CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This chapter aims to review the studies related to psychological anthropology in a historical perspective, to state the objectives of the present study, and to describe the method of thesis presentation.

Psychological Anthropology: A Historical Perspective

The central assumption of psychological anthropology is that "efficient societal functioning depends upon the existence in its members of congruent personality or motivational structures ... This congruence is thought to be produced by the society's socialisation institutions" (Kaplan 1961:3). The psychological anthropology or "culture and personality" as defined earlier in the United States of America (U.S.A.) for the study of "congruent personality and motivational structures" was unknown before 1920 (Kluckhohn 1944). Kroeber's (1920) review of Freud's Totem and Taboo (1918) was an attempt to bring fruitful contacts between anthropology and psychology. Though earlier, Kroeber was highly critical about this book, in
1939 review, he was of the opinion that Freud's explanation of culture would deserve at least "serious consideration as a scientific hypothesis" (1939:446-57).

In Britain, Seligman (1924) suggested several developments in the "little known borderland where social anthropology, psychology, and genetics meet in common biological kinship" (1924:13-46). He also suggested later that the works of Freud and Jung are important for anthropologists because the psychological problems arising in anthropology "lie for the most part not in the sphere of cognition—to which most attention has been paid in the psychology of consciousness—but in the sphere of motive and emotion" (Seligman 1932:193-228). It was Malinowski who for the first time made efforts to bring anthropology and psycho-analysis closer, in his studies on Trobriand islanders. In 1927, he examined Freud's concept of "Oedipus complex" and "questioned the dogma of universality of Oedipus complex and asked whether it would be apt to appear in a matrilineal society where the composition of the family and roles of the mother and father differ from those of Western world" (Barnouw 1963:71).
psychological anthropology was brought about by Benedict (1934), in UGA, who brilliantly characterized cultures in psychological terms. According to Barnouw, "She stressed the need of seeing human behaviour in its cultural context. One cannot invoke 'human nature' as an explanation for man's activities, for 'human nature' is extraordinarily malleable and is shaped and guided in different directions by different cultures (Barnouw 1963:56). One important problem which Benedict (1934) did not pursue concerns the means by which individual behaviours are patterned. Sapir (1934) gave further boost to the study of personality in anthropology.

More or less at the same time, Mead (1928) introduced problem oriented American anthropological field work and examined the relationship between adolescence and culture among Samoan tribe. She asked the question: "Are the disturbances which vex our adolescents due to the nature of adolescence itself or to the civilization?" (Mead 1939:11). After analysis she concluded that "the source of disturbances in American Youth must lie in the social institutions and traditions of the Western world" (Barnouw 1963:74).

Based on the later studies conducted by Mead (1930 and 1933) among Manus of the Admiralty Islands,
North of New Guinea and three New Guinea tribes - the Arapesh, Mundugumor and Tahambuli, she later indicated "we are forced to conclude that human nature is almost unbelievably malleable, responding accurately and contrasting to cultural conditions. The differences between individuals within a culture, are almost entirely to be laid to differences in conditioning especially during early childhood, and the form of this conditioning is culturally determined. Standardised personality differences between the sexes are of this order, cultural creations to which each generation, male and female, is trained to conform" (1935:280).

The efforts of Kardiner and Linton (1939); and Kardiner, DuBois and West (1945) led to the introduction of psycho-analytic approach in the psychological anthropology. A concept central to the whole psycho-analytic approach is that of "basic personality structure". Kardiner defined it as "the effective adaptive tools of the individual which are common to every individual in the society" (1939:237). Kardiner (1939) for analysing the influence of culture on personality made distinctions between 'primary' and 'secondary' institutions. According to Kardiner (1939:471) the 'primary institutions' are
instrumental in shaping the basic personality structure of a society. The personality thus formed may, in turn, exert and influence upon culture by creating certain 'secondary institutions.'

