1963 :5). The schematic conceptializa-
tion of the interaction between social environment, sociali-
zation and personality structure is represented diagramatically
by the authors shown in figure 2 as follows:

Ecology ------- Maintenance
                systems
                1. Economy
                2. Social
                      structure

| ADULT PER-
| SONALITY

Adult Behaviour
Crime rates, Suicide
rates, Leisure time
activity etc.

Cultural Products
Religious beliefs,
theories of disease,
folk tales.

| CHILD PER-
| SONALITY

Child Behaviour
Work, games

Cultural Products
Fantasy, sayings,
recreations, con-
cepts of world.

Child-
Rearing
Practices

Biological
Needs, Drive
Capacities

Figure 2 : Interaction between social environment,
           socialization and personality structure
           (Source : Whiting, Six cultures : 1963 : 5).

Following our methods of operationalization of socialization
variables (See Chapter I) we have tried to present a compa-
rative picture of functioning of these variables cross-
culturally. The results so obtained are reproduced in the
table number 3 given below. The functioning of these
variables of stress during late childhood like responsibility,
less dependency, obedience, more nurturance, may not have
the same consistency as it is in the earlier periods. The

higher degree of obedience, when demanded during the early
childhood (from 2-5 years) and late childhood (from 5-12 years)
with high degree of dominance and aggression may result in
more of autoritarian elements in a child's personality. On
the other hand, if self-reliance and nurturance are stressed
more in another situation, the outcome of personality patterns
consist more of innovative elements.

Socialization Variables	SIX CULTURES					
	INDIA	KENYA	MEXICO	JAPAN	PHILI-PPINES	AMERICA
Obedience	High	High	Medium	High	Medium	Low
Responsibility	High	High	Medium	High	Medium	Medium
Aggression	Medium	'High	Low	Medium to High	Low to Medium	Low
Dominance	High	High	Low	Low	Medium	Medium
Succorance	High	High	Low to Medium	Medium to High	Low to Medium	Low
Sociability	Medium	Medium	Medium	Medium to High	Medium to High	High
Achievement	Low to Medium	Medium to High	Low to Medium	Medium to High	Low to Medium	High
Self-reliance	Low to Medium	Low	Medium to High	Medium to High	Low	High
Nurturance	Low to Medium	Medium	High	High	Low to Medium	Medium

Table 3 : Table showing Functioning of Socialization Variables
in six cultures.

The comparative functioning of the socialization variables
presented in table 3, tell us about the diverse nature of the child
training practices as related to the sanctions and the techniques
so utilized for the purpose of socialization in six cultures. To
look into the relationships of the functioning of socialization
variables in regard to the ideal typical personality structure
(See Chapter I) we shall compare the obtained results with the later

	SIX CULTURES											
Socialization Variables	INDIA		KENYA		MEXICO		JAPAN		PHILIPPINES		AMERICA	
	Obtained type	Ideal type	Obtained type	Ideal type	Obtained type	Ideal type	Obtained type	Ideal type	Obtained type	Ideal type	Obtained type	Ideal type
Obedience	H	H	H	H	M	M	H	L	M	M	L	L
Responsibility	H	H	H	H	M	M	H	L	M	M	M	L
Aggression	M	H	H	H	L	M	M-H	L	L-M	M	L	L
Dominance	H	H	H	H	L	M	L	L	M	M	M	L
Succorance	H	H	H	H	L-M	M	M-H	L	L-M	M	L	L
Sociability	M	M	M	M	M	L	M-H	H	M-H	L	H	H
Achievement	L-M	M	M-H	M	L-M	L	M-H	L	L-M	L	H	H
Self-reliance	L-M	M	L	M	M-H	L	M-H	H	L	L	H	H
Nurturance	L-M	M	H	M	H	L	H	H	L-M	L	M	H
Emerging Pattern of Personality	Authoritarian type		Authoritarian type		Retreatist type		Both creative and authoritarian type		Retreatist type		Creative type	

Table 4 : Socialization Variables and Personality Structures in Six Cultures.

(2)   Personality in Six Cultures   Brief study of these
six societies may give us a picture of the functioning of
socialization variables in regard to the obtained patterns
of personality structure. It was observed that each society
presented the personality characteristics of all the three types
simultaneously.

(a)   Socialization Patterns among Rajputs of Khalapur -
India
           The rigidity of the caste system in traditional village
scene implies the cultural transmission of the norms and
values of a particular caste. The stereotyped nature of per-
sonality of Rajputs provided material for one jati group and
not a general picture relevant to the whole society. Here,
the elements of retreatist, authoritative and creative perso-
nalities all are simultaneously emphasized during the sociali-
zation period. Joint family protocol of Rajputs emphasizes
higher degree of obedience, responsibility, dependency, do-
minance and aggression. Authoritarianism undermines self-
reliant and achievement patterns of the children. Obedience
among the Rajput children is emphasized by the mothers along-
with politeness and peacableness. It is coupled with the
authoritarian hierarchy of village structure which explains
that more obedience is expected (not only from the children
but also from the adults) by the higher status people from
low status people. Responsibility of the children is little
towards household works like shopping, caretaking and
service of food to the elders. Self-reliance is less emphasized
as mothers do everything for children. This is obvious from
the statement given by mothers that "what we have, we give"
to them. Children are not trained to be spontaneously nurturant.

           The colonial rule in India induced the elements of
retreatism (in Hagen's terms). The indigenous people during
this period were looked upon as inferior and the traditional
society was disrupted by the colonial conquerors. This created
intense emotional pressures on the Indian people which induced
the elements of retreatism in them. Socioeconomic backgrounds
of the caste groups in India may emphasize the socialization

variables in different degrees. However the variables of
stress among Rajputs may remain suppressed in other caste
groups. Yet, the basic pattern of personality formation
among Rajputs due to distinctive socialization is authoritarian
type.

