Chapter III

CULTURE AND ITS RELATION TO PERSONALITY

Concept of Culture

Culture is so complex an idea that it is difficult to discuss it in its total conceptual frame-work. Man's whole material world—tools, weapons, clothing, shelter, machines and even the individual system is included in it. In the non-material level it includes language, literature, art, religion, ritual, morality, law and even the way in which the people are governed. It deals with all the customs and traditions which the human being can embrace. Culture thus means all those things, institutions, material objects, typical relations to situations which characterize a people and distinguishes it from other people. C.A. Ellwood holds a similar view when he says that "the nature of culture is such that it includes on one hand, the whole of man's material civilization, tools, weapons, clothing, shelter, machines and even systems of industry; and on the other hand all of non-material or spiritual civilization, such as language, literature, art, religion, ritual, morality, law and government" (Kroeber and Kluckhohn 1952 : 159).

The word culture with its modern technical or anthropological meaning was established by Tylor in 1871 (ibid : 12). Culture was thought to be synonymous to civilization for a very long time. When a person's manners and behaviour are not up to the mark, i.e., it does not tally with the standards of the
time and place, he is said to be uncultured or uncivilized. For the psychologists and the anthropologists, these two are totally different concepts however overlapping they may be. Civilization is attributed to advanced or high cultures. Savages and barbaric people also have culture. Civilization is the control of the elementary human impulses by the society. Culture, on the other hand is the control of nature by science and art. Civilization thus denotes advancement in all spheres including politics and culture, it implies the whole body of technical equipment, in the way of knowledge process, and skill for subduing and employing natural resources which does not necessarily imply a high degree of socialization.

Knowledge and skill acquired by human beings with repetition becomes habit. These habits are transmitted from parent to child over successive generations and through repeated inoculation they acquire a certain persistency over time; these habits in collectivity later comes to be known as culture. These habits are not just accumulated and transmitted from one generation to another but; shared by human beings living in organized societies and kept relatively uniform by social pressure. These group habits, which are shared by the members of a social group, in turn, constitute the culture of that group.

Every culture has some standard pattern of behaviour. But in actual practice not all standards are followed. Most people, however, know what kind of behaviour their culture expects from them and therefore try to abide by them as far as
possible. But under certain circumstances his impulses make him deviate from the norm to a greater or lesser degree. Generally culture satisfies the basic biological needs of the individual and certain 'secondary needs'.¹ The habits which constitute the elements of culture are for the gratification of the impulses of man in his interaction with the fellow men and also with the external world. The cultural norms and habits cease to remain so if they lose the potentiality for satisfaction and also become stronger if they can bring about more satisfaction than before.

From the above fact it becomes clear that culture is not a phenomenon which is constant for all time to come; it is prone to change. It becomes adjusted to the biological and psychological demands of the human organism. As the life condition of a group changes, traditional cultural habits cease to provide satisfaction and become eliminated. New needs occur and there with new cultural adjustments replace the old ones. Through periods of time culture becomes adjusted to geographic condition and it also undergoes change by borrowing from the neighbouring people. Cultural habits and norms, however, keep a certain amount of consistency over a period of time. This is due to the fact that unlike individual habits cultural habits are shared in common by various members of a society and therefore, cannot die out with the death of a particular individual.

¹. Needs which are derived from basic biological needs.
Prehistoric Development of Culture

Any study of culture will be incomplete without a discussion of the prehistoric development of it. Specially, to study any tribal culture one must deal with the prehistoric and historical development of culture. Some tribal cultures are still fixed at certain early stage of development (i.e. Neolithic). If one engages himself in the task of finding out the origin and development of culture, he has first to know where and when man appeared on the earth. Origin of man is a controversial question which is still under investigation. But it is certain that human beings are the result of evolution from animal forms. Man represents the end product of a process of change characteristic to all living creatures. Though Darwin was the founder of this theory even a century before Darwin it was realized that there is great similarity between man and certain other animal forms. This realization however was devoid of any scientific knowledge. In the process of evolution the upright position was attained which was fundamental in bringing about the changes enabling man to be erect, speak, use tools and thus build a culture of his own. After attaining the erect position the brain started developing and also the mental processes. With the brain, developed the tongue and the hands, and man began to create and manipulate culture. He did so on the basis of learning and not by instinct, of which he was a slave before a few stages of development. Even during that earliest stage of the development, culture, consisted of accepted modes of behaviour which fulfilled the necessity of that time.
Culture originated at the time when man stopped being the slave of his instinct like animals and started living together and had a certain amount of understanding among them. But it is a difficult task to trace back the earliest forms of culture. For the purpose, prehistorians are able to find out tools considered to be most primitive of all. But no prehistorian can take it for granted that these tools were made and used by man. They could merely be ordinary stones of nature resembling crude tools. Thus it is reasonably an easy task to trace back the physical development of man because, for that, one can call upon the logic of structure and regularity of the evolutionary process. But to study the prehistoric development of culture, no such aid is at hand. No valid proof is available for the prehistorians and therefore they have to infer from various man-made objects thinking them to originate at a particular time. Except by inference prehistoric archaeology can tell us no more than the story of the development of the physical type and of certain aspects of his material culture.