These efforts led to the development of a new methodology by Linton, Kardiner and DuBois which helped to reduce the possibility of bias while analysing the influences of culture on personality. Following this methodology, DuBois (1944) wrote the ethnography of Alor tribe. The life histories were analysed by Kardiner, the Rorschach by Oberholzer, and the drawings by Schmid-Wehner of the same tribe. Each analyst produced a personality characterisation of the Alorere based on their particular data, without the knowledge of the culture. Since there was much agreement in these 'blind' analyses, it seems likely that each analyst correctly identified some general tendencies in Alorere personality.

In this analysis, DuBois used the term modal personality which involves a more statistical concept.

Impressed with Kardiner's work and Horney's (1939, 1945) versions of psychoanalytic theory, Honigmann (1949) studied Kaska, to identify the emotional qualities which, they revealed as they acted their cultural roles.
and account such qualities in terms of underlying, and
dominant motivations. He also explored the conditions
of early life under which the dominant motivations are
learned.

Hallowell's (1936, 1937; also see 1942, 1946,
1951, 1952) researches among Ojibwa indicated that
although personality development is undoubtedly influenced
by culture change, in some respects the personality system
is also highly autonomous and persists. His evidence
indicated, the fundamental organisation of personality
persisted through two centuries of culture contact.

Holmberg (1950) studied the repercussions on
the behaviour because of the sparse and insecure food
supply among Jimino, a nomadic tribe.

Wallace (1952) studied the modal personality of
Tuscarora by using the Rorschach test and appropriate
statistical procedures. Further methodological improve­
ments regarding sampling over Alorese study was made by
Gladwin and Sarason in their study of Truk (1953). As
in Alorese study, there proved a great deal of congruence
between the findings of the psychologist and the
impressions of anthropologist.
Major shift is seen in fifties from intensive case studies to a comparative approach that utilizes statistical techniques to test relationship between different aspects of culture and personality cross-culturally. They can be classified into two types; those which have made some assumptions about the psychological effect of certain child rearing practices on personality; and those which have concerned themselves with the effect of features of basic economy and social structure on child rearing practices. The interconnection between these two kinds of studies, helped Whiting and Child (1953:310) to suggest the following theoretical model:

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Maintenance System → Child Rearing Practices → Personality Variables → Projective System
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They defined maintenance system as the economic, political, social organisations of a society - the basic customs surrounding the nourishment, sheltering, and protection of its members. Personality was defined as a set of hypothetical intervening variable. Projective systems include customs which are the most part magical and unrealistic. According to Whiting personality is an intervening hypothetical variable determined by child
rearing which in turn determined by maintenance system and which is reflected in projective systems.

In the twenty four years since the publication of Whiting and Child's (1953) work, Williams (1978) points out that there has been nearly 100 such studies conducted using essentially the same method of research as that of Whiting and Child. Some of these studies are those of Barry, Bacon and Child (1957); Spira and D'Andrade (1958); Child, Storm and Veroff (1958); Lambert, Triandis and Wolf (1960); Whiting (1959); Burton and Whiting (1960); Whiting (1963); Otterbein and Otterbein (1973) and Whiting (1975). In all these studies the child rearing practices have been tested for their interdependence with various cultural and social features.

While reviewing the book of Marbeck, Price-Williams and Scord (1968), Whiting (1970) says that the cross cultural method is criticised by Wallace for "scoring cultures on dimensions of custom taken out of context" and by Honigmann for the inadequacy of ethnographic evidence upon which the scores are based. He further says that there is some truth in these criticisms, particularly the latter and he was of the opinion that this method has contributed to the development of a
more adequate theory of culture and personality and will continue to do so.

In sixties a number of books appeared on psychological anthropology. Important among these were those of Kaplan (1961); Hsu (1961); Barnouw (1963); Honigmann (1967) and Norbeck, Price-Williams and McCord (1968) who for the first time used the term psychological anthropology. In all those studies the authors tried to bring together the work done so far in various parts of the world.

