EFFECTS OF CHILD REARING PRACTICES AND FAMILY PATTERN ON PERSONALITY IN INDIA

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A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For the Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

In the Graduate College

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

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ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The author acknowledges with appreciation the help and assistance given by Dr. Ralph Wetzal and Dr. Martin. Her special thanks goes to Dr. Richard Coan for his valuable suggestions without which the work could not have been accomplished.

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ABSTRACT

Child rearing practices do have a strong impact on personality. The present study analyses the family pattern, its influence on the methods of child rearing and its subsequent impact on personality in India. The subjects for the present study were brought up in the joint-family system which was very prominent in India a generation ago. The joint-family system adds to the distance between parents and their children. The parents deprive their children of overt affection in front of their elders as this is not desirable.

The sample consisted of 70 Indian subjects. This group of 70 constituted 45 subjects who were in India and had never been to the United States, and 25 subjects who were studying at The University of Arizona.

The overindulgent infancy, permissiveness without acceptance, lack of emotional warmth in the Indian mother, undue stress on regard and obligation toward elders, especially the father, were presumed to lead to a somewhat different personality pattern in Indian males as compared to American males. The results show that Indian males are introverted, non-conforming and sensitive. The strong feelings of guilt among Indian males are perhaps related to oversensitiveness and rigid super-ego strength. The ego

strength is found to be weaker in Indian males as compared to American males. High super-ego strength along with weak ego seems to lead to unhealthy emotional control and anxiety. Indian students in the United States differ somewhat in personality from Indians in India. These differences may be due to the influence of American culture, but it is possible that these students are different to start with. It is possible that only better integrated Indian males come to the United States.

INTRODUCTION

Since the dawn of recorded history, India has been known to the people of the Western World. It s message of Peace, spiritualism and philosophy have often attracted the western mind. India had been a land of great leaders--like Mahatama Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru--a land whose versatile personalities and vigor have been recognized throughout the World. India is also a land where ignorance, poverty, hunger, corruption, prejudices which blight the country. "It is doomed to ever deepening poverty, depletion of resources and rising unemployment" (Smith 1962a). Lack of initiative, inertia, helplessness, sterility of enthusiasm and pessimism characterize the Indian personality.

The progress and the strength of a nation depend upon the personality of the people who populate it. It is time to understand the weaknesses that underlie the Indian character. Obviously, there are various reasons for what Indians are today. One of the important reasons is the Hindu philosophy and Hinduism as such. It is very difficult to define Hinduism because it owes allegiance to extensive and diverse forms of literature which make it difficult to represent its essential features in a simple and intelligible form. Hindu literature does not deal with religious

tenets alone, but it also deals with various aspects of life. For many Hindus, Hinduism has become not so much a religious philosophy but as a way of life. The contradictions between the theory and practice of the philosophy as understood by the common man make the picture even more complicated. "Perhaps no other religion has elevated the conception of equality of man to such a high philosophic level as the Vedanta Theory that individual souls are mere illusory manifestations of one eternal Soul. Yet in practical life no other religious philosophy of the World has been more guilty of maintaining distinctions between men, even between men of the same religious persuasion" (Majumdar 1951a). The caste system has survived and has blocked the way of social progress in the name of religion.

Great emphasis is put on the freedom of thought in Hinduism, but where the mind is absolutely free, the hands are heavily tied. A Hindu could think as he liked or desired but almost every aspect of his life was prescribed by authority to an extent unknown in any other religion. A Hindu had no freedom to marry whom he chose, to drink or eat where he wanted; to choose a vocation or profession that suited him. His whole life was a rigidly prescribed routine laid down without any reference to his own personal habits and tastes. From birth to death the Hindu had to move in a narrow groove from which he could deviate only at great peril. Again, Hinduism's doctrine of Karma influenced

the life of Indian people to a large extent. Karma is a species of inexorable moral law, by which it is ensured that the soul will receive, with absolute certainty, the rewards or punishment due for its actions. These rewards occur chiefly in the next life. According to Taylor (1948a) such a doctrine makes life seem as an infinite scale in which a single life span is only a moment, tending to produce a feeling that all experiences in life are too insignificant to be concerned about except those duties and rites which determine Karma. This doctrine tends to discourage individual endeavors in every sphere.

The philosophy of Hinduism, its Vedanta (1951) and the Karma theory have made the Hindu personality passive, lacking of initiative and effort.

I do not mean to discard completely a philosophy which has so much popularity and much richness in thought. The tragedy of Hinduism as a religion is its mixup with social laws. Hinduism lost its true meaning with time. What is left of the Hindu religion is simply a set of social laws and regulations. "To use a parable, Hinduism was like a precious stone enclosed in a casket. This casket was handed down from generation to generation zealously guarded. In the course of time the jewel was lost, but nobody took notice of it and continued to guard it with utmost zeal. Hinduism has lost the costly jewel and its outward observance and ceremonials are merely the empty casket" (Majumdar 1951b).

As shown above, Hinduism as a way of life has a great impact on the personality of the Indian people. However, the way in which the Hindu social values are inculcated into the personality and the way they become part of it largely depends on how strongly these values have been enforced by the family. This enforcement is inherent in the child rearing practices and the family patterns accepted within the Indian culture. Child rearing refers to all the interactions between parents and their children. In a joint family, one which includes all immediate members of a family, child rearing refers to the interactions of all the family members including the children.

Personality, as the term is commonly used, is the cluster of potentialities for action that characterize the individual. To try to describe all such potential actions even in one individual would be a hopeless task. Perhaps as suggested by Sears (1957a), the nearest approach to personality would be clinical, i.e., attempts to conceptualize those aspects of an individual that seem relevant to illness and its sources. There are certain traits or factors in terms of which the personality in a culture can be described.

Since child rearing practices and family patterns differ from one culture to the other, it would be important to see how the different practices within the Indian and

American cultures affect an individual's personality. There is a large body of literature available concerning the child rearing practices in America. This study will discuss in detail the child rearing practices in India and compare them in brief with American practices.

One of the obvious problems to be faced is that of differences in the patterns of child rearing practices which exist in different parts of India, However, the writer has noticed only minor differences in child rearing practices, and child rearing practices are essentially the same all over India. This study is limited to urban, middle-class, educated male subjects. The family patterns and the child rearing practices that will be described in this study should be viewed as they existed about twenty years ago. This study concerns the early child rearing practices and their impact on the personality of the present subjects who are between the ages 20-35 years old.

There are sociological studies which are largely confined to particular village life in India. The most important and relevant to the present study are those by Leigh Minturn and his group (1962a) on 'Rajput' women of the Khalapur village in Rajasthan and another study by Narain on Hindu Character. In his study, Minturn compared the mothers of India, New England, Mexico, Philippines, Okinawa and Kenya on the factors of maternal warmth, maternal instability, baby care, responsibility and aggression

training. The accounts of child rearing practices given by Minturn and others seem to be realistic. Minturn found that Indian mothers were rated poor in giving emotional warmth to children. Minturn's study also showed that the training of aggression and responsibility was highly inconsistent in Indian culture. In spite of Indian mothers being home-bound, they spent less time in the care of their children.

Narain (1957a) also gave a true picture of 'Hindu Character'. He analyzed proverbs, Indian films and themes of Hindu culture which depict Hindu character. According to Narain, the weaknesses of the Hindu character are due to over-severe conscience and over-indulged childhood. Although his account of Hindu character is quite consistent, he has been criticized by Pocock (1961) who wrote, "Narain's assessment of a variety of psychological theories is altogether too compact and there does not emerge from it any consistent position which relates to the remainder of the book. It is especially disturbing in that the author, while desiderating a psycho-analytic approach to his material, does not seriously attempt one himself." In spite of Pocock's criticism of Narain, the information revealed by Narain is highly valuable.

Perhaps, the most resourceful material that one can get is from Carstairs' (1958a) psychiatric analyses of personality patterns in high-caste Hindus. Though his study is confined to Deoli village in Maharashtra, it

contains information regarding child rearing practices that can be generalized to other parts of India also. One gets deeper insight into Hindu personality through Carstair's analyses of unconscious processes. He found paranoid tendencies, repressed homosexual tendencies and lack of empathy in his subjects. He thinks that unfrustrated infancy and subsequent desertion by mother and later contact with an aloof but stern father are responsible for these characteristics.

Taylor's (1948b) paper on "Basic Personality in Orthodox Hindu Culture Patterns" reflects the importance of Hinduism and the family pattern in the development of a particular type of personality. According to him, "In Hindu personality pattern, initiativeness is replaced by a sense of conformity, responsibility is exercised without personal authority, security is associated with a sense of dependency, and self respect associated with a sense of helplessness." "It is a basic personality whose integration and stability are primarily a function of the culture system to which it belongs and not organized around any system of personal choices." "The family life supports depersonalizing tendencies, mars personal initiative, minimizes decision, facilitates effective super-ego and an acute sense of dependence by extreme emphasis on subjections to parental authority."

In addition to these studies, there are some other cross-cultural studies. Morris (1956) in his study on 'Values' compared students from five cultures. He found that the American students wished most of all to be flexible and many-sided. Indian students placed strong emphasis on social restraint and self control. They were more sympathetic and receptive. The Indian 'value' pattern is almost like that of Japanese and most unlike that of Americans. Lerner (1957) also regards Americans as diverse and multipurpose. The life goal of an average American is success, prestige, money, power, security and his main aim is to be happy in life. In contrast to this, according to Singh (1960), an average Indian believes in simple living and spiritual development.

