CONCLUDING REMARKS
In this concluding section, an attempt must be made to review the course and results of the series of studies this dissertation reports, as also their implications in terms of the conceptual model presented in Chapter 1.

Money as a Symbol

In retrospect, it would appear that a consistent pattern has emerged with reference to the image of money at different levels. At the semantic-associational level, Chapter 3 shows an association between themes of status and power, on the one hand, and money, on the other. These results are replicated in methodologically more rigorous experiments reported in Chapters 4 and 5. Similarly Chapter 3 (Section 3) and Chapter 4 show that this image of money does not differ radically over different personality types within a given culture. Whether it differs from culture to culture has cannot be known on the basis of the present series of studies.

However, the extent to which individuals or groups may internalise a culturally given image of money may differ. In Chapter 3, Section 3, for example, men and women, by definition having different personality structures, were shown to have essentially the same semantic concept of money expressed in the conceptual similarity between Money and Power, but the men were found to show greater conceptual equivalence between the two concepts. When however this pattern of relationship was explicitly tested in Chapter 5, by comparing Ss showing greater conceptual equivalence between Money and Power with Ss showing
lesser conceptual equivalence between these two concepts on a number of semantic variables, results did not lend any support to the hypothesis. This may be due to the fact that deeper-lying personality variables correlated with internalisation of the culture-specific image of money cannot be operationalised within the over-simplified model which the experiment concerned (Chapter 5) espoused. The personality dimensions hypothesised as related to the individual's image of money are complex variables (specific defence mechanisms, nuclear phantasies, etc.), whereas money image is a simpler concept. So, the extent to which this image can be operationalised successfully differs from the extent to which the personality variables can be operationalised, particularly with the help of an instrument like the semantic differential and in terms of the associational-attitudinal datum it yields.

At the projective level, money was unmistakably a phallic symbol. This is vouched for not only by the impressionistic clinical interpretation of projective-level data undertaken in two pilot studies (see Chapter 3, Sections 1 and 2), but also in Chapter 4 at a very high level of statistical significance consistently. Indirect support for this is available in Chapter 5 too. Apparently, in view of the wide variety of instruments, approaches and samples used here, it would appear that the latent equation between money and masculinity is a rather persistent trend in the universe represented in these studies. Another interesting observation made in this connection is was the lesser clarity in the phallic symbolism surrounding money in the middle-income group, as compared to that in the upper and lower income groups (see
Chapter 3). The implications of this are not clear, though a tentative interpretation has been ventured in the chapter concerned. The symbolic meaning of money at the manifest and latent levels are, of course, meaningfully interrelated, in the sense that Status and Power could be conceived of as the ego-acceptable representations of the underlying phallic imageries surrounding money. In orthodox Freudian formulation, "potency" becomes power and the search for "phallic parity" becomes the search for status and recognition (see Chapter 1).

One of the interesting findings were the increase in the conceptual similarity between money and the goals or feeling states in symbolised, when psychological conflicts about money were heightened (see Chapter 4). To phrase it differently, anxiety centering about money image seems to reveal its symbolic content most clearly. This would seem to suggest that under stress of a psychological nature, the personological or psychodynamic parameters of the economic situation attain salience, particularly when the referent happens to be the individual.

Chapter 7 reveals another interesting aspect of the internalised image of money: a conceptualisation of money as an active, intervening, protohuman reality manipulating human behaviour and destiny magically. This anthropomorphic world-view of the respondents was found to be associated with certain indicators of dependency and defensiveness. Unfortunately, this particular experiment, with its rules-of-thumb procedures and crude operationalisations could not provide any clue as to the contextual social realities that could help us to develop more sophisticated hypothesis relating to the role of the personified image of money.
in a traditional society operating at a low level of achievement motive and values.

**Money in Interpersonal phantasies**

Given the phallic imageries surrounding money, it should be interesting to examine the realities of the interpersonal phantasies with which the symbol plays its role. In the very first experiment (Section 1 and 2, Chapter 3) it has been shown how the internalised image of father and the behaviour-systems of dominance-submission and exploitation-defendence dominate and modulate the individual's attitudes towards money and monetary behaviour. Though in this experiment, these associations were found to have statistical significance, the small sample size and the crude experimental design render the results vulnerable from the point of view of both reliability and validity. However, confirmations for most of these findings were available from the later studies. This is in addition to the consistency between the two pilot experiments (Section 1 and 2) which Chapter 3 reports. Interestingly, Section 2 not only confirms these correlation at another level of individual functioning (group discussion), but also demonstrates the subtle fashion in which these observation become individually significant in a socially situation. This becomes more relevant when we consider the fact that the observations in this case where obtained in a more "natural and real-life-like" situation. Similarly, Chapter 8 supports indirectly the hypotheses that emerged from the pilot studies at a more general level. It shows, how money and monetary behaviour facilitate and mediate the expression of the individual's aggressive impulses. The functional role of phantasies centering around...
money in a community that insists upon total denial of aggression is obvious. By binding the modal individual's anxiety centering around control of ego-alien impulses and by providing a relatively conflict-free behaviour-area where these impulses can be mobilised and expressed symbolically without triggering off inner conflict, these phantasies perform a socially significant latent function in the given culture.