(b)   Socialization Patterns in Nyansango - Kenya

The most authoritarian patterns of socialization are
to be found in Kenya (East Africa). A little deviation is seen
from the ideal type of authoritarian characteristic where self-
reliant nature of the socialized is very low. This is reflec-
ted in the following explanation given by the authors that,
"Nyansango child as he emerges from infancy is that of a
dependent fearful individual, capable of making demands on
his mother and other caretakers for food and protection, but
unaggressive quite and timid in his approach to the physical
environment and to strange things" (Robert and BarbaraleVine :
1963 : 147). Indulgence of mothers in the family's economy
deprives child of maternal warmth which is a crucial element
in the development of his personality. Obedience is emphasized
more than initiative in Kenya. Responsibility is coupled with
high obedience, dominance and dependency needs. Sociability,
self-reliance, nurturance and achievement are the intermediate
variables. The personality configuration is authoritarian in
the sense as indicated by variable-stress during child sociali-
zation.

(c)   Socialization Patterns in Mexico

Like India Mexico has remained under the colonial period
as reflected by its history. More than sixty percent of the
people are Indians and mixture of whites and Indians (mestizos).
The Mixtecan Indians of Juxtla-huaca have a tendency of per-
sonality formation in the direction of retreatism. The struc-
turing of personality as a result of socialization variables
in this culture is such that most stress is laid on responsibility
obedience, succorance, sociability and nurturance. The degree
of stress, however, is lower as compared with Japan, India or
Kenya. Low aggression, dominance, self-reliance alongwith less
achievement result in the basic retreatist personality type.

(d)   Socialization Patterns in Okinawa - Japan

History of Japan indicates the constant borrowing of
cultural elements from China and Korea. Rigidity of social
situations is maintained throughout the country. High
degree of conformity and homogeneity is emphasized. Rapid
and revolutionary changes have not affected the stability of
social structure of Japan. That is why the socialization of
children is directed towards authoritarianism as well as towards
production of innovative elements. Rural village organization
is the backbone of Japanese society. Urbanization remained
unknown for a very long period, very recently it has come to
the lively picture of rigidity with a little degree of nobility.
Obedience is consistently emphasized alongwith, responsibility,
succorance, achievement, nurturance, sociability and inde-
pendence among other variables. Dominance is the least stressed
element of socialization. Aggression is not stressed during
the earlier periods, but later on aggression, achievement, self-
reliance of Japanese children form the basis of their creati-
vity. Thus, both the elements of authoritarian as well as
creative personalities are emphasized in Japan.

(e)   Socialization Patterns in Philippines

Philippines similarly has remained under the rule of
Spain and the United States. Therefore, Philippine culture
has been strongly influenced by Spanish culture and by U.S.
Training for independence. Thus, in Hagen's terms elements
of retreatism are also present in Philippines which may have
a setback in the personality formation of the children.
Obedience as a variable is lax, the training of the children
being through coaxing rather than demanding. Responsibility
is viewed as a prized quality and is seen as a matter of
child's initiation. Responsible behaviour develops gradually
with age, not stressed to the degree as in India, Kenya or
Japan. Girls are responsive towards domestic work while
boys towards useful economic activities. Obedience and res-
ponsibility are oriented more towards retreatist patterns.
Aggressive behaviour of the children is less frequent. Depen-
dence of the children is viewed as a content of responsibility.
Ahievement is not stressed much as the children are not

motivated to a higher degree. Self-reliance is low as
children are other-reliant during the periods of need.
Thus under the domain of this kind of stress of variables,
the emerging pattern of personality (due to Hagen) in
Philippines is the retreatist personality.

(f)   Socialization Patterns among the New Englanders of
U.S.A.

The most frequent type of personality as an outcome
of socialization is the creative type. Obedience, aggre-
ssion, succorance as the factors of child-rearing remain
suppressed under the stress of sociability, achievement,
self-reliance. The remaining variables (responsibility,
dominance, nurturance) occupy the intermediate positions.
Obedience is stressed more during later childhood. Parents
encourage achievement more for boys than for girls.
In the early childhood, the child meets the increasing
number of needs by himself. Aggressive behaviour of
the children against the peers is especially encouraged
by the parents, otherwise recessive features of aggression
are noticed. Thus, it is sufficient to say that under
the subjection of this ordered sequence of variables,
personality syndrome is a matter of creative development.

(3)   Child-Rearing Practices in Six Cultures

The techniques of socialization also have a tendency
of variation from one society to another. For example,
toilet-training is lax in Japan, Mexico, Philippines and
India as related to strong feelings of obligation and
identification with one's group. On the other hand toilet-
training is strictly enforced in American culture, where
group sanctions are valued for their instrumentality. The
deviant behaviour if out-patterned is punished. Child is
strictly reared in Kenya. Group sanctions are viewed as
the end, negation of which may mean the ostracization of
the individuals in Kenya. The techniques and other practices
of socialization in the Six Cultures are given in table
5 below.

Child-rearing Practices	SIX CULTURES					
	INDIA	KENYA	MEXICO	JAPAN	PHILIPPINES	U.S.A.
Infancy (0-2 years) 1. Parental view of infant	"Pure holy God's gift	Instrumental	Tabula rasa (empty slate)	Pitiable and helpless	Charming and Helpless	Potential for future Development
2. Response towards crying (hunger)	Feeding	Feeding	Feeding	Feeding	Feeding	Feeding
3. Response towards crying (discomfort)	Appeasement	Annoyance	Annoyance	Appeasement	Appeasement	Ignoring
4. Infants toilet-training	Lax]	Strict	Lax	Lax	Lax	Strict
Early Childhood (2-5yrs) 1. Enforcement of socially desirable behaviour	Lax	Strict	Strict	Lax	Lax	Strict
2. Expected attitude towards adults	Obedience	Blendness	Obedience	Adequacy	No demands no expectation	Politeness
3. Sex appropriate behaviour	Indifference	Discouraged	Indifference	Encouraged	Encouraged	Encouraged
4. Peer availability	Average	Minimum	Minimum	Maximum	Minimum	Minimum

Table 5 : A comparative view of child-rearing practices in six Cultures.

(Source : Mc David and Harari : <u>Social Psychology</u> :
1966 : 107).