Hsu (1953) has described the social and economical attributes of the Chinese and the Americans. He concludes that the mutual dependence is the outstanding Chinese characteristic. The self-reliant American, however, strives to eliminate from his life both the fact and the sense of reliance upon others.

Deshrag (1959) studied and compared some effects of American and Indian cultures on the personality patterns of their respective members. He found that the Indian group, when compared with the American group seemed to have higher traits of affiliation, nurturance, succorance, deference, resignation and lower traits of aggression. Fuster (1962)

using the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule found Indian men and women to be higher on nurturance and deference. He also found that the pattern of freedom involving exhibition, autonomy, affiliation, dominance and hetrosexuality was present both in American men and women. On the other hand, patterns of restraint, viz., deference, order, abasement and aggression were present both in Indian men and women. One might ask, how does aggression fit into the pattern of restraint? According to Fuster, observation of Indian behavior offers the reply. One can repress the outer manifestations of aggression though the resentment may sink deep. In this fashion aggression can fit into the pattern of restraint. The differences with regard to aggression between Fuster's and Deshraj's study may be due to the different tests that they used. It is possible that Deshraj's test deals with the more overt aspect of aggression than the test used by Fuster.

Singh (1962a) in collaboration with others using Edward Personal Preference Schedule, found that Indian and Chinese students scored higher on succorance and while the Americans scored higher on autonomy. According to these writers, American students want to lead their own lives and like little interference in their personal affairs. The American culture gives more emphasis to personal autonomy and individuality, whereas Indian and Chinese culture emphasize love, affection and family bonds resulting in

sympathetic and sacrificing attitudes. Singh's study also shows that Indian and Chinese students are more authoritarian than the American students. This is due to the authoritarian family pattern in India and China.

In another study Singh and Retting (1962b) compared the choice of anxiety signifying responses of 50 American and Indian students. Their results indicate that Indians preferred the less anxiety-signifying responses in comparison to American students. The results of these tests may be valid, but the hypothesis on which these two men based their results does not seem to be appropriate. They argued that the extended Indian family induces little anxiety in children during socialization and because of this the Indian students will prefer stimuli which signify lower anxiety. But it is also possible that the Indian students may simply prefer lower anxiety signifying stimuli in order to avoid anxiety. The inconsistent child rearing practices (which will be discussed later) that are present in India arouse more anxiety than in the American culture. The presence of anxiety is confirmed by Asthana's (1956) Rorschach study of Indian students in the United States. He found a good number of dysphoric reactions and a large number of anatomy responses in Indian student protocols. According to him this anxiety may be due to the conflict in the person's conformity to social requirements. He also concluded that there was an ambiequal pattern leaning toward

introversion. The authoritarian family structure and the early over-indulged socialization processes are largely responsible for the development of a rigid control and withdrawal mechanism in the child.

One gets much information regarding Indian personality pattern in the above mentioned studies. Now the question arises for the need and significance of further research and study in this field. The importance of further study is evident when one finds that different methods reveal additional information regarding personality characteristics. Besides, the researches that already have been done need more verification and confirmation. So at present, it seems that a study using the 16 P.F. will serve two purposes. It will confirm and clarify already existing studies and it will furnish additional information regarding Indian personality patterns.

CHILD REARING PRACTICES IN INDIA

"The family is the basic social unit that determines both childhood and adult personality" (Sears 1962). The psychosocial influence of the family's environment on the child is so deep and automatic that many psychologists believe children acquire most of their personality and character traits of later adulthood before the age of five years. It is through the family unit that cultural heritage is transmitted and thus the family maintains the cultural continuity between the individual and the society.

> A baby is born not only into a culture but also into an environment of interpersonal relations. From the moment of birth the infant interacts emotionally and mentally, first with the mother and then with the other members of the family. These emotional experiences definitely shape the initial structure of personality--the unique configuration of an individual's pattern of responses to others and to himself as determined by psychogenic conditioning (Burgess and Lock 1939).

The genic traits and characteristics which are due to biological inheritances provide the raw material for the shaping of the personality, they provide potentialities on the one hand and limitations on the other, within which personality traits can develop, improve or change. But the child's actual function and meaning develop in his early interactions and interpersonal relationship with the family.

The importance of the family is fully recognized when one looks at the traditional joint family system in

India. The pattern of child rearing practices, the modes of interaction between parent and children, are greatly influenced when there are others also present in the home environment. In India the joint family system, though diminishing now, was most influential about twenty years ago. The fact that a child gets a sense of richly shared warmth and affection from a large family, cannot be denied. The Hindu joint family system is an ambivalent arrangement. The child has a sense of security in that there are many adults in the family with whom he can, or rather must, identify. But by the same token, he cannot identify enough with any one particular person. Even the sense of security that comes out of a total, wholehearted absorption with parents is missing. The big family acquires somewhat the position of an impersonal system from which he can never be altogether rejected, but to which he never wholly belongs.

The joint family system is a household of persons comprising the sons of a given parent together with their wives, children and unmarried daughters and all those who are dependent upon them (aged mother and father). Grandparents are usually the head of the family. After their death, the eldest son is regarded as the head of the family. As such, the eldest son though born with responsibility enjoys the respect and regard of all younger brothers and sisters. Younger brothers have somewhat less independence than the older brothers, and the women folk, brought in from

other families are inevitably subordinate to the eldest male's wife's general sovereignty.

> One discovers everywhere in India the enormous importance of the burden which the eldest male carries. A typical tragedy upon which we stumbled was the issue confronting a brilliant young graduate student of psychology--a man with a magnificent future who after the death of his father became the head of the family long before he was through with his training, and who under family pressure left the fascination of life to which he had looked forward, to take a business position simply because the income he made possible many comforts and opportunities for his brother and brother's wives, his nieces, nephews and the joint family as a whole. (Murphy 1953a)

It is of great importance to see how the child's development takes place in this system. A child, especially the first born male child is always welcomed in the Indian culture. Because of the belief that the people who have not fulfilled their role of parents, are still bound to the world of living by their desire to finish their incomplete life cycle in the world. If a woman is childless, she tries all sorts of sorcery in order to have a child. Minturn (1963a) described the prevalence of common sorcery among Rajput women of Khalapur village. These practices, in the present writer's experience, are found in almost all parts of India. It is believed that if a childless woman can steal the birth hair of a baby and give it to a 'Siana' who buries this hair with five different kinds of clothing and sings an appropriate incantation. The childless woman will get pregnant by doing this whereas the child whose hair has been stolen would eventually die. Women are afraid to leave alone a

baby who still has his birth hair on his head. This hair is removed only with some ceremonies and finally offered in a temple. A pregnant woman is supposed to be happy and gay, for it is believed that her child will be bad tempered if she acts ill-tempered during the pregnancy. There are 2 or 3 religious ceremonies before the child is born.

During the first days after the birth of a child, the mother and the child remain secluded in an inner room. The mother is ritually unclean as she is during menstruation and must avoid all contacts with other members of the family. There are other ceremonies connected with the birth and early infancy of the child. The differential status of a girl and a boy is evident right from the birth. On the birth of a girl there are no public ceremonies. The mid-wife is paid twice as much on the birth of a boy. When a boy is born, a sweeper is called to play on a drum in front of the happy house of the parents, announcing the advent of a son. The singing and drumming are repeated in most of the families for ten days. There are several reasons for the preference for boys. Since the society is patri-linear, boys are responsible for continuing the family name. Without a son, man's salvation is jeopardized, for the sons are necessary for performing the funeral rites. A girl on the other hand is a financial liability. She requires an extensive dowry at the time of her marriage, and she is committed to take

gifts to her husband's family when she returns from her parent's home during the first few years of her marriage.

The first two years of an Indian infant are perhaps the most happy and protected years of his life. He is considered to be 'pure', God resides in him, he has committed no sins. It is a common belief that babies remain in the state of purity until they begin to eat solid foods (cereals). The infants are protected from all sorts of so-called supernatural dangers. The 'evil eye' is another danger which threatens children. The evil eye is put on a child by someone who is jealous of the family. Mothers of beautiful children are warned that they should not dress the children well and which make them look pretty for that will incite envy of others. One must never praise a child by saying that he is pretty, big and healthy. Such praise may bring a bad luck to the child and leave the praiser open to suspicions of throwing an evil eye.

During the first two years of life, a child is seldom separated from his mother, and he is never allowed to cry for long. Crying, it is believed, will make a child weak. A good mother will pick up the child at once and let it have her breast. When not in its mother's arm, a child is found with its grandmother or other relative. The breast feeding is prolonged, weaning takes place at about 2-3 years of age. Weaning usually provokes many days of noise, crying, and anger, because the child has not been accustomed to being

thwarted. Throughout infancy and early childhood a child sleeps with its mother. Husband and wife sleep on adjacent beds. Small children are considered to be too young to be aware of adult sexuality. So no attempt is made to prevent their being witness to their parent's intimate relationship. Carstair (1958b) in this context writes, "From the dawn of his ability to distinguish between persons in his immediate world, a Hindu child is confronted with this recurrent experience which cannot fail to be profoundly moving although imperfectly understood. Here it encounters a new aspect of its hitherto exclusively attentive mother, and sees in its father an overwhelming rival claiment for her love."