For example, in Chapter 9 (Section 2) one discovers how an elaborate and complex structure of defense mechanisms have been erected, and sanctioned socially, for these purposes and how these give meaning to the individual's orientation to money and economic behaviour. For instance, exploitation-defendence, the dominant action-tendency related to money (see Chapter 3, Section 1 and 2) was operationalised in terms of attitudinal variables in this section. It was found that the acceptance of this attitudinal vector was partially dependent on the frequent use of the ego-defences of rationalisation and projection as expressed, for example, in the recurrent perception of the economic world as an essentially aggressive sphere peopled by hostile exploiters.

Similarly, Chapter 8 indicates the extent to which these imageries determine how far money is accepted as a valuable object. Partly ego-alien interpersonal hostility was in fact the variable which correlated maximally with the subjective value of money, measured on the semantic differential.

Ability of economic possessions to help the individual possessor to identify with his internalised image of male authority, in general, and father, in particular, is another aspect of the interpersonal significance of money. This is evidenced not
only by the smallscale pilot experiments (Chapter 3, Section 1 and 2) but, also, by the methodologically sophisticated experiment reported in Chapter 5. There conflicts centering around money, as measured on a sentence completion test, were shown to be negatively associated with the conceptual similarity between Rich and Father and dissimilarity between Poor and Mother, on the semantic differential.

These results tie up meaningfully with what has been said about money as a phallic symbol under the previous heading. The attempts to gratify masculinity striving through the possession and aggressive acquisition of money therefore would seem to be a generalised personality characteristic that bears intimate relationship to specific phantasies involving male authority figures and the external reality of a male-dominated economic world.

Relevant Personality Dimensions

Even though the experiments primarily concentrated upon the manner in which the individual's orientation to money (his attitudes to money, its possession, its absence; his conflicts and anxieties centering around money, wealth, etc.; his economic values) itself becomes a critical personality dimension which, on its part, influences other personality functions, some significant insights were obtained concerning the relationship between the internal image of money and other relatively independent personality sub-systems and variables.

For example, it has already emerged from the foregoing that control and denial of fury remains one of the major ego-concerns
of the cultural group, in general, and those with pronounced conflicts about money, in particular, (see particularly Chapter 3, 5 and 7). In fact, part of the normative value of money (which can be defined as the extent to which the ego is able to accept money as need-gratifying, valuable and useful) is obviously derived from the ability of the individual to grapple with his aggressive impulses in an ego-syntonic manner.

Similarly, a lack of clarity in sexual identification of the individual gives a sharper edge to the masculinity strivings that are typically sought to be gratified through possession and acquisition of money in the cultural group concerned. Scattered evidence for this interpretation can be found in Chapter 4, 5 and 7. It would appear that this antecedent personality-state seizes upon the psychocultural significance of money and uses it in a functionally meaningful manner.

There is some evidence to indicate that dependency and passivity are two other personality variables related to the individual's orientation to money (see Chapter 8).

Relevant Social Dimensions

Though the theoretical model put forward at the beginning of this report took into account the psychocultural variables which, through the socialisation system of the society, vitally influences some of the dependent variables of the present study, only one small scale experiment took into account sociological variables explicitly. Chapter 4 reports this experiment. It revealed that the symbolisms surrounding money are less clear
in the middle-income group, as compared to that in the high and low income groups. This, it was pointed out already, is consistent with previous research findings that has repeatedly found the cultural symbolisms in a state of flux in the middle-class. Apparently, in this culture also, the middle-income group serves as an intermediate group where modal symbolisms are weaker and where, possibly, newer symbolisms are in the process of emerging. The experiment also shows how, as result of this relatively superficial embodiedness in the projective-symbolic system of the traditional culture, a higher amount of anxiety is associated with money in this group.

Because it was found, impressionistically, in course of the above experiment that economic and socioeconomic class affiliations tended to overlap, in the second experiment the latter variable was explicitly taken account of. Results were not dissimilar or inconsistent with those derived from the previous experiment, but they also often failed to show any clear trend.

The experiment reported in Section 3 of Chapter 3 also indirectly dealt with a sociological variable and yielded results indirectly consistent with the above experiments. It showed that money-image did not differ over sexes, except in emphasis or clarity.

How far the modalities of the groups studied represent the modalities of the culture? There can be no direct answer to this query. All one can do is to draw attention to the wide variety of individual respondents who constituted the samples for the various experiments. They seem to indicate that it is not impossible to cull culturally significant hypotheses from group-specific
findings of the experiments. To give only one example, the total denial of anger and that seems to render all economic behaviour an aggressively-charged conflict-area can be related straightforwardly to the cultural taboos on all expressions of aggressiveness in noneconomic sectors of social living. The economic subsystem therefore performs an important latent function within the given culture-personality system, deriving its meaningfulness for the individual partly from this adaptive role. In the absence of build-in cultural or social variables within the experimental designs that were employed in the study, such interpretations and hypothesis-building however remain only partially convincing.

Yet, one is probably justified in venturing forth the broad hypothesis that the symbolism surrounding economic system and particularly money provide not only a cushion to the individual working within an achievement-oriented, aggressive-imageries-dominated, competitive, relatively modern economic system, but also helps him to synthesise them with his traditional identifications, his developmental backlogs and assets, and his life experiences in a meaningful fashion. The present study, by drawing attention to the psychological aspects of this intercharge, has probably served its purpose.