Personality formation is thus limited by the social
organization patterns. In every society existing patterns
of subsistence economy social control, religion as the
basic institution of social organization have stimulating
impacts at every step of the growth of the children.

Thus, our ideal typical paradigm though vague
(undetermined) has some validity. In other words, the
personality formation is directly related to child-rearing
attitudes and practices in the six societies. A continnum
can be established of personality types among these
societies ranging from authoritarian to the innovative
type.

CHAPTER III

INDIAN CASE : FAMILY, CASTE AND SOCIALIZATION

Nature of organization of the Indian society has been viewed in accordance with its cultural patterns and traditions. Since it is different when compared with other societies, so are our methods of institutionalization as all the institutions are given special place in relation to dharma. Indian culture is deeply rooted in the past and in its present form, it is the result of diverse forces. The diversity of India is rendered possible by its cultural unity. Family, caste and region as the important loyalty systems have still maintained their unity under the intensive subjection to the modernizing tendencies like urbanization, industrialization, bureaucratization and secularization etc. The picture of social life in India is painted by its village life as more than eighty percent of the population lives in the villages. Village as a unit of habitation amalgamates and absorbs the various traditions, members of which interact together to give a coherent picture of social interaction. These traditions are represented by different religious groups. Contrary to the earlier views of association of great tradition with Hinduism (See, Redfield : 1956; Singer : 1964 and Sinha : 1958), it may be assumed that the great tradition is common to other religions like christianity, buddhism etc. which link the entire Indian society.

The particular nature of our organization leads us to the view that our methods and mechanisms of socialization are also different. These distinctive patterns of socialization result in the emergence of personality type suited to our social setting. The process of socialization and personality formation like other processes are most influenced by the socio-cultural institutions of family and caste. These institutions have met gradual change in order to cope

with the new sociocultural milieu and may be approached
from Durkheim's "solidarity" or Tönnies "gemeinschaft"
viewpoints. In Indian society, the process of socializa-
tion emphasize the development of "other-directed" per-
sonality (in Riesman's terms) or "authoritarian" personality
(in Hagen's terms). In this chapter, our main concern is
to see how far the process of socialization is affected by the
family and the caste systems? Secondly, whether the
socialization patterns of different subcultural groups
and strata are conducive to the development of characteristics
of creative personality? And finally we would see that how
far the process of socialization leaves considerable scope
for diversity among social groups as well as among the
individuals? To look for above explanations, this chapter
is divided into two parts - the family and the caste in
India.

(1)   Family and Socialization in India

        The basic unit of emotional and economic security in
every society is the universal institution of family. It
is the most important informal agency of socialization,
where the undeveloped and helpless human child learns the
basic norms of the society. Family as an agent helps in the
development of the child's personality by furnishing knowledge
about the child's role towards society. It tends to esta-
blish the stable affective relationships between the parents
and the children. It is a fundamental multipurpose organi-
zation for many of the principal life functions of the
individual and of society as suggested by Mendelbaum (1970 :
33). Thus, the family statisfies primary needs for the
growth and development of normal personality through parental
affection, control and guidance and a sense of security.

(a)   Joint Family and Socialization

        The general type of family structure in India is the
Joint-Family. In a joint family two or more generations live
together in the same habitat who are also bound together by
the ties of common hearth and common purse (Kapadia : 1955;
Karve : 1956; Bailey : 1960 and Mendelbaum : 1970). Joint

family, as a pattern is common in the higher caste groups,
the main occupation of which is agriculture (cultivation).
Possession of land is a precursor for the existence of this
pattern in India, because cultivation requires the coopera-
tion of the members who form a cohesive unit. As we move
down the ladder of the social hierarchy this form of family
weakens and becomes an ideal type. That is, jointness of
the family is no longer maintained because of no or less
land possession and poor economic conditions as shown in
Chanukhera village of U.P. (Singh : 1970 : 254-256). It
does not become extinct immediately but diminishes slowly.
Regional and structural variations in joint family are also
evident from the various studies of Kolenda, Desai, Gore, Dube,
Gough and Cohn. There exists hierarchy of authority patterns
in family roles among the members in the joint family as its
feature.

In India, the upbringing of the child is comparatively
different from other societies. His arrival in the joint
family is not considered unique, since there may already be
other children (of the elder brothers) as shown by Minturn
and Hitchcock (1966). Child's experiences, gratification,
frustration occur in relation to the mother and surrogates in
the joint family. The upbringing of children in their earlier
periods is most influenced by the personality of the mother.
Since filial-fraternal relationships are closely maintained
in Indian society, the personality of the mother has also been
moulded twice. During her childhood, she may have been
socialized by her parents differently than her socialization
(adult) in the new environment after marriage, in order to
adjust properly in the patriarchal residence. Not only in India
but in almost every society, mother is centrally involved in
the process of socialization, while the role played by father
is more peripheral in nature. In the earlier periods, the
father-child relationship remains weak but it gains strength
as the child grows. Under the authoritarian milieu of tradi-
tional Indian family unquestionable obedience and responsibility
are treated as most crucial variables of socialization.

Obedience not only to the father or grandfather, but to
the elder brothers and other siblings is also demanded
as shown by Orenstein (1965 : 47-48). This authoritarian
socialization make children more dependent and aggressive.
It becomes difficult for them to cope with (with such
personality characteristics) the changing and modernizing
environment of our society.

Socialization of the children should be directed in
the manner which makes them more self-reliant, independent,
co-operative and nurturant thereby leading to more creative
structuring of the personality. For production of persona-
lities of such kind, we would have to re-orient all the
institutions and agents of socialization, thereby, changing
the content of it. The joint family protocol left little
scope for the development of initiative, self-reliance and
motivation. Initiative certainly developed to some extent
among the children, which may be collective or may be
individual. A collective initiative developed in joint
family is rather a case of authoritarianism. On the other
hand, pockets of retreatism might have been observed throughout
the country, as the development of initiative led people
to migrate to the foreign countries or development of
entrepreneurship.