Regarding toilet training there are different views. Darling (1934) remarked, "A surprising point in this connection is that the village child is never taught to control itself in any way until it is of an age to observe the ways of its elders." Minturn (1936b) observed, if the child is being held by someone, it is simply held away when it urinates. Sometimes the mother sets the baby on her feet while it urinates. At night the mother holds the baby away from her bed if the urination awakens her. Bowel movements are regarded somewhat less casually. The mother tries to anticipate the baby's bowel movements and take it over to the courtyard drain. These descriptions are from the studies on villages. The toilet training is permissive in villages

as compared to urban society. However, the toilet training is permissive as compared to American society even in the urban living. But this training begins early, in some cases at 3-6 months of age. As indicated by Minturn, the mother anticipates the baby's need. Besides, babies are held quite often by grandmother who is very particular about her clothes not being soiled. Some of them are so much religious minded that they have to take a bath if such an accident occurs, especially before their morning prayer or going to the kitchen. It is always necessary to take a bath especially before morning prayer. Whenever a baby is held by someone, the person is very cautious about baby's urination or bowel movements. However, this training is done only when the child is held and not when he is sitting down on the floor. A baby learns that he should control himself when he is held by someone, but this does not apply when it is sitting by himself. The complete toilet training of the Indian child is achieved somewhere between the ages of two and three years. It might be mentioned that there is no punishment involved during this training.

The disciplinary measures, though inconsistent, start around the age of three years. In principle the discipline should be carried out by the oldest member of the family; in general this person may be grandmother or grandfather. Usually grandmothers are more lenient with children than the mothers, and the grandmothers are likely to scorn the mothers

for being too harsh with the child. The father of the Indian family usually remains a stern and remote figure to his children.

During their pre-school years, children of both sexes are with women, but as the children grow, the man of the family exerts more control over the boys, while the disciplining of the girls is taken by their mothers. Fathers are generally more severe in disciplining of their boys than are the boy's mothers. Unlike Americans, praising of the children is almost non-existent in the whole Indian culture. Indians believe that praising of children in their presence will spoil them and make them disobedient. Some Indian men believe that women usually spoil children by pampering them. In general, Indian parents seldom praise their children. Although it is believed harmful to praise children to their faces, Indians believe that it is permissible to praise their children when they are not present, or to hold them up as an example to other brothers and sisters. Considering the infrequent use of praise by women and reputedly less by men, one can conclude that the Indian child is seldom complimented for specific good behavior. Thus a positive reinforcement is hardly used in socialization. However, in place of praise for good behavior, Indians do rely on punishment for controlling children. The use of derogatory statements, curses, scoldings are common among women. Ridicule is used frequently. In addition, the Indian mother

frightens her children with policemen, ghosts, and other supernatural agents of fear. If these methods do not work, the mother loses her temper and shouts and yells. Sometimes, the children are beaten harshly with sticks and shoes. In general, physical punishment is used more frequently by men than by women. These punitive measures are used frequently but the mothers rarely punish their children by withholding rewards or privileges.

Fighting, demanding, stubbornness and disobedience among children are most frequently the cause of their punishment. Obedience and passivity in front of elders are highly valued traits. The joint family requires respect for elders. The concept of obedience is closely linked with politeness, meekness and respectfulness. Obedience is stressed somewhat more for girls. The mother desires a child who will do what he is asked to, stay out of trouble and not demand too much. The severity with which aggressive behavior is punished depends upon the status of the person to whom the aggression is directed. Aggression directed towards an adult is a graver offense than aggression directed at peers. Peer-directed aggression often goes unpunished.

Sibling rivalry is almost absent among Indian children. The child is attended by grandmother or any other member of the family when the next child is born. But one can imagine the rivalry between a boy and a girl in the same family. Younger brother may start feeling jealous of

the older one when he is subservient to him. But, the respect and subjection towards elders is taught to the child from infancy and as such the younger child will not consciously feel jealous of the privileges enjoyed by elder brother. The attitude that the older brother adopts toward his younger brother is one of love and affection. These factors do not let sibling rivalry develop as intensely as it might in the American culture.

Indian children are seldom excluded from adult activities. There is an absence of the western emphasis on the separate roles of children. Indian children are never sent to bed at fixed hours. They are taken to midnight wedding ceremonies and late evening events. Murphy (1953b) quotes a very apt remark made by an Indian friend in relation to the Indian-Western concept clash, "You bring up your children and we live with ours."

As illustrated, Indian children's needs are mostly fulfilled by the mother or grandmother. The father comes into the child's life quite late. From the child's birth, an Indian father can be conceived of as aloof, detached. It is women's responsibility to look after the children. Perhaps the reason for this behavior lies in the structure of the joint-family system in India. The male members' world is different from that of women. Most of the time they live in different compartments of the house. So long as the Indian male lives under the roof of his father's house, he must

keep up the fiction of denying that he leads an active sexual life of his own. Not to do so is to be disrespectful. Consequently, a man and his wife cannot talk to each other in the presence of his parents, nor is it proper for either of them to show affection for their children in front of their elders. In this context Carstairs (1958c) writes,

> This obligatory suppression of any overt show of tender feelings is relaxed only when the child cries; he is handed to the mother and often with a command from grandmother, 'Give him the breast'. A father, however experienced must remain impassive and detached. The father and child relationship is deprived of spontaneous warmth and feelings. Instead, it is governed by strict obligation on either party in a joint family. The obligations of each to the other, of financial support and instructions on one hand and dutiful service on the other are constantly emphasized, but personal intimacy is conspicuously absent.

There is always pressure to submit unreservedly to one's father's authority, to treat him like a god, and the alternative of denying one's father's demands is unthinkable. The principle of subservience and respect is also postulated in relation to one's elder brother. Even in speech, distance and respect are shown for elders.

Sex is a tabooed subject within Indian families. Although children masturbate and indulge in heterosexual and homosexual play for years, they do so in secrecy. If they

are caught, they are disapproved of highly and punished harshly. Children do not dare to discuss sex with their parents. This formal behavior is always maintained between the parents and children. Even an adolescent does not feel free to discuss his or her sex problems. As Indian children approach puberty, they begin to invest sex with attributes of danger and fascination. An adolescent is completely restrained sexually and emotionally. Girls and boys are not allowed to talk freely. Girls usually do not move out of their homes. It is shameful for them to use any make-up. The parents have a difficult time if their daughters are of the outgoing type. Not only does the girl gain a poor reputation, but she disgraces her entire family. In spite of all these restrictions on young people, love affairs are not uncommon. If a young man and a woman want to marry of their own choice, they are rarely allowed to do so. Most of the Indian marriages made through personal choice tend to end up unhappily. The very feeling of guilt does not allow the young couple to live happily.

An Indian youth depends upon his father for his major decisions of his own life. He or she cannot divert from what is desired by parents. There is security in this relationship, but in this process the Indian youth is almost depersonalized. So complete is the pseudo-mutuality in the Indian family, that an adolescent or even an adult is afraid to take any initiative of his own--and when the situation is

highly threatening, his major defense mechanism is withdrawal. He never learns to be a mature adult, and he is well rewarded for his compliance, dependence, and helplessness.

Compliance, dependence and helplessness are good factors for a peaceful joint-family; but what happens to the growth of country and which is a democratic one when these attitudes are manifested politically. These very attitudes do not let people take their own independent course of action which is so important for democratic ideals. Late Prime Minister Nehru laid the greatest stress on self help which he said, was the sheet-anchor for economic and general advancement of the country. What troubled Nehru was the amazing capacity of the people to ask for help and their amazing incapacity to do something themselves.

As described earlier, the infancy period of an Indian is somewhat overindulged. The needs of a child are spontaneously fulfilled, and the child gets the warmth of mother through physical closeness. But warmth in the sense of affectionate interaction between the baby and mother, affectionate demonstrativeness towards the child, time to play with the child, praising the child when it shows good manners--so valued by American mothers--is lacking in Indian mothers. This is partly due to the joint-family system, where it is disrespectful for the mother to show overt signs of affection towards her children and husband. This is also

true in the case of Indian fathers who are completely aloof from their children. If one takes into account the oral needs of children alone, they are over-indulgently fulfilled. But what happens when a child who has been given so much oral gratification is weaned? According to Freud and Levy (1928, 1934), babies have an inborn oral drive which has to be satisfied or else it will lead the child to seek artificial oral gratification. The early weaning of children will produce more emotional upsets than a late weaning. But Sears and Wise (1950) reasoned that since sucking in infancy was always followed by primary reward, the strength of the oral drive should increase with sucking. From their study on 80 Midwestern mothers, they found out that the later the weaning the greater the child's emotional upset. It is true that Indian mothers have a difficult time weaning their children.

The type of toilet training that an Indian child receives, is perhaps associated with ritualistic and sorcery practices so common in India. There is no disgust shown when the child urinates on the floor, but the mother and the grandmother unconsciously show their disgust for urination by cleaning themselves (by taking a bath) if the child happens to soil their clothes.