It has been found quite impossible to devise a simple series of classifications to cover all prehistoric cultures. A classification given by Herskovits (1958) appears to be the most convenient which is in terms of the Paleolithic (old stone), Mesolithic (Transitional), Neolithic (New stone) and the Bronze and Iron ages. The earliest of these, the Paleolithic is divided into Lower, Middle and Upper. From the Lower Paleolithic to the upper, the stone techniques become gradually refined. The greatest achievement of the Upper Paleolithic is the achievement of Art.
The subject matter of the paintings were all animals, from which it can be inferred that they also had concepts of magic like many tribal and primitive people of today.

The mesolithic is the transitional period between the Paleolithic and the Neolithic. As the Paleolithic is marked by the chipping of the stone and Neolithic by the polishing of the stone, likewise the outstanding form of the Mesolithic is the tiny microlithic flake, set in bone or wooden spears. There however, are found very few archaeological record of the Paleolithic and Mesolithic age.

Only about the Neolithic, there are such rich archaeological record that, it is possible to reconstruct a picture of material culture of that period and infer much about the non-material aspects of life than any other period earlier to it. In the Neolithic itself, the spinning, weaving, construction of houses, pottery making, cultivation etc. come about. People started making and using fine knives, axes, chisels, sickle blades and weapons such as daggers and spears. Neolithic culture is prevalent in the various tribes of today all over the world.

The complexity of the development became even more clear in the Bronze and Iron Ages. Introduction of writing opened up a new avenue and a historic period. The use of metal appeared at various times in Europe and Near East. With the mastery gained in the technique of using metal, man had to depend less on the natural setting and thus achieved control and adaptation to his environment. Various goods produced out of metal
permitted man to go beyond the immediate pressure of his habit. Technique of irrigation was invented which made possible a tremendous increase in the goods produced previously and paved the way to production and surplus of production. This in turn created the class structure which is found today.

Definitions of Culture

Like any other concept so widely used culture has many definitions put forward by various thinkers. But different thinkers observe it from an angle quite different from the others. Therefore, nobody can cite one single definition which all the various thinkers agree upon. Instead thinkers have the tendency to put aside other's definition and emphasize on his own. Ralph Linton defines culture as "the sum-total of ideas, conditioned emotional responses, and patterns of habitual behaviour which the members of that society have acquired through instruction or imitation and which they share to a greater or lesser degree" (1936: 28). 2

R.H. Lowie emphasizes on the same contents and says that "culture is the sum-total of what an individual acquires from his society - those beliefs, customs, artistic norms, food-habits, and crafts which came to him not by his own creative activity but as a legacy from the past, conveyed by formal or

2. Quoted in Krober and Lkugohnhohn, 1952: 82
These definitions however describe only a few aspects of culture and thus tend to overlook all the others. One cannot possibly sum-up all the aspects which culture embraces. The concept of culture is such an abstract one that it is near impossible to list all that come under its conceptual framework.

Definitions of culture may be categorized under different heads. We can have one category as historical. One of the definitions of this kind is given by Margaret Mead who says, "culture means the whole complex of traditional behaviour which has been developed by the human race and is successively learned by each generation. A culture is less precise. It can mean the forms of traditional behaviour which are characteristic of a given society, or of a group of societies, or of a certain race, or of a certain area, or of a certain period of time" (1937: 7).

Clyde Kluckhohn on the other hand maintains that "culture consists in those abstracted elements of action and reaction which may be traced to the influence of one or more strains of social heredity" (1948: 209).

From the definitions of this category it becomes clear that it is true that the human beings even have a social heritage.

3. Ibid : 82
4. Ibid : 90
5. Ibid : 91
which develops out of their interaction in a group with a history of its own. Human beings from birth are members of definite groups which already have their past history and tradition.

M. J. Herskovit maintains that "a culture is the way of life of a people, in which a society is the organized aggregate of individuals who follow a given way of life. In still simpler terms a society is composed of people; the way they behave is the cultures" (1949:5).6

W. Contu, a social psychologist, defines culture by linking organization, to 'way of life' and to the concepts of culture and personality. "Culture is one of the most inclusive of all the configuration. We call interactional fields - the way of life of a whole peoples, like that of China, Western Europe, and the United States. Culture is to a population, what personality is to individual; and the ethos is to the culture what self is to a personality, the core of most probable behaviour" (1949:5).7

Characteristics of Culture

The main characteristic of culture is that it is learned and not instinctive, or innate, or transmitted biologically. It is composed of habits i.e., learned tendencies to react, acquired

7. Ibid:119
by each individual through his own life experience after birth. An important fact can be reduced from this characteristic i.e., culture being learned, it must follow the laws of learning laid down by the psychologists. Laws of learning being uniform, culture also should have certain uniformities.

The second characteristic is that, culture is inculcated. Animals too are capable of learning, but the distinction arises from the fact that learning of the cultural order is inculcated i.e., man alone are able to pass on his acquired habits to his offspring. Animals receive only the biological inheritance of their species.

Habits of the cultural order are not only inculcated but are social and therefore shared by human beings living in societies and kept relatively uniform by social pressure. They therefore can be called group habits. Fate of culture depends on the fate of the society which bears it, and all primitive cultures which have survived to be studied should reveal certain similarities because they have all had to provide for societal survival. Among these cultural universals, we can list such things as sentiments of group cohesion, mechanisms of social control, organization for defense against hostile neighbours and provision for the perpetuation of the population.

Thirdly, culture is ideational, because the group habits, which culture consists of, are conceptualized as ideal norms or ideal patterns of behaviour. However, these ideal norms should
not be confused with actual behaviour. An individual always behaves in response to the state of his organism at the moment and to his perception of total situation in which he finds himself. In doing so he generally has his established habits including those connected to his culture, but it may deviate to a greater or lesser degree depending on the circumstance.