Joint family structure of India corresponds to the
"gemeinschaft" category of Ferdinand Tonnies. In a study
of bachelors of Ahmedabad it has been shown that the family
as a collective conscience suppresses individual autonomy
(to fulfil the strong commitment towards familiar obligations).
Higher education and geographical segregation of the sons did
not promote stronger individuality. The "gemeinschaft" nature
of joint family bring them closer to fulfil their responsibi-
lities and family obligations (Gandhi and Krishna : 1969).
Thus, geographical segregation remains impaired by psycholo-
gical separation from the joint family (Kapadia, Gandhi, etc).

(b)   Determinants of Personality

The Indian children are rarely exposed to new
experiences because they adopt a model during their childhood

(with reference to any adult in the family) and their
development may be conditioned by the adopted model. Since
our society is male dominated, male adults are often taken
as role model and female children may adopt a model of the
mother or surrogates. This model does not, enable the
operation of the mind of the children themselves. These
children have least degree of independence under the domi-
neering atmosphere. In joint family structure, selection
or role model itself presents a problem, due to number of
males present in the family.

Economic conditions of the family are dominant
over other factors like social or political statuses. Since
poverty rules over India, people are poor and therefore, it
could be assumed that "poverty breeds a particular variety
of personality configuration". The poor economic condi-
tions demand the earlier recruitment of the children towards
family's income to meet the expenditures and improve the
standards of living. Such economic pressures may also
force women to work, therefore, the infants in the household
may be deprived of maternal warmth. Lack of maternal warmth
may lead to the development of mental illness among these
children. The child training therefore, may be patterned
according to the mode of subsistence economy, as has been
suggested by Aberle for the western society. He writes,
"much of the work on achievement and affiliation as well
as on other features of the American child-rearing by class
and by time period can probably be ultimately related to the
nature of the market system in the modern world" (Aberle :
1961 : 381-399). However the relationship of economy and
family structure has also been shown by Epstein in her
study of social change in two south Indian Villages (1962).

(c)   Nuclear Family and Socialization

More and more nuclearization of joint family is
taking place due to rapid changes in the political, economic,
social and cultural spheres. This shift in family pattern
is referred to as qualitative transformation by Desai. He
writes, "the traditional joint-family and the familistic
rural framework have been undergoing a qualitative transfor-

mation. The basis of rural family relationships is shifting
from that of status to that of contract...... The family is
being transformed from a unit of production to a unit of
consumption" (Desai : 1961 : 48). In the words of Gore,
"secularization of life and the growth of an individualistic
philosophy are incompatible with joint family living,
because by emphasizing the norms of rationality, the uniqueness
of the individual personality and the individual's right to
pursue his own goals, they make conformity to family tradi-
tion and the acceptance of familial controls difficult for
individual members" (Gore : 1968 : 45). Thus, nuclearization
of joint family according to Gore is a necessary step to
produce more innovative or creative personalities. The
shift in patterns of family living requires shift in both its
structures and functions. For instance, the authority system
in nuclear families is rather more equalitarian in contrast
to the one in joint family system.

As joint family remained barrier to the change in
the value system, steps towards emancipation of parental
dominance by sons may be observed in contemporary times.
At the same time they had to remain under the parental
obligations for acquisition of minimum prerequisites in
order to cope with the new situations of the modernizing
society. In order to cope with the emerging environment,
the progressive families oriented towards achievement have
to give 'veto' rights to the children. If not provided,
children make efforts to gain it. Reorientation of intra-
familiar relationships is demanded to provide ample scope
for the development of self-reliance, achievement, and
individuality. As Kapadia puts it, "reorientation of relation-
ships...... in a way that will provide full scope for the
proper and healthy development of the individuality of
the young" (Kapadia : 1966 : 323). Since man's role is
paramount in family's economy, the socialization of the
male children demands more stress on self-reliance, aggression
and achievement. Though women have also shared the respon-
sibility of contributing to family's income yet during

their socialization stress is laid most on nurturance-
succorance. The joint family make children rather dull
as they take "for granted" the joint purse, habitat and
hearth, so initiative to achieve is less developed. In
modern industrializing periods we require changes in
the 'gemeinschaft'ic family or its composition, so as
to establish more, freedom to pursue the means for desired
goals adjustable to rapid-social change (Gore : 1968 : 45).

Thus there occurs shift in the socialization
variables to produce creative persons to cope with the
technological and industrial advancement with the change
in the family structure. This indicates partly the gradual
weakening of joint family and frequent development of
nuclear families. Parents in nuclear family are able to
give more attention and socialize their children in their
own ways. Nuclearization of the joint family may result
in appearance of the psychological tensions in both the
parents and the children. Social change thus, disrupts the
continuity between generations. The process of nucleariza-
tion is however not instantaneous but historical. The
idiosyncratic features of individuals have a tendency to
show variation in response to similar cultural norms.
The individual differences cannot be avoided in any case.
This can be tested when different children react to the
same environment showing their unique psychological makeup.
Reaction to situation requires the association of both
the "culture free" and "culture bound" personality charac-
teristics. Therefore, it becomes quite obvious that in
the same family at the same time, we may have creative as well
as authoritative types of personalities. But under the
authoritarian atmosphere of socialization, the characteris-
tic features of creativity may remain suppressed.

In the gradual period of time, there occur changes
in the structure and function of the family. Due to it,
parental behaviour also changes and there exist diverse
values, morality and styles of life as pointed out by
Singh (1967 : 64). In the Western society, change in
parental behaviour is shown by Baldwin (1946 : 143-165).

He found that parents of nine year old children are less
warm, less intelluctually stimulating, less indulgent
and more restrictive than the parents of three years old
children. That is, with the gradual growth, the changes in
abilities, needs and ways of the child in accordance with
the environment affect this delicate balance of interaction
patterns in the family as suggested by Yarrow and Yarrow (1964).
Thus, in the successive stages of socialization, changes
in family environment limit the applicability of socialize-
tion variables.