As the child grows, he finds that the bathroom is looked upon with a feeling of disgust. Only the sweeper cleans the toilet room and as the bathroom cleaner is as

untouchable as the bathroom itself. Grandmothers and mothers are not supposed to wear the same saree which they used in the bathroom. They have to undergo the ritual of bathing every morning after daily routine. The same principles are enforced on the children after they are toilet trained. This perhaps along with early start leads to the beliefs that an evil eye can cause illness or that the use of charms, curses, spells are responsible for illness. Whiting (1953a), from a cross cultural study found that the ritualism and the use of charms, sorcery, etc., is positively related to the early and severe toilet training of the child. On the other hand, an early start, but with permissiveness in certain aspects of toilet training, comes to focus when one finds that Indians are tolerant of dirty and filthy surroundings, dusty and highly disorganized homes. Perhaps the paranoid tendencies with absence of obsession which were observed by some of the investigators may be related to this type of toilet training. The reverse of these characteristics are seen where the toilet training begins somewhat late but is comparatively severe. Neatness, orderliness, obedience mark such personalities.

Indian mothers and grandmothers show overindulgence in the early childhood period. This overindulgence is with regard to physical needs. As the child grows, he moves out with his peer group and has siblings to play with. At this stage, one would find a completely different treatment of

children in India compared to that of American children. In America, socialization of the children continues to be consistent in all aspects. The child is taught to behave at the table and to respect the property of others. The use of praise as a reward for good behavior and the use of deprivations of privileges for punishment, are predominant ways through which these aims are achieved. Children in India are left on their own. They are allowed to play as they desire, permitted to eat as they wish and never taught neatness and orderliness. They are allowed what they wish, so long as they do not disturb the adult world and do not go against the moral values of the family. This permissive environment appears to be highly conducive to a healthy personality. But this environment also carries the flavor of neglect. A child who is never praised because of the belief that the praise will spoil the child and, above all else, whose ego is humiliated when he is compared with other children, is bound to carry rejected feelings. "Some of the deepest wounds that children experience are caused by their being compared unfavorably with a brother or sister" (Symond 1939). The Indian child's self-confidence and self-reliance are shattered in this process. In a joint-family household the mother is occupied by her errands. She is making all the adults happy, waiting on them like a servant. She hardly has time to care for her children nor the time to be oriented to her child training duties.

The mother who is constantly forbidden to show her children any affection, forbidden to kiss them in front of elders, indirectly conveys the message of rejection to her children. She has no self-esteem of her own so long as she is surrounded by so many others to respect.

> The mother who displays a high degree of self-esteem, demands orderliness and neatness, demands good table manners, uses praise for good behavior, praise for playing nicely and uses tangible rewards, is probably very earnestly and responsibly oriented towards her child-training duties. She has a high regard for herself and she wants her child to develop rapidly towards a mature status. She pays more attention to these attributes of his behavior that are important for providing a well-mannered household, and she gives enough time and energy to her tasks to create appropriate rewards and punishments for use within the training process. She uses praise, and we get the impression that she keeps her attention rather continuously directed toward the child (and mainly pleasantly), viewing him as a person who must be taught many things (Sears 1957b).

One can excuse the mother to a certain extent in a joint-family household. But what about grandmothers and the other ladies of the household? The other members do not bother to criticize or praise the child for they want to avoid arguments and make an effort to maintain a peaceful environment at home. The grandmother herself as an authoritarian figure often criticizes the mother when she tries to discipline her child. She takes care that the child takes a bath if he has touched the sweeper but she does not care if the child ruins the furniture, or if he has not eaten food, nor does she bother to accept him as a person or try to understand his needs. Besides, as Minturn (1963c) reports, because of the other son's wives and their children, it is

better for the mother-in-law to be aloof and not to show warmth that would create jealousies among the daughters-in-law and to a certain extent bickering in the house.

The disciplinary measures adopted by Indian parents are highly inconsistent. They often leave children alone, but when they do react, they react with severe punishment. Whenever aggression is expressed or the child disobeys any adult member of the family, the child is punished severely and often beaten with a stick, shoe, etc. Once the child is punished and the mother finds the child angry or crying, he is consoled right away. Here we find that children are rewarded for wrong behavior. What Minturn (1962b) writes about Rajput women is very true of the children in other parts of India. "As a result of inconsistent policy regarding aggression training, the children engage in a good deal of minor bickering, name calling, snatching, and semi-aggressive teasing, but serious fights are few, bullies are uncommon, and temper tantrums are virtually nonexistent."

Overindulgence starts in infancy, permissiveness in later childhood, inconsistent disciplining and the special rewarding of the angry child do reveal certain aspects of the mother's personality. This inconsistency in Indian mothers especially with regard to aggression shows the deep underlying hostility which she has undergone in her childhood, and is still undergoing in the house of her in-laws. Her apparent behavior, i.e., meekness, politeness, etc., seems to be a reaction formation against this hostility. Her over-

indulgence of the child and then neglect to a certain extent reveal her own repressed hostility. In her treatment of aggression one finds that she gives expression to the feeling of hate. Then guilt is aroused for being such a bad mother and there is an attempt to make reparation by consoling the child.

During childhood, Indian children cope with situations by keeping themselves out of the house. They pass most of their time with their peer group. They know that in the house they may disturb their elders and perhaps get scolded. As they grow there are more demands on them and they are also asked to pay attention to their studies. The child becomes more and more serious as he reaches his puberty. Murphy (1953c) remarked, "Children of India are the friendliest children I have ever seen. They trust people; their smile is whole-hearted warm and gay." She later wrote, "I did not see much of adolescents, but they did not appear so trusting, spontaneous and friendly. A gloom settles down on adolescents like a fog, and warmth goes out of their faces" (Murphy 1953d). Murphy has posed the question, but she has not provided any answers. During the development of a personality, the super-ego is installed by the time the gloom settles on the adolescents. Could it be that the conscience has already become too heavy?

Perhaps several reasons can be found to explain this gloom if we analyze the child rearing practices in more

detail. Indian children begin their lives with abundantly rewarding experiences. During their first few years they are never separated from their mothers for more than a short time, and they are given their mother's breast generously whenever they feel hungry and upset. An infant's mother is a very willing slave, and he becomes something of a tyrant. In America the child experiences a greater amount of deprivation in the course of training and is able to test out his fits of hostility towards his mother, taking resource from the fact that she not only survives them but still loves him.

In an Indian family, because the child experiences so little frustration, he develops an assurance that support and succorance will never be denied to him--hence constant optimism in later life--but his aggressive fantasies remain rudimentary, and unmodified by the experience of minor deprivation, until, at the age of two years, when new experiences occur with bewildering rapidity.

Now he finds his mother aloof and seemingly indifferent to him. Up to this time he had always slept beside her. Now father literally takes his place. At this time the child is weaned. The overindulged infancy and then the reversal of this situation has a profound effect on the personality. According to Carstairs (1958d),

> The underlying mistrust which seems to cloud Indian's personal relationships may well be derived from the fantasy of inconsistent mother who mysteriously withholds her caresses and attention from time to time; but at weaning the child's insecurity is suddenly intensified

> Earlier experiences have created in fantasy a bias in favor of the feeling that things will come right in the end, but now the two most certain seeming facts of life--the mother's constant support and the child's own omnipotence suddenly prove unreliable."

He continues,

> His confidence is shattered and from now on he mistrusts everything that pretends to constancy--his own and other's personalities, and even of objects in the material world. To such a feeling the concept of all pervading Maya seems appropriate, if not inevitable.

Up to this time, the father, as a person, hardly plays any role. He is an aloof, cold, withdrawn person who does not interfere with his own children. From this time on, the Indian child perceives that the father is the most important person in the family. He finds his mother idealizing the father in every respect. The father is virtually worshiped by the mother. From this time on the father's voice will be associated with commands which must be obeyed.

The pain of defeat by the father in the Oedipal situation is greatly intensified by the frequency with which the child is an involuntary witness to parental intercourse. This defeation is not lightened, as in America, by the creation of a warm relationship between father and son. This relationship has been prevented, as mentioned before, by the taboo upon the father's expressing affection for his children. Instead of affection, it appears to the boy that he has no choice other than that of unconditional surrender to this strong intruding stranger, the father. The boy

child must not be submissive before this rival but must deny any wish to compete with him.

This father-son rivalry and conflict is further heightened by the authority that the father represents to the child. According to Fromm, the conflict is not only brought about essentially by sexual rivalry, but it also results from the child's reaction to the pressure of parental authority, the child's fear of parental authority and his submission to it. The child's uncertainty of mind, his lack of empathy, and the pattern of his paranoid reactions have their start with the betrayal of the child by the father, which reaches its climax in his accommodation to the stress of intense Oedipal rivalry with his father.

According to Freudian theory, paranoid reactions can be traced to one type of outcome of the Oedipus situation, namely that in which the boy assumes a passive role and in fantasy has homosexual love relationship with his father. But while he longs to be possessed in this way, the child also fears and repudiates his desire; hence the transition from "I love him," to "I hate him," to "he hates me."

The powerfully repressed homosexual fixation on the father has been noted by Carstairs in his study on high class Hindu society. This fixation shows itself not only in ever-recurring paranoid reactions, but also in an indirect and sublimated form in a man's feelings towards his "Guru"

(Religious Teacher), one context in which a warm affectionate relationship is given free expression.