Fourthly, culture is gratifying to the extent that it satisfies basic biological needs and secondary needs derived therefrom. It's elements are tested habitual techniques for gratifying human impulses in man's interaction with the external world of nature and fellow men. Modern psychology too is applied here as culture consists of habits and psychology has demonstrated that habits persist only so long as they bring satisfaction. Elements of culture, therefore, can continue to exist only when they yield to the individuals of a society a marginal satisfaction.

Fifthly, culture is adaptive as it changes and the process of change appears to be an adaptive one. Culture tends, through periods of time, to become adjusted to the geographic environment and also adapt through borrowing and organization to the social environment of neighbouring peoples. Moreover, culture tends to become adjusted to the biological and psychological demands of the human organism.

Finally, culture is integrative, in the sense that the elements of a given culture tends to form a consistent and
intergated whole. Though the actual integration is never achieved, with all the other characteristics of culture we have to add it because whatever change occurs in culture it always have a tendency to be integrative.

Culture may be said to be composed of speech, material traits, art, mythology, knowledge, religion, family systems, property, government and war. Any of these components of culture though form an independent unit, is closely bound up with the rest through many ties of association.

Murdock maintains that "the elements of which a culture is composed, though all alike, are traditional, habitual and socially shared, may be conveniently divided into techniques, relationships and ideas" (1941 : 140).\(^8\) Techniques relate to the members of a society and to the external world of nature. Relationships are the interpersonal habitual responses of the members of a society. Ideas consist not of habits of overt behaviour but also of patterned verbal habits, often subvocal but capable of expression in speech. These include technological and scientific knowledge, beliefs of all kinds, and a conceptual formulation of normal behaviour in both techniques and relationships and of the sanctions for deviation therefrom.

Commenting on the distinctive properties of culture Case says that "Culture consists essentially in the external

\(^8\) Kroeber and Kluckhohn, 1952 : 185
Storage, interchange and transmission of an accumulating fund of personal and social experience by means of tools and symbols" (1927 : 146). 9

Psychological Interpretation of Culture

From the above discussion we find that, culture, as the psychologists understand it, is somewhat different from what we have already stated. For them it is the sum-total of all sublimations, all substitutes, or reaction formations. In short everything in society that inhibits or permits their distorted satisfaction. Freud (1972) finds a similarity between the process of cultural development and that of the libidonal development in an individual. If an instinct does not find gratification in the aimed manner, it seeks gratification along other paths. This is a mechanism of mind known as sublimation which is a very conspicuous feature of cultural evolution. By means of this process many higher mental operations such as scientific, artistic and ideological activities become possible.

Roheim (1934) observes such a close relationship between culture and psychology that he says that every culture or at least every primitive culture, can be reduced to a formula like a neurosis or a dream. If it is assumed that differences in the treatment given to children determine differences in culture, it

must also be supposed that the origin of culture in general, that is, the emergence of mankind, was itself determined by traumata of ontogenesis to be found in the parent-child relation among the anthropoids of pre-human beings from whom we are descended. Analysis teaches us that super-ego and character, and the moral attitudes which are dependent on reality of the current situation, result from infantile experience. The possession of these moral attitudes is specifically human; it separates man from his pre-human forebears.

Cultures have often been described by analogies with variations found in human character, drawn either from psychopathology or from literary or mythological sources. Cultures have been described as 'paranoid', 'introverted' or 'extroverted'. Naming after literary figures cultures have been called "Faust", and after Greek deities like "Apollo" or "Dionysus". The effort behind all these cases of naming culture is to convey some general impression of the predominant direction of life goals, of moral values, or of a psychological technique. But Kardiner says that such designations as these cannot claim any great accuracy. No culture is exclusively extroverted or introverted. No culture is predominantly "paranoid". These epithets rely on very vague connotations. The term "paranoid" may refer to megalomania, to persecution or merely to anxiety, and a person's selection of one of these depends on his conception of "paranoid". The term "introvert" and "extrovert" can similarly mean a number of things (1955: 85).
Jung (1918) maintains that culture is made by man itself with the experiences accumulated within himself from generation after generation. For him there are two segments in the mind - one is personal and the other suprapersonal or collective. Personal unconscious is that which records the personal experiences which have been forgotten but not extinguished, their memory have become subliminal. But personal unconscious does not explain certain fantasies of abnormal people and therefore cannot be explained with the help of the experience of his present life. They are mythological fantasies. For Jung, these mythological fantasies come from the inherited brain. Thus with the brain man inherits experiences which accumulate in the brain from the remotest times. There however are not inherited ideas; there are only conditions. Therefore many cultural norms, totems and taboos etc. are latent in the collective unconscious.