In nuclear families the expectation and demands on
the sides of parents and offspring increases. Ramanujan
has rightly suggested that "many parents brought up in
joint family household will find it difficult to cope with
these demands. The results of unfulfilled demands and
unsatisfied needs create considerable tensions among all
other members" (Ramanujam : 1072 : 22). Thus, a child
in this atmosphere may be subjected to the "double binding"
situations, which are common in every society at every
step of life. The term "double binding" situations has
been coined by Bateson and others (1956 : 251-164). In the
double binding" situation participation of an individual in
two mutually exclusive situations is demanded, without
showing or making comment about it. For example, a child
is supposed to love his mother and at the same time he
is not expected to show it. This may lead to his withdrawal
into schizophrenic conditions. Everybody in a society is
subjected to such situations and at times he may not be consci-
ous of it. Thus, every member of a society is schizophrenic
to some extent and he becomes highly subdued, retreating into
one's self thereby affecting his psyche. Still he is required
to participate in the social game of the society. Another
"double binding" situation of common existence during sociali-
zation in our society is that the mother may stress the self-
reliance and independence of the child whereas her behaviour
may show that he should not be independent. This "double

binding" dilemma make him subdued and makes him upset
psychologically. Hence, parent-child relationships in
such conditions may be conflict creating.

(d)   Nature of Parenthood and Socialization of the
Children

        Changes in the Indian family structure have signi-
ficant effects on the personality structure of the children.
In the development of value system of a child, the values
of parents are important. In the nuclear family, sociali-
zation is complete responsibility of the parents. In the
joint family, on the other hand, the responsibility of
socializing the children is shared by all the adult members.
The parent-child relationship and the nature of the parent-
hood have strong bearing on the development of the
children's personalities. The parents may be categorized
into the following types:-

        1.   Authoritarian parents,

        2.   Permissive parents,

        3.   Rejecting parents, and

        4.   Democratic parents.

(1)   Authoritarian parents are rather strict disciplina-
rian agents demanding complete obedience and submission
from the child (Ross : 1961). Psychological tensions may
be created due to father's authority and sons' expectation
of freedom. The children under the roof of authoritarian
atmosphere have no hearsay which leads to a very less
degree of development of initiativeness, spontaneity and
creativity. They are socialized to conform to the traditional
norms and values. Parents are not consistent either in
moral or punitive ways. Undesirable behaviour is resorted
to physical punishment. The result is child becomes
aggressive and nonassertive as shown by Minturn and Hitch-
cock (1966). These parents may force children to become
conformists.

(2)   Permissive Parents   These parents leave the child
to have his own means and ends. Generally, they may be over-

indulgent fulfilling every need of the child or may be
over permissive. In these conditions of child socializa-
tion, mother cannot assert herself and may remain un-
certain. Verbatism is highly developed in the children
socialized in such conditions. They may be sociable,
independent but less obedient and more rebellious.
Shipstone has rightly suggested that, "Influenced by the
prevailing social patterns in child upbringing, parents
may feel that they should not discipline their children so
as to avoid developing complexes in them; or because,
parents argue, children are also "free" individuals. So
they remove necessary parental controls from the children.
Children of such parents will develop little respect for
the rights of others, or for law and order" (Shipstone :
1972 : 33-34). Generally such trends of socialization
may be found in the caste groups with good economic and
social conditions. These children may possess some urge
to achieve but do not manifest it due to sufficient living
conditions.

(3)   Rejecting Parents do not give much attention to
their children. The children are neglected in the earlier
tender periods of their life. Nathawat opines that such
type of parent-child relationships are most harmful for
growing children. He writes, "In such circumstances, the
children feeling unwanted, unloved and despised often
crave for affection from other persons. They turn inward
and become distant, aloof and isolated from others. Parents
tend to make their children very dependent upon them, to
suppress their initiative, and to impose their own dis-
torted goals upon their children" (Nathawat : 1972 : 40).
Parental rejection may be due to poor economic and social
positions of the family. The case of rejecting parents is
generally found in low caste and class people. Upper
class parents may also be rejecting but they may take the
help of baby-sitters for the care and socialization of the
children. Such children may be mentally and physically
retarded having no urge to gain anything in the world and
lacking tenacity to do. It has also been suggested by
Suma Chitnis that, "Inadequacy on the part of the parents

means a lack of parental guidance for children in their
formative years". She writes further, "Apart from its
consequences to the behaviour of children in society,
parental inadequacy has direct repercussion on the relation-
ship between parents and children" (Chitnis : 1971 : 184).
Parental rejection may result into passive acceptance by the
children of the inadequacy on the part of the parents and
there may develop strains and conflicts between the parents
and the children. Parental absence may also be the reason
of child's neglect. Migration or death of one of the
parents may make children helpless in the hands of parent-
surrogates as evident from the socialization of Rajput
Indra Singh of Gujarat (Steed : 1955 : 102-145).

(4)   Democratic Parents act friendly with their off-
spring. They emphasize freedom of expression, thought and
action to a tolerable degree. They lay stress on independence,
responsibility and sociability and socialization of the
children under such conditions may lead to the development
of more elements of creative personality among the children
like sensitivity, originality and creativity. Upbringing
in such an atmosphere does not lead to the development of
stress and strains between parents and the children. There
are hundreds of families in India in different caste groups
where parents are friendly to their children. In this kind
of home environment children need not undergo any trauma
in the biological and sociological changes that they experience
(Shipstone : 1972 : 31). These children in turn respect
their parents and the parent-child relationship is smooth.
Democratic parents can guide their children with a confidence
rooted in experience.

        Although these observations might be made out in
a society, the distinct categories of such parents in relation
to caste hierarchy is difficult to establish.