According to Narain (1957b) an Indian youth unquestionably submits to his father. He develops an ambivalent attitude toward his mother. He is hostile because of his eventual withdrawal of love. On the other hand, his unconscious longing for his mother continues. He is inclined to enthrone his mother in his heart, even if this enthronement of the mother means neglecting his wife. To neglect one's mother in favor of one's wife is grounds for his being called "henpecked." Narain continues, "It is interesting to note that a man saves himself from the unmanly charge of being henpecked not by being really manly but by preferring to submit to his mother and not to his wife. With the death of a man's mother, the wife takes the newly vacant central place in her husband's life." One can imagine the extent of the unconscious hostility that an Indian youth is liable to suffer. He has to face the withdrawal of his mother's attentions, and then has to surrender to the commands of his father.

The permissive atmosphere which gave him a source of freedom ends when he has to surrender to the father's parental authority. He is submissive, docile and compliant overtly, but his unconscious is filled with hostility.

In a Rorschach study on Indian students, H. S. Asthana (1956b) discovered the existence of unconscious

hostility in Indian men. This unconscious hostility expresses itself in communal, racial and provincial prejudices that one finds in India.

"Despite the creed of non-violence, India is a violent land. Gandhi is quoted incessantly--and ignored as often as he is quoted. Tolerance is claimed for all religions but there are obvious discriminations against Sikhs, Christians, Muslims" (Smith 1962b). These outlets for unconscious hostility keep the hostility other-directed until the guilt associated with the hostility of the male is turned against the self. The Indian male's asceticism and his belief in withdrawal from the world perhaps justify the way hostility is turned against the self.

"The road to self-realization is long and rocky. It demands self-denial of the most rigid sort, constant curbing of all appetites, and ultimate withdrawal from the world to a life of severe contemplation." (Smith 1962c)

Perhaps it is the harsh super-ego of the person that is responsible for the detached, gloomy, paranoid and introversive traits of the Indian. As stated previously, the demands that are made on the Indian male are made in terms of parental values. If the child refuses to accept these particular values, he is punished. An Indian youth is warned against loving somebody his parents do not approve of. He also feels guilty if he makes his own decision to marry this person and that decision turns out wrong. The

Indian youth repents all his life if he is not able to serve his parents.

From childhood the Indian male is constantly reminded of and required to do certain things in his life. This pressure is so much that his conscience bothers him if he diverts from his culture's pre-set values, but he is not bothered if he rejects rules and values which are not built into his conscience. Smith (1962d) while comparing an Indian's and an American's attitudes toward bribery writes:

> Our own scandals are bad enough and in the era of the expense account it is questionable whether our method of organized stealing from the stockholders and the government is any better than the regular bribe of the '55 rupees policemen. But the difference seems to be that bribery is taken for granted in the Asian system, whereas we continue to regard it with pain if not with surprise.

And, one can get an even better picture of how certain other values are esteemed from the following quotation by Smith (1962e):

> If a man is caught in an illicit sexual union a great thing is made of it, but no one makes a fuss if he robs the government of a small fortune. . . . When a college principal was found guilty of sexual relations with a student, rioting broke out. But no one makes a peep over such common practices as taking part of a teacher's salary as a bribe for hiring him, and getting a cut every month thereafter.

The internalized super-ego is related to the feeling of guilt. According to Freudian theory the internalization of the super-ego's controls comes at the time of the resolution of the Oedipus dilemma, when the child consolidates his identification with the parent of the same sex. The

resolution of the Oedipal dilemma is accentuated by the severity of sex training. The severity of sex training is related to the feeling of guilt.

Freudian theory suggests that the feeling of guilt has its origin in the child's concern about the love of its parents for him and about the possibility of losing this love. This suggests that the strength of the super-ego might vary with the strength of this concern of the child, that is with the strength of the child's drive for dependence upon his parents. This dependency is related to nurturance. What type of nurturance creates a dependency drive?

According to Carl (1949) conflicting expectations in the child are more important determiners of the dependence drives, that is inconsistency of nurturance rather than the degree of nurturance in the antecedent variable relevant to the strength of the acquired drive for dependency. According to Whiting (1953b) the initial indulgence is enough to develop a dependence drive of sufficient parent-child interaction to lead to the development of guilt feelings, and that additional indulgence does not increase the strength of guilt feelings. Sears (1957c) found that acceptance of the child had a slight tendency to decrease the dependency of the child on his parents. More dependent children are more insecure in their disobedience of culture values than the less dependent children. All the factors

leading to dependency and consequently severe conscience and guilt feelings are to a certain extent present in Indian child rearing practices. So it can be assumed that there will be a strong super-ego with the constant arousal of the feeling of guilt in certain respects.

The weaknesses which exist in an Indian personality are not indicative of a necessarily inferior culture. There are weaknesses that every society faces. It is important to know these weaknesses before it is too late.

As Narain (1957) points out, "There is no necessity to proclaim from the house-tops that the Hindus had achieved this or that in the ancient past. It is rather imperative for Hindus to have strength of maturity to see their faults and correct them if possible." "One must pay tribute to calm, patience, tolerance, and serenity which prevail in a well-adjusted Hindu family. But it is perhaps a precarious calm, based on the suppression rather than on the resolving of underlying tensions, but it may still reflect a gracious and civilized way of life" (Carstair 1958e).

PROBLEM AND METHODOLOGY

Statement of the Problem

The present study is an exploratory one. It is intended to study the factors that can be explored through the Sixteen Personality Factors Questionnaire. Certain traits in Indian personality have been brought to focus by sociological and psychiatric studies. Besides the exploration into new factors through 16 PF, the present writer also wishes to verify some of the traits that already have been observed by other writers. It will be of importance to evaluate how these traits are related to child rearing practices.

The period of infancy is an over-indulgent one in India. The child is given spontaneous satisfaction to his demands. He has hardly learned to control his impulses or to know the demands of reality till the age of three years. But after this period, he experiences sudden and rather fast changes. The permissive attitudes of mother and other members of the family carry a flavor of neglect and rejection. Out of respect for elders, and as the culture demands, an Indian mother does not show overt love and affection in front of her elders. The child is not controlled in a consistent manner. The over-indulged beginning, inconsistent

control, permissive atmosphere which carries the feeling of neglect and rejection, perhaps does not let the ego strength develop properly. More consistency in training is practiced by American mothers. The child's needs are satisfied according to schedule. There is frustration experienced by the child but the learning is so quick at this age that the period of frustration has no drastic effects on personality. Rather this frustration makes him experience the demands of reality and makes him capable of adjustment right from the beginning. His deprivation period is followed by a smiling, rewarding and loving mother. He gains control over his impulses and this control is reinforced throughout the period of child development. Because of these differences in child rearing practices, it could be hypothesized that Indian males would lack strong ego as compared to American males.

As already discussed, an Indian infant hardly learns to control his impulses, but after the age of four years, he finds himself in the midst of social and ethical demands. He has to learn to respect authority. The authority is not only of parents but of everybody older than he. His father so far had been aloof, passive, cold and occasionally came into the picture as a rival in the way of mother's love. The Indian mother idealizes father, directs child's attention towards him and teaches him to love and respect him under all conditions. The child's love for mother, though with feelings

of suspicion and doubt, has been strong because of her permissiveness and initial indulgence. But now father also shares this love. As the child has been taught to respect his father and other family members, their values are easily integrated into his personality. An Indian child is also taught to submit to his father as a necessary condition for respect. At this age he is constantly reminded of traditional values and family heritage. Under these circumstances, it would be of interest to see whether Indian males have higher super-ego strength than American Males.

If it is proved that the ego strength is weak and impulses are very strong, there will be constant fear of overthrow of ego. As already described, sexual impulses and aggression directed towards authority are almost prohibited in Indian culture. These needs have hardly any outlet, are liable to become stronger and give rise to ergic tension. Because the ego's powers are weak to integrate those needs, these impulses are experienced as threatening. In such a situation more anxiety will be felt by an individual. This anxiety will be further enhanced if Indian males are found to have strong and rigid super-ego. It can be assumed that there will be high anxiety among Indian males as compared to American males.

One can also assume the presence of guilt with weak ego and rigid super-ego development. As the tension of impulses increase, there will be breakthrough and such a

breakthrough is liable to give guilt feeling because of the rigid and strong super-ego. If it is proved that Indian males possess a personality structure where the ego strength is weak and the super-ego to be rigid, the pattern of guilt would also be stronger among Indian males. The emotional control is associated with personality integration. The emotional control in a healthy sense will be weaker among the Indian subjects if the faulty personality integration is found to be true.

Emotional sensitivity will increase in a culture where a child's ego has suffered humiliation and experienced hardly any praise. The sensitivity will be enhanced if the presence of weak ego strength, and guilt feelings are also present in the personality.

The demand for subjection to authority is high in the Indian family pattern. This demand especially when coupled with lack of warmth does give rise to the feeling of hostility. But the outer expression of this revolt is punishable and guilt arousing. The guilt feelings are strong when the child has constantly learned that he is helpless and dependent on parents. Parents constantly remind the child and especially an adolescent that they support him and that they sacrifice their own needs in order to fulfill his needs. In this type of family situation the outward expression of hostility will be rare. Safety would lie in submitting and withdrawing, in being passive and an-

ergic. The child will satisfy hostility and feelings of revolt by defensive withdrawal into introversive personality pattern. Compared to this, a more friendly atmosphere and equal status are experienced by an American child and an adolescent. This individuality and independence are wholeheartedly welcomed. If he happens to experience feelings of hostility, he can convey this overtly. He is bound to be frank in his expressions. His relations had been more rewarding, reciprocal and mutual. In such family relations, he will develop a tendency toward extroversion. It can be assumed that introversive personality pattern will be more prominent in Indian sample.