In addition to Jung's theory of collective unconscious Roheim (1941) adds another theory to explain human culture which he calls Ontogenetic theory of cultures. This theory holds that specific features of mankind are developed in the same way as they are acquired in every human individual as a sublimation or reaction-formation to infantile conflicts. There are certain societies where the infant is exposed to libidonal trauma. In such societies the trauma is on the part of the mother but the societies are male predominant. Similarly in the matrilineal society the libidonal trauma consist in the father and there the society is based on the fiction that there are no fathers.
With the realization that personalities are shaped by the way of life of a particular society where he belongs, the concept of culture has become of primary importance to the psychologists. It has become one of the most useful tools in the psychologists' research equipment, though with some limitations regarding its implications. Linton, puts forward a definition of culture which he thinks will be of special interest for those whose prime intention is the study of personality. It says, "A culture is the configuration of learned behaviour and results of behaviour whose component elements are shared and transmitted by the members of a particular society" (1952 :91). The term 'configuration' means that various behaviours and results of behaviour which compose a culture are organized into a patterned whole. 'Learned behaviour' limits the activities by eliminating all other behaviour such as instinctive and those which are performed for the purpose of tension reduction. But the term behaviour includes all the activities of the individual whether overt or covert, physical or psychological. The term 'results of behaviour' refers to both the psychological and material phenomena. The former includes the psychological states such as attitudes, value systems and knowledge etc. The latter includes materials used by the people in a particular culture. An individual's surroundings include many objects which he comes constantly in contact with and they may have considerable effect on the development of personality. The phrase "shared and transmitted" means that the behaviour of a particular culture is shared by practically all the members of the society and transmitted from generation to generation.
But when we talk of culture, a need arises to distinguish between 'real culture' and 'culture construct'. Linton (1952) made these two concepts clear. Real culture is flexible. There is a wide range of acceptable conduct within a culture. As a result, real culture is the creation of only broad and approximate resemblances among different members of the same culture. Culture construct on the other hand pays no attention to the range of acceptable conduct. It tells us only what is the usual, the common i.e., the model practice. For example, we say 'America is a democratic country and it prizes democracy', though there may be many undemocratic practices. The social scientists other than the psychologists are not concerned with a single individual. So they are interested in the cultural system i.e. the culture construct only; whereas for a psychologist it is the individual who is most important. Thus he takes culture as a real culture.

Allport says that "Culture is in part a set of inventions that have arisen in various parts of the world to make life efficient and intelligible for mortals who struggle with the same basic problems of life: birth, growth, death, the pursuit of health, welfare and meaning. The solutions are passed on from one generation to another" (1961: 168). Culture has an answer to every question that can be asked by its members and it provides a prearranged design for living. From birth onwards to death people are confronted with certain customs and rituals which he has to go through. Even after his death culture decides how his body will be disposed off. These customs and rituals, however, are made by individuals themselves and they take a particular
In the process of development of certain accepted behaviour pattern, certain folk-ways, customs, mores, totems and taboos are evolved. This is particularly true to the tribal cultures because in an affluent culture it is difficult to abide by them in the strict sense but the tribals almost always strictly follow them.

To study any tribal culture one must know the meaning of the terms - folk-ways, customs, mores, totems and taboos as their life is full of them. After knowing the meaning of these terms only can a person work on their content.

Folk-ways are the traditional modes of doing things which are present in every society. These modes of behaviour are accepted by the community as the right ways to behave, not because they are the only right ways but because they are traditional and people from time immemorial are doing them thinking them to be right ways of behaviour. The tribals too have their own folk-ways with regard to their different fields of life such as in marriage, incurbing diseases, behaving towards dead and in-group and out-group members.

Custom is a concept similar to that of folk-ways but the difference is that unlike folk-ways they are the only ways to do things. The tribals and the people of simpler societies strictly adhere to the group norms and customs, else they are openly ridiculed by the members of the community and lose their prestige.
Mores, also, are the traditional ways of doing things. They involve certain dos and don'ts to be followed strictly by the members of the society. Violation of more will make one liable to punishment by the society. These dos and don'ts i.e., positive and negative mores, though have no evident reason for their abidance have to be obeyed by the members.

Totem centres around certain super-natural beliefs and attitudes towards certain plant or animal or like such things. Totemism involves worship of the ancestors of a certain clan as well as the need for its protection and solidarity. Economic motive also sometimes play a strong role in the formation of totemism. Taboo on the other hand means some behaviour prohibited in that society. S. N. Sarkar (1965) observes that Munda women were not to touch a plough because it is believed that certain evil may fall on her if she does so. Therefore plough touching is a taboo for the women of the Munda society.

The folk-ways, customs, mores, taboos and totems constitute a part of one's culture and have a combined effect on the interpersonal relationship of the individuals of that community and thus in the development of personality of the people of that particular community.

Role of Culture in Personality Formation

It is beyond dispute that culture plays a very significant role on the pattern of personality. The only question which arises is that to what extent and how it puts the pressure
on patterning one's personality. For Allport, "Culture shapes personality chiefly because it provides ready-made, pretested solutions to many of life's problems. Out of his own life experience a child could hardly be expected to invent a language or a scheme or medical treatment, he must rely on experience of his race. Culture has an answer to every question that can be asked and it provides a prearranged design for living" (1961: 168).

The norms of personality differ in different societies, consequently the personality pattern. The crux of the relationship between the individual and the community is the extent to which culture, operating through social institution, is responsible for the formation of personality. Culture has a coercive influence dominating the individual and moulding his personality by virtue of the ideas, conceptions and beliefs which are brought to bear on him through communal life. We may go to the extent of saying that culture is built into the organism as a series of definite physiological adjustments to needs arising directly from the community. Psychological process on the other hand constitute the dominant factor in personality formation and it is culture which, by its manipulation of these processes, determines the directions of personality development.

Community preserves culture. In the words of Linton, "The individual has a dual role in his community. Firstly, as a member of a particular group, the individual helps to preserve it, and secondly as an individual whose behaviour is limited by the group, he is instrumental in changing it" (1952: 25). It is
clear from Linton's statement that culture is a dominant factor in establishing the basic personality patterns for various groups, as well as it builds up the series of personalities typical to each culture.