(2)   Caste and Socialization
        In India the other most important institution
affecting the socialization is the caste-a system maintaining
stratification. Every society is a composite structure

consisting of numerous distinguishable groups or subgroups, cultures and subcultures. Each group is comparatively different in regard to values, attitudes towards moral and political behaviour and habits to the other group. The socialization of the children in such groups is patterned according to the existing social conditions. These differentiated groups in the context of Indian society are graded hierarchically (status and occupation wise)./ Many detailed studies have been made in the caste system in both the urban and the rural areas. But when it comes to the socialization trends of the respective caste groups, the authors have remained non-verbal. Some of them have made some mentions in the passing, in a paragraph or two, that too giving a general picture only. That is why it is difficult to extract meaningfully the various ways of socialization among different subcultural groups in our society. Our aim in this section is not to go into details regarding origins or the evolution of caste system but we would deal with the impact of caste's ideology on the personality formation (in terms of the variables of socialization)./

Each caste has its own distinctive means and ends for the achievement of the desired goals. Different patterns of gratification-deprivation structure view instrumental process in more or less uniform with slight variations. The impact of caste structure on the personality formation of the socialized children has not been studied so far maintaining the virginity of the field. Indian sociology infact is the sociology of upper caste groups, most work is done on the twice-born caste groups. Recently, after the amendment of constitutional laws some sociologists have focussed on the study of low caste groups and untouchables. Very few works have so far been done in the field of socialization, all on the Rajputs- a Kshatriya caste groups in Rajasthan, Khalapur (U.P.) and Gujarat by Carstairs (1958), Minturn and Hitchcock (1963) and Steed (1955).

Development of certain traits peculiarly applicable to the socio-economic conditions are forced by the caste groups. As Carstairs has shown that a child belonging to the particular caste acquires the socio-cultural patterns of behaviour,beliefs

and norms relevant to that group. Carstairs studied the
personality formation through unconscious and conscious processes
not only of Rajputs but also the other twice-born castes (brah-
mins, banias). Regional variations of the castes are inevitable
due to specific hierarchical organization. Also, the caste
distinctions under the impact of education, urbanization, and
industrialization are nore more rigid as is seen in the cities.
However, anthroposocial environment of the villages lead to the
manifestation of such distinctions. The simple and homogenous
nature of the villages helps in maintaining such distinctions at
ease. Caste has been defined in different ways by eminent social
scientists like Hutton, Dumont, Bougle and many others. Social
interaction pattern of caste system has been stressed by Berreman.
He defines it as "a network of status equal interaction between
birth ascribed groups" (Berreman: 1968 : 333-339). Thus, there
exists among different caste groups an interaction of superior
inferior or in other words superordinate-subordinate. It helps
in maintaining social distance in terms of purity-pollution
and commensality. Sometimes due to this discrimination tensions
may develop among the low caste people, which may have bearings
on the personality formation of the children of such groups.
Emergence of different personality types is therefore, not due
to heredity but due to different socialization patterns. Thus,
change in socialization would lead to change in personality.
Hence it would be correct to say common patterns of socialization
of the castes (say Brahmin or Rajput) result in 'basic person-
ality' structure of these caste, but this homogenous development
is certainly affected by the changing nature of organization
of the society.

(a)   Socialization Patterns of Different Castes   In twice-
born castes (Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaishas) upbringing of
children is rather a criterion of restrictiveness or over-
possessiveness under the strong authoritarian atmosphere. This
may not be the case of other lower caste groups. For instance,
Rajputs - the martial or militant caste group lays stress on the

maintenance of honour, status and dignity. During the socialization of the Rajput child, stress is laid on high obedience, aggression and dominance due to which several conflicting situation may emerge. This is evident in Khalapur Rajputs where the mothers stress the importance of aggression as linked with the social status, in the proverb: "Do not start a fight, but someone starts a fight with you, finish it" (Minturn and Hitchcock: 1963 :351). Another instance of status maintenance is given by Steed, in the study of personality formation of Kassandra Rajputs. One of her informants was conscious of status maintenance and told her that "I care for my reputation twenty four hours a day" (Steed: 1955:118)

Since Rajputs exercise unchallengeable authority and dominance, the abolition of zagirdari system created tremendous tensions when power was removed from their hands. Equality of opportunity and abolition of untouchability, title and sex-differences have made them more repulsive. They consider the necessity of caste system which may be observed in the traditional scene (village) of India even today as they do not want to give away the inherited power and authority. Also, in the periods of women emancipation still Rajputs treat their females inferior who have been compartmentalized in the big courtyards with purdah system still existing. Since the early childhood, a male child is made aware of the inferior status of the females in the household. This is explicit clearly from the following explanation given by Carstairs that, "owning to the Rajputs strict observance of purdah, there is a sharper differentiation between the woman's world, where the child is king, and the man's world, where the head of the household rules dictatorially. As soon as he can walk, the boy spends much of his time in the male side of the house the mardana" (Carstaris 1957 :112). In the presence of male adults or servants, the child learns to address his elders and is made aware of his future role pertaining to the norms of the rajput caste.

Brahmins, on the other hand, do not lay stress on aggression or strict obedience during socialization. As their occupation indicates they emphasize the preeminence bought to them by birth

and their religions obligations. No doubt all efforts are made
to maintain the superior status. Regarding the child training
practices of Brahmins, Anant writes, "Importance is given to the
full performance of rituals starting from morning... their
children learn to adopt, 'an attitude of formality and respect,
rather than one of affection or indeed of intimacy of any sort,
towards their sfathers" (Anant: 1967:388). Thus, a child is
socialized so as to maintain the concept of purity throughout his
life. In the earlier periods of socialization, father or mother
may be viewed as rivalry by the child as an attribute of Oedipal
and electra complexes common to every group and caste. Vaishyas,
a merchant caste group lay emphasis on nurturance, self-reliance
and obedience. The early responsibility of children is demanded
as shown by Carstaivs. Since their occupation is such, vaishyas
have stronger urge to become more and more rich by money-lending
to the poor caste groups. But due to opening of village banks,
their occupation has lost significance and they have taken to other
professions. Thus, shift occurs in personality characterizations
which demands reorientation of socialization patterns.