Carstair (1958) in his psychiatric study, observed paranoid tendencies among Indian subjects. He thought that an initial overindulgence and subsequent withdrawal of Indian mother was responsible for these tendencies. They were further heightened by the subjection of Indian males to their father at the phallic stage. It will be of importance to confirm this observation through the 16 PF questionnaire.

One can expect some changes in personality due to cultural change. When Indian students come to America, the initial phase of adjustment is expected to be full of anxiety and tensions. The adjustment to a different culture seems to be a difficult task culturally as well as academically. But they have to adjust if they are to fulfill their need for

academic achievement. It will be of interest to see whether this adjustment into a different culture does bring some changes in the personality of Indian students or not.

Methodology

The Sixteen Personality Factor Questionnaire was used for this study. Although the translation of this questionnaire is available in some of the Indian languages, it is available only in a few languages. Thus translated versions would have limited its applicability to people who use these languages. English is the common language among the educated people of India. Therefore, the original 16 PF questionnaire was used.

This questionnaire was constructed by Cattell and Scheier. Through the repeated factor analyses of over 500 varied items related to the description of personality, they arrived at 187 final items. These 187 items reveal 16 factors. These 16 factors have a functional relationship to one another. From the correlation matrix among these factors, Cattell has derived "second order factors." Thus anxiety is a second order factor under which correlated factors are C-, O, M, Q_3, Q_4 and L.

It is true that an unstructured, projective test would tend to be less culture-bound. But such a test is time consuming and its objectivity is hard to guarantee. As the author's stay in India was short, the use of a projective

test was not possible. Besides, there are already some studies done with the Rorschach. One of the already mentioned studies is that of Asthana on Indian students studying in U.S.A. They reveal certain traits about Indian personality such as the repressed hostility, anxiety and strong super-ego. In the present study, the author is interested in additional patterns and their nature. For instance, one can see that there is a high degree of anxiety in a test like the Rorschach, but what elements that constitute anxiety can truly be revealed by a test based on factor analysis? There are certain items in the 16 PF questionnaire which can be interpreted as culture-bound, and as such, are not suitable for the Indian culture. But these are few, and the author is aware of their relation to those few factors. These facts will be taken into consideration in interpretation of the results of the test. From the author's own experience, this test seemed to be comparatively the most valid and convenient one for the factors from which the present study is designed. The questionnaire is not very long as certain other questionnaires are and, as such, less time consuming.

Selection and the Size of the Sample

The total sample in the personality factor test consisted of 70 Indian subjects. These subjects came from middle class families. The middle class family can be defined in terms of occupation and economic status. People having

white-collar jobs and an income ranging from 250-700 rupees, are defined as middle class.

This group of 70 constituted 45 subjects who were in India and had never been to this country and 25 subjects who at present are studying at the University of Arizona. Twenty-five subjects out of the Indian sample of 45 were from scientific occupations such as technicians, research officers, laboratory assistants, etc. The remainder of the 45 held administrative jobs such as clerks, supervisors, assistants and superintendents. The office and the institute from which the data were collected are located in Delhi, India. These places are cosmopolitan. The subjects, as such, come from southern, eastern, northern, and western parts of India. Since the number of subjects available for the sample was very small, representation of every state in India, and of every language was not possible. The ages of Indians in the sample ranged from 20 years to 34 years.

The Indian group studying at the University of Arizona, consisted of 25 subjects. These men come from various language groups, representative of different parts of India, and were largely from the middle class. These subjects were mostly science students studying engineering, chemistry, agricultural sciences, and mathematics. Some of them were in the departments of business administration, oriental studies and education. Their ages ranged from 20 to 35 years.

The results obtained from these samples were compared with the American general male population norms and student male population norms obtained by R. B. Cattell. The general male population consisted of 205 subjects who were largely from Air Force training personnel and a few other occupations. Their ages ranged from 20 years to 31 years. The student norms were derived from a sample of 364 ranging in age from 17 to 30 years.

The obvious question that the present study faces is that of the non-comparability of American norms and Indian norms. The populations from which these samples were derived were not similar. The Indian group consisted of higher educated subjects from the middle class, whereas the American subjects were less educated and were from all classes. However, the factors of education and class cannot be ideally controlled in an American-Indian study because of the cultures' different systems of education and the difference in their standards of living. A bachelor's degree requires fewer years of education in India than in this country. Classes cannot be compared on the basis of income, as the standard of living and income are much higher in America.

Perhaps the ideal conditions for such a study would have been met through matching the American sample with the Indian. This would have required a great effort and perhaps the conditions under which data were collected in India

could never be duplicated. Under such circumstances, the author has to be satisfied with whatever suitable data are available.

Procedure

The author met the subjects individually and requested their cooperation in the study. The choice of filling in the questionnaire was left to them. Those subjects who were not willing to fill in the questionnaire were not required to do so. The purpose of this study was explained to the subjects who volunteered information and to fill in the questionnaire. They were told that this was a study which concerned their attitudes and interests, and it was only for research purposes. The confidential status of the information would be observed strictly. The choice of using a code number, instead of their name, was left to the subjects.

Subjects were allowed to take the questionnaire home and were asked to complete it at their convenience. Standard instructions on the face sheet of the 16 PF booklet were read to them. The author left the booklet and the answer sheet with the subjects after being fully confident that the instructions were understood.

RESULTS AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

The purpose of this study was an understanding of the personality of the Indian males and its relationship to child rearing practices. A clearer insight into personality-trait differences could be gained when the differences between Indian and American child-rearing practices and their relation to personality were brought into focus.

Certain personality patterns were hypothesized from the patterns of child-rearing practices in India and America. The present section deals with the results. The results are tabulated in Tables 1 and 2.

Table 1 and 2

It was hypothesized that the ego strength factor C, would be lower in Indian males. Factor C is interpreted as a power to control and mold ergic responses towards the integrated purposes of the self. Table 1 and 2 indicate that this factor is significantly lower in the general Indian male sample as well as in students studying at The University of Arizona.

Factor G represents super-ego strength. The mean score (Table 1) obtained by the general American male sample is significantly higher than the Indian general male sample. In students' sample, the mean is almost equal and there is

TABLE 1

16 PF DATA ON INDIAN EMPLOYEES IN INDIA

Factors	American Mean	Indian Mean	S.D. American	S.D. Indian	t Values
A	7.5	7.9	3.01	3.1	1.0 -
B	8.8	6.9	2.6	1.7	4.56 *
C	19.2	15.3	3.5	2.7	7.3 *
E	15.2	14.2	3.32	3.3	1.88 -
F	16.2	14.0	3.14	3.2	4.13 *
G	13.8	12.4	4.5	3.1	2.08 **
H	14.0	12.1	4.0	4.7	2.79 *
I	6.4	8.3	3.0	3.1	3.88 *
L	6.9	11.7	2.9	3.2	9.79 *
M	9.2	12.6	3.13	3.2	6.62 *
N	12.1	12.4	3.7	2.7	0.3 -
O	7.3	12.2	4.3	3.2	7.1 *
Q_1	10.1	11.6	2.9	2.9	3.23 *
Q_2	9.5	11.6	3.96	3.5	3.25 *
Q_3	11.1	11.1	2.67	2.8	0.0
Q_4	9.0	14.0	4.22	4.0	7.25

* Significant at the 1% level

** Significant at the 5% level

\- Not Significant

no significant difference. The results may lead to the conclusion that the American group is higher in super-ego

TABLE 2

INDIAN STUDENTS STUDYING IN U.S.A.

Factors	American Mean	Indian Mean	S.D. American	S.D. Indian	t Values	
A	8.9	8.4	3.3	3.3	.736	-
B	8.5	9.0	1.8	1.9	1.31	-
C	17.3	15.3	3.2	1.4	5.61	*
E	14.5	14.6	3.8	3.0	0.01	-
F	14.6	14.5	3.6	3.7	0.21	-
G	12.0	12.1	3.2	2.9	0.01	-
H	12.7	11.5	5.0	3.8	1.65	-
I	9.0	8.5	3.4	3.2	0.8	-
L	7.8	11.2	3.5	2.9	4.2	*
M	10.8	12.0	3.6	2.7	2.15	**
N	10.3	11.8	2.6	2.4	3.1	*
O	9.6	11.7	3.6	2.6	2.03	**
Q	10.2	11.3	3.4	1.6	1.7	-
Q_2	9.6	11.1	3.6	3.14	2.26	*
Q_3	9.5	12.1	2.8	3.1	4.03	*
Q_4	11.8	11.4	4.5	1.6	1.22	-

* Significant at the 1% level

** Significant at the 5% level

\- Not Significant

strength. But if we analyze the items which constitute super-ego strength, we see that they tend to be culture-bound. It may be because of this that the Indian group does not score higher in G factor.

Perhaps, factor scales which utilize more culture-free items would be better indicators of super-ego strength. According to Eysenck F- (desurgency) indicates super-ego strength for its relationship to responsibility and firm ethical standards. Table 1 shows significant difference at the 1% level in Indian males, i.e., Indian males have a higher desurgency factor.

It is difficult to interpret the scores of the Indian students. Table 2 shows that they are equal in F factor. Perhaps their distance from home, and the absence of authority make them disregard responsibility and certain ethical standards which don't have similar meaning in the American culture.