Different social groups have norms peculiar to them alone. Therefore, the members of different groups differ in the personality pattern and practically the same range of variations of personality norms and personality types are found in every group. This is due to the vast influence of the group on the formation of personality.

The members of a community try to conform to its norms, however frustrating they may be and the norms prevalent in a particular community become a factor in the personality formation. In ancient China the behaviour of the individual was moulded to a great extent by the teachings of Confucius. Confucianism is centred around morality and therefore morality influenced personality. Confucius outlined six fundamental dimensions of human relationship i.e. between ruler and the ruled, father and the son, elder and younger brothers, husband and wife, friend and friend and master and disciple. The individuals had to regard these relationships both sacred and enduring. A son always had to treat his father with respect even if the father did not behave in the right fashion. One always had to consider friendship sacred, no matter how depraved a friend had become. Thus behaviour in ancient China and similarly in all ancient cultures were neither realistic nor based on personal feelings or inclinations. Instead,
every individual of a society or a group conformed to certain standards of behaviour as he was considered well-behaved or ill-behaved according to whether he followed these norms or not. While following them regularly, for the sake of conformity to norms only, such behaviour became a part of one's personality. These norms were followed year after year and generation after generation. In the course of time people began to forget who laid down the standards but they were followed all the same. Personality, thus developed according to these prescribed standards of behaviour, the origin or validity of which was not known to the individual, neither it was questioned. The more insular the society the more rigid was the code of behaviour.

Culture shapes the personality of an infant through acculturation. The human infant cannot survive at all if he depends on his own instincts and abilities. He is dependent on the goodwill and help of others, more than any other living organism. The young child has few natural resources for survival as he is not a slave of instincts like other lower animals and therefore is completely dependent on its culture. The mother while attending the child carries out cultural practices typical to that particular culture. The home situation, the language he learns, the schools he attends and prescription for eating, sleeping, excreting; all impose cultural demands. While growing from within, his models for learning are in the world outside him. Therefore an individual adopts the cultural models chiefly in the early years of life.
It is commonly agreed that other than heredity, one's personality is the result of cultural tradition and uniform child-training practices. Kardiner (1945) defines the basic personality type as "that personality configuration which is shared by the bulk of the society's members as a result of early experiences which they have in common."¹⁰ This conception implies a cycle which continues from generation to generation in endless circularity. The culture prescribes a few general goals and methods of child training and this early training fashion within culture takes a basic personality type and adults reinforce and continue the cultural tradition - the cultural tradition which they find habitual and congenial.

Though heredity and environmental situation both are responsible in explaining regularities and diversities in human behaviour, except for certain conditions of maximal physiological stress human behaviour is not biologically oriented. The human behaviour is largely in response to the stimulus-situation as defined and interpreted in accordance with culture. An adult's behaviour in seldom totally determined by his genetic wake-up, except in certain minute incidents. His environment, including his nutrition and the surroundings which he experiences in his life time, have also contributed to his constitution. One's behaviour is actually influenced by what he internalizes from his culture. This happens due to his having particular parents,

¹⁰ Quoted in Allport 1961 : 172
living in one community as opposed to another and particularly due to the subjective and objective forces which by selection and distortion produce his private variant of generalized culture.

Of all other culture oriented phenomena, language is the most important one. Normally one learns the language spoken in the family where he or she is reared. Slotkin\(^{11}\) provides an example of an Australian aborigine in the 1840s who spoke the Irish variety of English with a typical accent and not a world of the language of his parents. Other than language, form of etiquette, clothings and food habits are exclusively determined by culture. These in turn have an indirect influence on the growth and pattern of one's personality.

**Behaviours Affected by Culture**

Other than the outward expressions like etiquette, clothing, food habits etc., and such social behaviour, culture even determines an individual's internal biological behaviour. Experimental evidences are ample to show that biological behaviour such as blood pressure, pulse rate and metabolism are determined not by biological heredity but by culture. Even without conducting experiments we may say that diet, surrounding and other living habits indirectly reflect culture and they in turn determine the internal biological behaviour, though there is no one to one

\(^{11}\) Quoted in Lindsey, Vol. II : 922
Biological phenomenon like appetite too is culturally influenced. J. Henry found that Pilaga adults even when ill, consumed a large amount of food which makes it clear that in one culture appetite may be unleasurable to attack from psychic or organic causes but in another culture it may not (1951: 97). Nausea and vomiting are very dreaded behaviour in many cultures. Magical beliefs common to certain cultures may have considerable effect on the individual's autonomic functioning which if serious may also result in death. Physiologists have maintained that an individual's conviction that he is the victim of witchcraft attack, causes accelerated autonomic functioning and may lead to death to the individual. Some small irregularities in circulatory and respiratory behaviour and conditions of fatigue may often attributed to culture.

Psychosomatic disorder are very often due to the culture of which the individual is a member. Such disorders are rare in the primitive and tribal cultures as the people in those societies have very little anxiety and tension whereas they are common in affluent cultures.