Thus we may observe that these caste groups have certain
common (identical) values. Differences in child-rearing practices
and personality formation is the result of caste consciousness,
rooted in their socio-political-economic conditions. Caste
consciousness act like a beam of light casting the members of a
society in different groups so as they possess distinct positions.
Caste consciousness is not stressed much as we move down the ladder
of social hierarchy. Low caste mothers - (shudras) lay more
stress on obedience, responsibility, towards parental authority,
honesty and nurturance. They are more conformists to existing
norms of their caste groups. The need for dependency is higher
in shudras being the lowest in the varnaular model of Hindu
society. They are more hostile against untouchables as has been
suggested by Anant (ibid: 391).

If we look at the variables of socialization stressed in
each caste group we find that upper caste parents stress obedience
aggression, dominance and succorance while middle caste parents

may lay stress on curiosity, creativity, self-reliance, moti-
vation etc. As the succorance (dependence) needs among the
upper caste groups are nurtured by the adults, it is true that
the parents project their values into the value system of children
Differences in two value systems may lead to conflicting situa-
tions (Kohn: 1957; Carstairs: 1958; and Singh: 1967). Also it
may be possible that what is a matter of stress in the lower
groups is taken "for granted" by the upper caste groups. This
may be due to socio-economic conditions which are manifested by
the techniques of socialization like weaning, cleanliness and toi-
let-training which may be prolonged in the lower caste groups.
Behaviour of the parent (or in other words parenthood) whether
rejecting or overpermissive (as in low caste and untouchables)
or indulgent, democratic (middle caste groups) or overprotective
(upper caste groups) has stimulating effects on the personality
formation. Thus the interaction of socialization variables in
relation to social stratification as drawn from certain studies
is shown in the table given below.

Table 6: Interaction between Socialization Variables and Social
Stratification in India.

Socialization Variables	Twice-born Castes (Upper Class)			Middle Caste (Middle Class)	Lower Caste (Lower Class)	
	Brahmins	Kshatriya	Vaishya	Clean Shudras	Unclean Shudras	Un-touch-ables
Obedience	High	High	High	Medium	High	High
Responsibility	H	H	H	M	H	-
Aggression	H	H	M	L	H	H
Dominance	H	M	L-M	L	L-M	H
Succorance	M	H	H	M	H	M
Sociability	M	L-H	L	M	_	-
Achievement	L-M	H	M	H-H	L-M	
Self-reliance	M	M	H	H-H	H	L-M

Nurturance	M	L-M	M-H	M-H	L-H	L
Emerging types of Personality	More authoritarian Personality type			More creative and retreatist type	authoritarian type of personality.	

(abstracted from the studies of Carstairs, Minturn and Hitchcock, Dube, Gupta, Ishwaran, Majumdar and other village studies)

It has been found in many village studies that innovativeness or creativity of the individuals is welcomed to some degree. More degree of creativity becomes a matter of scrutiny. In India children are not rewarded for being self-reliant or sociable or innovative as shown by Dube in Shamirpet village study (1955) and Minturn and Hitcock (1963). Similarly, intelligence and indigenous ways of deception are unmistakably appreciated. Thus, elements of strong authoritarianism dominate the socialization patterns of upper castes Xin India. Cases of development of initiative, more achievement motivation have however been observed, since the earlier periods among the higher caste groups. Majumdar in his study of 'Mohana village" gives a similar trend of socialization. He shows that children of the lower caste groups are rather more rejected and on the other hand upper caste children are more democratically socialized.

(b)   Retreatism and Caste System   Repercussions of colonialism may still be observed in Indian society which have led to the development of retreatism, not on the whole but in the pockets. In relation to caste system it may be expressed as: A child from any caste group may develop a strong desire for freedom and initiative deveopment. These needs remain suppressed under the authoritarian socialization emphasizing the needs of aggression, dependence and dominance. These indifferences or conflicting situations create anxiety in the child. To avoid this anxiety the child internalizes the rules of the game, thereby the rage which he develops is transformed into the needs for aggression,and dominance. Thus he once again develops the personality syndrome of authoritarian type.Hence, the continuous formation of authoritarian personalities, in general, is evident in the upper castes and class groups. During infancy

the pattern of socialization of the children is more liberal.
In the childhood, this situation changes completely under strict
disciplinary atmosphere. Therefore, psychological tensions may
appear on the scene, which may lead to their maladjustment in the
social milieu.

The dissatisfaction of the work done by the low caste
people may also lead to their withdrawl. They may have creative
elements in their personality structure which may remain latent
and masked by the cultural conditioning due to their sanskriti-
zation and mobility. The phenomenon of mobility has only recently
come into existence. The most common type of mobility is Sanskrit-
ization, where lower caste groups have tried to change their
attitudes, customs, values and ways of life in the direction of any
of the twice-born castes. They may once again feel dissatisfied
by their reference group. To gain such high position it is
quite obvious that they have to change the basic principles of
their socialization. This has been suggested by Damle, when he
writes, "Reference group theory elucidate chages in group member-
ship, where this is possible through the process of anticipatory
socialization. A person who cannot become a member of another
group despite his intense motivation and aspirations to do so,
may develop vehement hostility towards that group" (Damle: 1968:97).
Thus emergence of such conflicting conditions may make persons more
initiative and self-reliant which has not been shown so far, Cohn
(1955) has tried to show the conflicting conditions of this type where
chamars of Madhopur emulated the model of Thakurs while making
efforts to change their status. The personality make up also
changes during the period of mobility but what type of it emerges,
is difficult to say, because, dissatisfaction or rejection of
reference group may enable the vigorous development of hostility
or prejudice. On the other hand, the westernization, as a process
of mobility among upper castes may also cause certain changes in
the patterns of socialization and personality formation. If the
sanskritizing group is rejected or discriminated the variables of
socialization by such parents may be used, to produce creative
personality, in order to gain the social status. Thus in a period
of time the sanskritized children may become more creative,
possessing higher degree of sensitivity, originality, motivation,

and nonconforming to the traditional norms. Here, the indirect development of creativity due to sanskritization arises. The members of non-sanskritizing lower caste groups may also be conducive to change. Although they may be tradition bound due to certain limitations but if given a chance, they would certainly try to mould their children in the direction to gain achievement thereby improving the status.