The third indicator of super-ego strength is the O factor (guilt proneness). Table 1 and 2 show that Indian males are higher (at 1% level) and Indian students are higher at 5% level in this factor. Thus the Indian males' super-ego strength is relatively higher than American males'. Its elevation is reflected in the factors of desurgency and guilt proneness.

TABLE 3

PATTERN OF ANXIETY AMONG INDIAN EMPLOYEES (IN INDIA)

Factors	Indian - American Mean	Level of Significance	High	Low
Q_4	+ 5	1%	x	
O	+ 4.9	1%	x	
Q_3	0.0	None	--	
C	- 3.9	1%		x
L	+ 4.8	1%	x	
H	- 1.9	1%		x

Table 3

Table 3 shows the pattern of anxiety. Indian males as suggested by Table 3 are significantly (at 1% level) higher in ergic tensions (Q_4), guilt proneness, (0), protension or paranoid tendencies (L). On the other hand, their mean is significantly (at 1% level) lower in the ego strength factor (C), parmia (H). The combination of the factors in this manner indicates a high anxiety level among Indian males, supporting the hypothesis of a high anxiety level in Indian males. Their high anxiety level appears to be due to weak ego strength (C-), id pressures (Q_4), protension (L), guilt proneness (0) and dispositional timidity (H-).

TABLE 4

PATTERN OF ANXIETY AMONG INDIAN STUDENTS IN U.S.A.

Factors	Indian - American Mean	Level of Significance	Anxiety High	Anxiety Low
Q_4	- .44	None		x
O	+ 1.12	5%	x	
Q_3	+ 2.58	1%		x
C	- 2.00	1%	x	
L	+ 3.36	1%	x	
H	- 1.26	None	x	

Table 4

The pattern of anxiety in Indian students, as indicated by Table 4, is somewhat different from the average Indian employees in India. Their Q_3 factor mean is significantly higher at 1% level suggesting better control and less anxiety. Q_4 (ergic tension) is also significantly less (at 1% level) in Indian students, thus indicating low anxiety. The other factors, i.e., C (ego strength), L (paranoid tendencies), guilt proneness and H (dispositional timidity) are significantly different in the direction of high anxiety.

Table 5

Table 5 indicates that the Indian males are significantly higher in M factor (at the 1% level), which reflects

TABLE 5

PATTERN OF INTROVERSION AND EXTROVERSION AMONG INDIAN EMPLOYEES (IN INDIA)

Factors	Indian - American Mean	Level of Significance	High	Low
M	+ 3.3	1%	x	
F	- 2.2	1%	x	
A	+ .41	None		x
Q_2	+ 2.08	1%	x	
Q_1	+ 1.52	1%	x	
H	- 1.9	1%	x	

the tendency to have a vivid inner life, to be unconcerned about practical matters in life generally. Their mean score is also significantly higher (at the 1% level) in Q_2 which stands for self-sufficiency. An individual who rates high in this factor is one who makes his own decisions and who is self-sufficient in his relationship to his society.

Q_1 is the factor of radicalism which is also significantly higher (at the 1% level) among Indian males than among Americans. If factors Q_1 and Q_2 are higher along with M, this means that decisions, self-sufficiency and radicalism combined, seek their outlet not in overt actions, but in fantasy.

An introversive personality pattern is also clear from H and F factors. Indian males are significantly lower

(at the 1% level) in factor F (surgency vs. desurgency). Desurgency reflects withdrawal from the environmental demands. Coupled with environmental factors, the dispositional timidity factor (H) also plays a role in the general withdrawal from social situations on the part of the Indian males.

Factor H which is significantly lower in Indian males than Americans, reveals that tested Indian males are constitutionally susceptible to inhibition. Factor A (Schizothymia vs. Cychothymia) which is one of the most important factors in introversion and extroversion patterns does not seem to play a significant role in an Indian subjects' introversive personality pattern. All the factors except factor A support the hypothesis that Indian males have introversive personality patterns.

TABLE 6

PATTERN OF INTROVERSION AND EXTROVERSION AMONG INDIAN STUDENTS IN U.S.A.

Factors	Indian Mean	American Mean	Level of Significance	High	Low
M	+ 2.24		5%	x	
F	- .16		None	x	
A	- .5		None	x	
Q_2	+ 2.48		1%	x	
Q_1	+ 1.08		None	x	
H	- 1.26		None	x	

Table 6

The pattern of introversion in Indian students as shown by Table 6, is different in certain respects. There is no significant difference in factor F- (i.e., inhibitedness arising due to environmental pressure), A (Schizothymia vs. Cyclothymia), Q_1 (radicalism) and factor H (constitutiona inhibitedness). However, the trend of all of these factors is toward introversion.

TABLE 7

PATTERN OF EMOTIONAL SENSITIVITY AMONG INDIAN EMPLOYEES (IN INDIA)

Factors	Indian - American Mean	Level of Significance	High	Low
I	+ 1.9	1%	x	
A	+ .41	1%	x	
C	- 3.9	1%		x
H	- 1.9	1%		x
O	+ 4.9	1%	x	

Table 7

The general Indian population, as indicated by Table 7, shows a high emotional sensitivity. The mean score is significantly higher in I factor (at the 1% level) among Indian males. Factor I (Premsia vs. Harria) is related to overprotectedness of the family unit. An individual high

in this factor tends to be dependent and oversensitive and makes little attempt at aggressive handling of the environment. Such individuals are at the opposite poles of the ones who are highly self-reliant and self confident.

A higher I factor seems to be related to overindulged infancy period and the humiliating early training practices in the Indian culture. More information regarding emotional sensitivity is obtained from other factors. Emotional sensitivity in Indian males is also related to weak ego strength (C-), guilt proneness (O+) and their dispositional inhibitedness (H-). There is a significant difference in all other factors (at the 1% level). There is no significant difference in factor A, but it is also in the direction of emotional sensitivity.

TABLE 8

PATTERN OF EMOTIONAL SENSITIVITY AMONG INDIAN STUDENTS IN U.S.A.

Factors	Indian - American Mean	Level of Significance	High	Low
I	- .52	None		x
A	- .5	None		x
C	- 2.00	1%	x	
H	- 1.26	None	x	
O	+ 1.12	5%	x	

Table 8

Indian students, as indicated by Table 8, are less sensitive. Factors I, A, and H do not seem to contribute to their emotional sensitivity. The differences in these are not significant. However, the weak ego strength (C-) guilt proneness (O+) are significantly higher, showing that their sensitivity is largely due to these factors.

TABLE 9

PATTERN OF EMOTIONAL CONTROL AMONG INDIAN EMPLOYEES

(IN INDIA)

Factors	Indian - American Mean	Level of Significance	High	Low
C	- 3.9	1%		x
O	+ 4.9	1%	x	
Q_3	0.0	None		x

Table 9

It was hypothesized that emotional control will be lower in the Indian male sample. This hypothesis was based on the assumption of a general weak ego strength. Table 9 shows that Indian males are significantly lower (at the 1% level) in C factor. Though there is a lack of ego control, the control due to super-ego seems to be a rigid and a stronger factor. The super-ego controls general emotionality through susceptibility to guilt proneness (O+) is significantly higher in Indian males (at the 1% level). The average

level of self concept control is the same in both Indian and American males. Control arising through the ego is a more integrating and healthy one than the control arising through the super-ego which is a rigid and compulsive one. This type of control has a tendency toward sudden expression.

TABLE 10

PATTERN OF EMOTIONAL CONTROL AMONG INDIAN STUDENTS IN U.S.A.

Factors	Indian - American Mean	Level of Significance	High	Low
C	- 2.00	1%		x
O	+ 1.12	5%	x	
Q_3	+ 2.58	1%	x	

Table 10

The picture of emotional control as revealed by Table 10 is somewhat better in Indian students compared to general Indian male sample. Table 10 shows that the factor of ego strength is the same as in the general Indian male sample. It is significantly lower in Indian students than in American students. But here the control is enhanced by the addition of another factor Q_3 (Self concept control factor). Factors Q_3 and O are significantly higher (at the 1% level) in Indian students. It seems that Indian students are able to channelize and control their impulses in order to achieve the higher aims for which they come to this country.

TABLE 11

PATTERN OF CONFORMITY AMONG INDIAN EMPLOYEES (IN INDIA)

Factors	Indian - American Mean	Level of Significance	High	Low
G	- 1.4	5%		x
M	+ 3.3	1%		x
Q_1	+ 1.52	1%		x
Q_2	+ 2.08	1%		x

Table 11

All the factors that contribute towards conformity show that Indian males lack conformity. Table 11 indicates that Indian males are significantly higher (at the 1% level) on radicalism (Q_1), self sufficiency (Q_2), autia (M) and they are significantly lower (at the 5% level) on super-ego (G). These factors suggest non-conformity arising out of radical thoughts and independence.

Table 12

The pattern of conformity on the part of students is the same as it is in the general Indian male sample. They also score higher in M, Q_1 and Q_2 factors which reveal non-conformity. Nothing conclusive can be said with regards to G factor as the difference is not significant.

TABLE 12

PATTERN OF CONFORMITY AMONG INDIAN STUDENTS IN U.S.A.