Some sexual behaviour normal, as well as perversive, are culturally determined. In some cultures, homosexuality is tolerated if the individual has socially taken over the role of the other sex. Although homosexuality is found in almost all cultures, Kluckhohn (1948) finds that there are difference in the incidence of male and female homosexuality in matrilineal and

12. Ibid: 927
patrilineal societies.\textsuperscript{13}

What is recognised as pathological or abnormal in behaviour is usually a matter of common consensus within a society. But the standards of consensus vary from one society to another. In the United States or in any other affluent society for example, hallucinatory experience is generally regarded as the first sign of mental disorder. But in many primitive tribes hallucination is not regarded as an evidence of pathology at all; rather, it is an experience deliberately sought and prized for its presumed value as a communication with the super natural beings. Impotence, frigidity also are markedly influenced by cultural training and cultural attitudes. In cultures where sex is considered a normal phenomenon there the incidence of impotence and frigidity are at minimum.

Perception is overwhelmingly influenced by culture. We perceive things not as they are but as we are. This however is true mainly for undefined things. Reaction to Rorscharch Test reveals various modalities of perception in different cultural groups. Slotkin finds that Samoans show an over emphasis of whole responses where as Moroccans exhibit marked preference for small, detail responses (1952 : 189).\textsuperscript{14} The language, art forms, beliefs and other aspects of culture get involved in the perceptual experience and they in turn constitute the total perceptual field and

\textsuperscript{13} Lindzey Vol. II : 928

\textsuperscript{14} Quoted in Lindzey Vol. II : 932
consequently justify for actual conduct of the individual.

A variety of psychological, anthropological, and social studies are available to substantiate the hypothesis that the cultural background of an individual influences his perceptual and cognitive process. K.D. Broota and W.C. Ganguli (1975)\textsuperscript{15} of the University of Delhi conducted a study on the children in India from three different cultural background - Hindu, Muslim and U.S. White to study the perceptual organization and the controlled conditions of perceptual learning. With the use of a scheme of monetary reward and punishment it was found that the Hindu and the Muslim children perceived significantly more often than the Americans those aspects of the figure-ground situation which were previously associated with punishment during perceptual learning. On the other hand, the American children perceived the reward associated aspects significantly more often than the Hindu and Muslim children. Further, perceptual responses of both the Hindu and the Muslim children were found to be significantly different from the responses of the American children.

Cognition too is largely affected by culture. The habitual thought pattern often vary from culture to culture. Anthropologists have maintained that this variance of thought pattern is due to the variance of language in cultures. Among all other things language is most vividly influenced by culture. Language influences an individual's view of the world and his

\textsuperscript{15} Journal of Social Psychology, 1975, 95 : 157-163
thinking. How people behave towards one another is a function of what they call each other and how they conceive themselves and others. In one culture, elders may be called with respect and in another with awe and in still another they can be treated as friends. What one calls the other determines one's attitude towards the same. In one culture people may think of a foreigner as a person to be feared in another he may/considered a friend.

Language has such an enduring influence on one's personality formation that Carstairs go on to say that "the process whereby infantile phantasies come to underline adult personality is closely analogous to the way in which a child learns to talk" (1968:154). Long before the baby starts talking he utters a few cries due to feelings of comfort, discomfort, hunger, relief etc. But gradually a few of them stays on as he finds them most convenient and he thinks he can communicate with these to the people who are nearest to him. In every language they take a particular form. These are called phonemes. One begins to acquire one's native phoneme-pattern even before he has learned to talk. According to Carstairs, he at that stage itself, develops certain phantasies which are dominated by his internal feelings of hunger, physical presence of his mother and her supporting arms which are so closely associated with these alternating states of feeling. These fantasies determine his later relationships and its future capacity for constructive activity and self-expression.

Language is a very important force in binding the people who speak the same language. The phoneme pattern of its mother
tongue imposes on each people, and even on each regional group, a particular accent which will always be distinguishable in its speech. This similarity in language and speech gives rise to common characteristics in a people's adult 'style of reaction'.

As for the affective side of one's behaviour we find that emotions are the same world over but it is the expression of emotion and circumstances arousing particular emotion that vary culturally. In the east people are not as spontaneous in the expression of love as they are in the expression of grief and anger. In the west it is just the reverse. Western people stand up in the presence of a superior to show respect but the same emotion is displayed among Fijians by sitting down. There again are variation in the physiologically conditioned response which are purely cultural.

Culture even determines the phantasy and the unconscious processes. There is a very significant connection between myths and psychological processes. Many themes and plots of folklore and myths are culturally learned. The reason that the interpretation of dreams are to some extent culturally stereotyped is due to the fact that dreams occur with a cultural background to it. Dreams on the other hand influence the behaviour of the people in many cultures as people act in various manner according to the dreams they have.

Phantasies which are considered abnormal, can often be understood among other things in terms of cultural process of diffusion, contemporary situational pressure and the patterns of
child-training. Reactions to Rorschach cards show that there are differences between cultural groups in imaginative behaviour. Lewis in an experiment in two cultural groups, Saulteaux and Tepoztlan find that the former is more imaginative than the latter (1951: 311). Cross-cultural studies with the Thematic Apperception Test elicit similar findings.

The incidence of various behaviour disorders indicate cultural influence. Abnormal symptom formation, destabilization of personality, delinquency can be attributed to cultural influence. We find that the culture which is less tolerant and has less socially approved ways of living often have more incidence of suicide. The types of conflict confronted is different from culture to culture and approved techniques for resolving them also differ culturally. The psychological difficulty faced for conformity does not have the same intensity in all cultures. Again there are some type of personality who fail to find fulfilsment in one culture but flourishes in another. Some cultures are liberal to allow variety of adjustments but some are so strict that it prescribes serious punishment for the non-conformist so that the individual becomes neurotic and if constitutionally predisposed also may become psychotic. Pattern of child-rearing which is a cultural phenomenon also often accounts for mental illness in later life.