(c)   Caste Prejudice and Personality Voices against the rigidity of the caste system have been raised. No doubt the strenthened roots of inequality have been weakened, yet it is not eradicated fully. Mere legislation cannot help in the eradication of the social ills of the caste system. It is seen even today, that in India untouchable is still the untouchable not only in the village scene but also in the cities, schools and other such institutions. The prejudices met by the untouchables from the higher caste groups, have tremendous effect on the personality formation of the growing children. Sometimes, the prejudices may be hostile and cruel that these prejudiced groups completely withdraw or submerged their interests and ambition. Superficially they are required to participate in the socialgame. This type of discrimination has led to the birth of many movements and revolutions. The low caste people are exploited and prejudiced in order, not to compete with the higher caste people by them. It may be observed that the personality type or the pattern of socialization, is not responsible for such prejudice, but culture itself is responsible for it. The studies of prejudices and tensions have been made from psychoanalytic rationalizations both in Indian and the western societies (Adorno:1950; Allport: 1950; Paranjpe :1969; Anant (1972). It has been found that in the authoritarian atmosphere of childhood, the children behave submissively and repress the authority which cannot be directed to the parents. Therefore, for self-actualization during their adulthood they take help of prejudices. In Allport's view prejudice refers to 'thinking ill of others or being down on something you are not up on' (1954:6). Regarding the individual

prejudices, prejudiced children como from affectionless families.
Strict obedience is stressed during their socialization. "Intol-
erance of ambiguity" as a personality trait develops in such
children socialized in the restricted atmosphere. Spontaneity and
creativity as personality features are least developed in such
children. Prejudices have boon measured in Indian society by
constructing certain social distance scales. Prejudice is also
associated with social mobility, where people experience frequent
changes in occupation or social status. Thus, different constella-
tion of personality characteristics are evident in different
caste groups due to certain social conditions and limitation of
social roles.

Changes in the traditional social structure are taking
place in order to maintain the equilibrium with its modernizing
milieu. Structure and ideology of joint family and caste
stereotypes still persist even in cities and among highly educated
masses as suggested by Cohn (1971) and Anant (1967). These
institutions have great psychological influence on the personality
formation of the children. Such personality syndromes may bo
viewed as the resultant of specific socialization patterns and
are incompatible with the economic development of the society.
Legal changes like inter-caste marriages, increase in the age of
marriage, abolition of sex differences and untouchability have
been asserted by the constitution to set forward a goal of
equality for society. Other changes like monetization, education,
secularization and family planning also emerge naturally. Still
away from reality, these changes may reach their goals in a
period of time. The changes though occuring, their movement is
slow giving the picture of continuity and change of Indian
society.

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SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The cumulative effects of socio-cultural learning in structural patterning of the personality of the members of a society are undoubtedly significant. In other words, it refers to the existence of culture-socialization circularity in personality formation. As it has been found in the comparative study of socialization variables in six cultures, the cultural differences lead to the development of different types of personality configuration, dependent upon existing modes of economy, family and community structure. Basic personality structure of each society however shows a tendency towards mixture of authoritarian, retreatist and innovative personality syndromes. Emergence of authoritarian personality (Kenya, Japan and India) is conditioned due to patterns of social interaction guided by the traditional thinking. Hagen's "withdrawl of status respect" due to colonialism, as a factor seems to be relevant more closely in cases of Philippines and Mexico. This is evident clearly in our picture, showing the emergence of retreatist personality as the basic type in these societies. In socialization, institutions of family and stratification help bring about conformity. Dilemma between pattern-maintenance and adaptation of existing patterns is present in every society. In every society, the child is made responsive to the authority piecemeal in terms of the behavioural areas to which he is subjected. Role model also presents some difficulties. In every culture it may be found that the low class or caste people are rather permissive or rejecting, not emphasizing strict discipline. Lower class parenthood leads to prolonged nature of every practice and variable stress of socialization. At every step of socialization the children are made aware of the cultural traditions under the authority of the parents and surrogates. Mother's role is pivotal and therefore its influence on the status of women and limited cultural roles played by her is direct on the upbringing of the children. The varnacular system of socializing practices symbolizes cognitive systems and values within structural-functional framework. This orientation leads to meaningful comparisons of different societies (as discussed in Chapter II).

Hindu child is born into stratified society bound by certain universal features like caste, joint family - the key factors of Indian life. Joint family is however not universal to all the segments

of Indian people; yet caste, family and class differences among Hindus as well as non-Hindus (including minorities_ are fundamental units formation of their basic personality structure. Caste consciousness is the critically involved concept in the personality formation. It has been observed that the need for dependency is higher in the low castes in Indian society as compared to other castes. Culture and personality in India have stronger implications towards its economic development. The Fundamental rights of the constitution seek to modernize the political, economic and social institutions of the society. The "gemeinschaft"is nature of Indian society has to be shifted for the purpose of its modernization. Socialization of the children itself may be conducive to such types of changes by allowing more development of autonomy and individuality and motivation to achieve. This can be done by changing the trend of socialization, family structure and caste rigidity. The authoritarian disciplining of some segments widens the gap between personality outcome and the changing socio-ecological milieu, the result of which is more incidence of marginality of the individual or schizophrenia. The factors like aggression, succorance, obedience and responsibility stressed in the socialization process have a setback in order to adjust with universal, achievment, specific environment of modernizing Indian society. Thus, the problem of authoritarian socialization as a hurdle to industrial development emerges. How far our methods of socialization are compatible to bring about social change has to be viewed in different subcultural groups.

Every person whether coming from rural or urban areas, joint or nuclear households, harijan or brahmin caste groups, has some elements of retreatism to use Hagen's concept. Is it possible that this kind of retreatism is a positive factor for the emergence of creative personalities under authoritarian atmosphere. Here, we may assume the limited applicability of Hagen's model in the context of our own society. What is required in India today is the freedom from structural constraints of family, caste and region in order to produce more creative personalities. Thus, there exists reciprocal relationship between child-rearing practices and social organizations. This requires however, further intensive study and the development of a methodological framework.

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