Factors	Indian - American Mean	Level of Significance	High	Low
G	+ 0.1	None		x
M	+ 2.24	5%		x
Q_1	+ 1.08	None		x
Q_2	+ 2.48	1%		x

Most of the hypotheses derived from Indian child-rearing practices and family patterns are supported. However, the test results give more insight into the constituents of the hypothesized characteristics.

DISCUSSION

Assuming that child-rearing practices and family patterns have their impact on the personality, certain personality characteristics can be traced to child-rearing practices in India. It was assumed that initial over-indulgence of the child and the permissiveness to the point of neglect and rejection would lead to weak ego strength. Ego strength, as revealed by the 16 Personality Factor (16 PF) questionnaire, is weaker among the Indian males as well as among the Indian students in the United States.

The initial overindulgence and permissiveness of the parents, without acceptance, leads to the child's dependency, as pointed out by Wise and Sears (1950b). This dependency along with complete subjection to an authoritarian father during the oedipal period in Indian males was supposed to lead to a higher super-ego strength. Super-ego, according to Sears is related to dependency. Acceptance decreases dependency. The permissiveness with negligence and rejection which is present in Indian culture was presumed to increase the male child's dependency and subsequently heighten super-ego strength. It was hypothesized that Indian males would be higher in super-ego strength. Factor G which represents super-ego is weaker in Indian

males. This is because the items that constitute G factor are culture-bound. However, Indian males are higher in other factors which are directly related to super-ego strength, i.e., desurgency (F-) and guilt proneness (O) etc.

The initial overindulgence and the subsequent withdrawal of the warmth and affection of the Indian mother from the child was presumed to be the starting point of paranoid tendencies. These paranoid tendencies are enhanced by a homosexual attitude at the resolution of oedipal conflict in Indian males. It was hypothesized that Indian males would be higher in paranoid tendencies. Results confirm the hypothesis for Indian males and the Indian students in the United States. Both the samples score significantly higher in L factor (paranoid tendencies).

The authoritarian family pattern to which the Indian child and adolescent must submit, where they must leave all the decisions to their elders as a sign of respect, where diversion from family ideal is looked upon with great concern, were assumed to lead to an introversive personality pattern. Results confirm this hypothesis and indicate an introversive personality pattern present in both Indian male groups. In a family situation, where rejecting the family's values is a matter of great concern, one would expect conservatism and dependency. However, the reverse pattern is found in this introversive group. Q_1 as a factor of radicalism, and Q_2, a factor of self-sufficiency,

are elevated in both the Indian male groups. It can be possible if we consider that the thought processes as a form of compensation of the overt activity on the part of Indian males. In their thoughts, they feel rebellious and want independence; but, in their overt activity they submit passively to authority which is desirable and rewarded in Indian culture. There seems to be least chance of 'acting out' of these thoughts because of the susceptibility to guilt of Indian males. Even to have thoughts of radicalism seems to be anxiety arousing but to act them out will give rise to repentance and more guilt feelings. These thoughts of radicalism and self-sufficiency seek their satisfaction through having an inner, vivid life of fantasy as shown by M factor. Apart from the environmental situation which leads to an introversive personality pattern, the results show that there is autonomic susceptibility to threat, showing itself outwardly as shyness in Indian males. This is clear from a significantly lower H factor.

The introversive pattern of Indian students, studying at The University of Arizona, Tucson, needs some explanation. As indicated by Table 6, most of the factors do not show a significant difference from American norms, however, they tend towards introversion. It may be due to the fact that the number of the students was small and a very sizable difference would have been required for statistical significance. Again, it can be assumed that since the students are

away from their authoritarian family environment, they become more expressive and outgoing. Their personality does undergo some changes but these changes do not seem to be complete. They are still lower in extroversive tendencies and tend toward an introversive personality pattern. Since the differences are not significant, one cannot be positive about any of the above reasons possible for the results arrived at by this study.

It was also assumed that Indian males would be highly anxious compared with American males. Since the family pattern is inhibitory in India, one can assume that Indian males would be higher in ergic tension. Anxiety results from high ergic tension (Q_4), weak ego strength (C-), guilt proneness (O+) and also sensitivity due to paranoid tendencies (L+). Certain important needs do not have outlets within the Indian culture and these give rise to high ergic tension and anxiety. Presumably, the instinctual tensions will be experienced as a greater threat if the ego is weak. The factor O is related to super-ego which is one of the prime creators of anxiety. Again, the paranoid tendencies make the individual more sensitive to people and, as more sensitiveness contributes higher anxiety. All these factors are significantly higher in the Indian general male population than the Americans. To all these factors, there is dispositional timidity which adds to anxiety. Perhaps, it can be argued that this factor should

be anxiety arousing in a culture where extroversion is desired and not in a culture where introversion is valued. But it can also be argued that one becomes so uncomfortable with timidity, that it becomes somewhat of an anxious situation. Nothing can be said regarding the self-concept control factor. It is the same both in American and Indian samples.

The patterns of anxiety in Indian students in the United States is somewhat different. Indian students have low ergic tension and, therefore, are not predisposed to anxiety. Along with the low ergic tension is a better self-concept control which is responsible for less anxiety. It seems that with the freedom in American society, Indian students take the opportunity to give outlet to certain impulses which have been so far denied. If there is sufficient outlet for these impulses, there is bound to be less ergic tension and better self-concept control and consequently less anxiety. But it can be also true that the students have high achievement motive to start with and are able to control their impulses toward remote goals. Q_3 factor represents the sort of compulsiveness essential for certain types of professional work. The author cannot be sure which of these factors is responsible for lesser degree of anxiety in Indian students studying at The University of Arizona, Tucson, from the limited present data. This would have been clear if the students who arrived recently and

students who have studied in the United States for a couple of years could be studied separately. Factors of guilt proneness, weak ego strength, paranoid tendencies and dispositional timidity still contribute to the high anxiety level in Indian students. These tendencies are related to child-rearing practices and family pattern in India.

Because of the fact that the child training involves humiliation and no praise in the Indian culture, children brought up in such a culture will not develop self-confidence and self-reliance and will remain always uncertain and sensitive to what people think about them. Along with this humiliating and non-praising environment, the initial overindulgence and later financial overprotection of children are responsible for sensitivity among the Indian males. All the factors which contribute toward emotional sensitivity are present in the Indian employee sample. Factor I (Premsia Harria) is significantly higher in the Indian male sample indicating that they tend to be dependent and overly sensitive. A low score on factor A also contributes to the sensitivity. In the present study there is no significant difference. Perhaps this contributes to the sensitivity of the extroverted personality more than in the introversive personality pattern. But factor A may contribute toward sensitivity in an introvert personality especially where the child is taught to regard and oblige to every other member of the family. Apart from this, sensitivity goes with

shyness and a person who has dispositional timidity is bound to be sensitive. This fact is clear from factor H. One can also see the importance of factor O, leading toward sensitiveness and anxiety in the Indian males.

The pattern of sensitivity is somewhat different in Indian students who are in the United States. The overall pattern shows that they are less sensitive. Factor I and A do not significantly contribute toward sensitivity. It may be possible that farness from home does bring about some change in factor I. As they are away from their homes, they become less sensitive to environmental demands. Besides, the American culture requires them to be independent and self-confident if they are to achieve their aims. This acculturation and distance from their homes, to a certain extent, may be responsible for this change in the pattern of sensitivity.

The emotional control depends to a large extent on the ego strength. If the ego is weak in the Indian males as well as in the Indian students, it seems that they lack a healthy emotional control which is achieved through ego strength. The weak ego is a consequence of an overindulgent infancy followed by a period of permissiveness not with acceptance but with rejection and neglect. Table 1 does give evidence to weak ego strength. But this does not mean that Indian males are impulsive. Rather one would find them calm and well controlled. Their impulses are controlled by the super-ego through its susceptibility to guilt. This

type of control is supposed to be rigid. One can expect sudden outbursts and 'acting out' followed by remorse and guilt in such a personality. This finding is in conformity with Murphy's (1953e) remark, "When aggression is aroused in Indian adults, it may burst out in primitive chaotic ways exactly because of the lack of patterning that we know." Some control seems to be achieved through the self-concept. This control is equal in both American and Indian male samples. In Indian students the self-concept control seems to play a larger role in emotional control.

From the type of family pattern that is present in India, one will expect greater conformity to social demands. But results indicate that there is less conformity in both Indian groups. This will be clear if we analyze the introversive personality pattern. An introversive personality seems to conform to society through its apparent dependency and submission. But in his thoughts such an individual feels the tendency toward non-conformity through radicalism and self-sufficiency. However, these tendencies remain at the thought level only and are not carried out into overt activity. Guilt is stronger if they are carried out in activity as such. Perhaps, this is the reason that Indian samples came out to be non-conforming.

Thus it can be concluded that Indian males are introvert, non-conforming and sensitive. Their anxiety level is high and their emotional control is not a healthy one.

These characteristics can be traced back to child-rearing practices and the family pattern in India. Indian students in the United States do show some differences in their personality. They seem to be less anxious than their native counterparts. Their emotional control is better and their introversive pattern is less rigid. What is responsible for these differences? It is hard to conclude from a very small sample. It may be that this group is unique and was initially different. It may again be possible that the changes in culture brings about some changes in personality. If this is so, one can conclude that although the child-rearing practices have intense influence on personality, some of this impact can undergo changes due to acculturation in a very different culture.

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