16. Quoted in Lindsey Vol. II, p. 943
Constituents of Culture Affecting Personality

The relationship between an individual and his community is dynamic in nature and carried out through various group devices such as laws, mores, manners, totems, taboos etc. and institutions such as home, school, religious places etc. It is in group activities that the individual achieves his stature as a personality. The individual's main field of operation is the community. He takes his cues from the community and also contributes to it in turn. Groups have certain ways of influencing the development of their children. This process takes place through the acceptance of common goals which are protected by common laws designed to insure group conformity. Group conformity is a device for the maintenance of the community and the etamping of personality patterns on the members of the community.

Cohesiveness of the group is maintained by the exchange of feelings and thoughts via spoken or written words. Communication and mass-media of communication are devices which help in maintaining the group identities and loyalties in a complex society of today and also affect personality indirectly. A society's art and literature enables one to express one's hidden emotions which are otherwise prohibited by society and they can therefore be called the mirror of the society. Art and literature on the other hand influences personalities as the people of a particular society gets influenced by its art and literature.

Play and socialization also have a very remarkable contribution to the development of personality. These two processes are
usually typical to a particular society and therefore according to the process of play and socialization personality differ from society to society. Play is universal among children, and adults widely engage in it. Play is essential for physical, emotional and social development of an individual. Permitted to develop physical and social skill on the playground, the individual is in a position to gain the status which has psychological integrity value. Persons who have had no opportunity to play or have had no other recreation, lag behind in socialization and often it is difficult for them to co-operate satisfactorily in other spheres of life. Such people find adjustment difficult and take resort to fantasy and also seek recognition and approval in his fantasy world, which is a less frustrating world. Unsocialized persons in many instances are shy, sensitive and suspicious. By teaching the child how to live with peers and have pleasurable play is one of the ways culture contributes to personality adjustment.

The family and the school also are key institutions in the socialization of the child. It is the family where the child is presented first. Through imitation and also by instructions from the parents and the other elders in the family the child's first social life begins at home. When the child begins to go to school he mixes with the children from various social condition and this is the period when his personality is in the making. Therefore the child gets influenced by the contact with his friends. Also with training from the teachers and expectations of the teachers on the students make them behave in a particular fashion. Carstairs (1968) finds that it is believed among
Rajputs that the child's mother plays the greatest part in determining his future. They make her take alcohol to give the baby a good health. They believe that her emotional life will have great influence on the baby thus she is always made to be calm and collected.

Courtship and marriage too have strong bearing on personality. They themselves are kind of social institutions from which arise many conflicting situations which in turn affect one's personality. Courtship, like marriage is governed by convention and certain racial and religious norms. In Tribals, like in Nagas, the boy has to be totally independent of his parents before he gets married so much so that he has to build a separate house for his own wife and family. Economic independence therefore is linked with courtship and marriage. Very often young people either has to wait years to marry or if necessary even break engagement if the boy is not economically independent. This withdrawal from the emotional involvements of courtship has very significant bearing on the personality pattern of that person.

The social role a young man or woman enjoys influences his or her personality significantly. The youngest daughter of a Khasi family holds a different status from her childhood which in turn influences her personality. She with no deliberation becomes a bit dominating in nature though the external appearance may seem very docile.

We never encounter personality apart from some situation. In different situation our behaviours take different turn.
Whatever one does, it is the reflection of the physical, social and cultural environment. Every individual has a role to play in his environment. According to Allport, "a role is a mode of particular individual in social life. It is what society expects of an individual occupying a given position in a group" (1961: 181). A person plays one role at home and another in school and may play still another with his other peer-mates. When he grows up he may take a different role in society.

Allport (1961) observes four meanings of role - (1) Role-expectations, (2) Role-conception, (3) Role-acceptance (4) Role-performance.

Role-expectations can be found in the social system. They are prescribed by the culture or sub-culture for the father, the mother, the physician or any member who occupies a certain position in any current social system.

Role-conception is the conception one has about his expected role. Different people may have different conception about the role expected of them. For example, two persons can have role expectations as teachers but, one may feel that he has to be punitive to be a good teacher and the other may think that he should be permissive.

Role-acceptance is how one accepts one's role i.e. whether one likes his role, is indifferent about it or dislikes it totally.

Role-performance is how the expected role is carried out. The expectations are uniform and prescribed, but the variations
Field and Experimental Studies on Culture and Personality

We find many cases where it is seen that the personality and behaviour are closely related to culture and cultural norms. The code of behaviour which is immoral for one tribe or one race can be moral and the most done thing in another society. But again in the course of time, with the changes in the society, changes take place in the social norm and what was moral once may be considered as immoral later. Fürer-Haimendorf found that even as late as in 1962, head-hunting raids were performed by Nagas as a result of bitter inter-village feuds. Naga village could not in ever remain in peace as long as there prevailed the belief that the occasional capture of a human head was necessary for maintaining the fertility of the crops and the well being of the community (1967: 85).

Here we find it worthwhile to quote a few studies conducted on personality and its variables in relation to culture. Though these studies are not directly connected with this particular project or they may not be on topics which are totally similar to our study but we find that they may throw some light on the type of work we have in hand, as they too are based on culture and personality.
Martin G. Allen of Georgetown University Medical School conducted a cross-cultural study of aggression and crime to variables of childhood experience, adult behaviour and social structure. The expression of aggression and crime was rated for many cultures. These ratings were then correlated with ratings of ego strength and sub-groups of the ego strength scale (Allen, 1963), variables of childhood experience (Whiting and Child, 1953; Barry, Bacon and Child, 1967), and variables of social structure (Barry, Bacon and Child, 1967; Ethnology, 1962, 1963).

The study showed that indirect displaced aggression will be more likely to occur in cultures with a relatively permanent settlement pattern exhibiting low productivity, low creativity, and high anxiety, deviance-conformity, crime, suicide, and mental illness. The child-training practices of such a culture will emphasize the creation of anxiety, especially in dependence socialization, and 'indulgence' will be low. Both infant indulgence and childhood indulgence relate positively to directness of aggression, suggesting that early training is not more important than later training in the development of adult aggression characteristics. Lastly, the punishment or reward of aggression, itself, in childhood does not correlate with adult aggression.

It was found that there is/correlation between high achievement training in childhood and high frequency crime which supports the theories of delinquency which emphasize the discrepancy

between culturally induced aspirations and the possibility of achieving them. The results of this study only partly supports the hypothesis that frequency of crime is associated with variables indicative of strong super-ego formation, such as opportunity for identification with the father; love-oriented techniques of discipline in childhood are not associated with crime, but it is love deprivation which is associated with crime.

Many such cross-cultural studies are there where personality and personality variables are the main field of study. A Choungourian of Department of Psychology, American University of Beirut made a study to find out the differences between the behaviour tendencies of Lebanese and American student samples with respect to six aspects of personality: vis., Orality, Anality, Sexuality, Aggression, Independence and achievement. The sample consisted of 60 Lebanese students and 60 American students. Cross-culturally, the Americans showed more orality and sexuality while the Lebanese showed more aggression when compared with the Americans. Cross-culturally, in both cultures there was a tendency for the male to exhibit more Sexuality (Lebanese, \( t = 5.721, p < .01 \); American, \( t = 5.400, p < .01 \)) than females; while, in addition, the American males showed more independence than females. Some sex differences across the two cultural groups indicate that the American males are higher on Sexuality than Lebanese males, while the Lebanese males are higher on aggression than the American males. On the other hand, the American females are higher on

Orality than Lebanese females, while the Lebanese females are higher on Aggression than American females.

Chuni Lal Kundu from the Department of Education, Kurukhetra University, India, conducted a study to find out the comparison of Intelligence test scores of Bhil and high caste Hindu delinquents and non-delinquents. 100 delinquents and non-delinquents subjects were taken who were from two vary different Indian groups, in Udaipur division of Rajasthan: high caste Hindu communities and Bhil people of hills and forests in the Aravali areas. In the family life of high caste Hindus two striking patterns are the prolonged, very indulgent care which infants receive from their parents, and many restrictions are put on the expression of emotion; emphasis is placed on a high degree of behaviour, self-control, formality and conformity to parental authority. On the other hand, the non-literate Bhil tribe is a hunting and fighting people living in bamboo huts in the jungles; and every male member carries a weapon and a flute. The boys drawn for this study were 25 Bhil delinquents (convicted by courts), 25 Bhil non-delinquents, 25 high caste Hindu delinquents (convicted by courts), and 25 high caste Hindu non-delinquents.

Bhatia's Battery of Performance Test of Intelligence was administered in Hindi, the linguafranca of the region, with interpolations in the Mewari and Bhil dialects by the author.

19. Ibid : 265-266
Bhil delinquents were matched carefully with Bhil non-delinquents; and high caste Hindu delinquents with high caste non-delinquents. The matching was restricted to age, income and occupation of parents and immediate neighbourhood.

The mean intelligence quotient of the four subgroups are Bhil delinquents 84.10; Bhil non-delinquents = 97.10; High caste Hindu delinquents = 100.50; High caste non-delinquents = 116.90. By a 't' test it was found that the differences are significant at .01 level. Thus it is found that Bhil delinquents differ significantly in intelligence scores on Bhatia's Test from Bhil non-delinquents. Similarly, high caste Hindu delinquents and non-delinquents differ significantly in test scores.

Howard University's Research centre, which is financed by U.S. Air Force, conducted a study on the Russian emigres. Through interviews and psychological tests administered to a control group of Americans matched for age, sex and occupation with Russian emigres provided data that allowed precise evaluation of distinctive Russian personality characteristics.

Comparison reveals that Russians possess strong interest in people and human affairs, their perception of others being rich, concrete, and lacking in stereotypes. Compared to Americans, Russians often evaluate a person in terms of his own positive or negative attitudes. Vital deprivations, dangers, losses loom large in the responses which Russian subjects gave to T.A.T.

20. Honigmann, 1967 : 3-5
pictures. Americans take a happier view, Russians care about receiving loyalty, respect and sincerity from their group.

In another study conducted by Margaret Mead (1964), it was found that an American is guilty or afraid when he must rely on his greater strength or power over another person, but a Russian acts comfortably from a position of greater power, using the advantage that it gives him. This shows how similar situations evoke different responses from people of two different cultures.

It is now evident that culture plays a very vital role in shaping one's personality. In spite of having equipped with similar heredity endowments, two persons may differ greatly in their personality pattern if they inhabit in two different cultures. Similar cultural habits, however, may bring about similar personality pattern in people, though their hereditary background may be different.

Here the task before us is to find out to what extent the people of two different tribes namely the Khasi and the Naga differ or resemble in their personality due to the difference or similarity in their cultural pattern.

21. Quoted in Honigmann, 1967 : 5