Aronoff (1967) is one of the exceptions to take the view that the psychological needs influence the cultural forms. According to him the person moves to create cultural means to gratify his most deprived needs; the level of needs being gratified "set the limits the range of cultural alternatives possible in a given ecological area"; and the need gratification can result in the establishment of socio-cultural forms for which a casual explanation "must be referred to the original psychological events that began the sequence" (Aronoff 1967:13-19). He tested these hypotheses on the island of St. Kitts, B.W.I. where two different occupational
groups, fishermen and cane-cutters, exist in the same village.

In 1970s, a number of edited and textbook appeared relating to psychological anthropology. Important among those are those of Wallace (1970); Levine (1973); and Spindler (1978). In these works serious efforts were made to summarise a number of studies related to culture and personality. Wallace (1970) has updated his previous work in this book. On the other hand Levine (1973) devoted a substantial part of his book on the critical review of the existing theory and method, with a sharp, systematic analysis and categorisation of contributions to psychological anthropology in terms of underlying assumptions made by the various anthropologists concerning the relationship between culture and personality. The important contribution of Levine lies in developing a model which can be used for analysing changes in the psycho-socio adaptation or change in personality. He argues that both individual and socio-cultural institutions can tolerate a wide range of behaviour pattern and adaptive styles without disruption or breakdown, a view that contrasts with many earlier anthropologists but very similar to Hallowell (1946 and 1952). Spindler (1978)
has taken the first person narrations of the pioneers of psychological anthropology of last three decades or so. In these articles, the various authors have documented their experiences of psychological anthropology studies.

All these efforts, both in USA and Britain, clearly suggested that human nature is extremely malleable and respond to cultural conditioning. Further methodological improvements helped in accurately identifying the relationship between the culture and personality. It may be mentioned such an effort was more an American contribution in the area of cultural anthropology rather than those of social anthropology of Britain.

The foregoing analysis provided a historical perspective on the development of psychological anthropology. Now an attempt will be made to review the similar studies conducted in Africa, Asia with special reference to the studies conducted in India.

Personality Studies in Africa

In Africa, Albino and Thompson (1956) carried out a study of Zulu weaning and concluded that weaning...
causes a temporary disturbance in the child's emotional and social life but in the longer run it facilitates the development of sociability, self-reliance, and socially valued aggressiveness, and is therefore adaptive, rather than merely traumatic.

One obstacle to searching for causes of adult human behaviour in early childhood experience is that it is hard to find out what infants and young children experience of their complex environments. Ainsworth (1967) studied 23 Ganda children under 15 months of age, in terms of treatment they received, the behaviour they manifested, and the developmental patterns observed and inferred. It is a landmark on its methodological merits as a longitudinal investigation, that uses naturalistic observation and systematic rating scales to discover developmental sequences and test antecedent-consequent hypothesis. Fox (1967) selected three accounts, those of two Kenya men - from the Dahiya and Kamba peoples - and an Acholi woman from Uganda, edited them, and let them tell their own stories. The value stems from the insider's views they give us of growing up in East African communities, from preserving the flavour of interpersonal experience in childhood as experienced by the adults, and from conveying the
personal significance of cultural events. Both methods deserve the attention of psychological anthropologists concerned with personality development.

Read (1965) showed how adults bring up their children to fit into Ngoni society and assimilate and perpetuate their cultural values. Her approach is to present a description of the social learning events of the "typical" children as they are followed from birth and infancy through adolescence to early childhood. Williams (1969) aims in this study to provide a way to understand the configuration of traditional Basun enculturation, by direct observation and participation in a variety of cultural settings. It also provides meticulous description and classification of the more gross directly observable events in the enculturation process.

National Character Study in Asia

During World War II, a number of studies were conducted on 'national character', by applying personality and culture theory and methods. The direct field study was not possible because of the enormous and heterogeneous population of modern nations with their complex histories.
of social and cultural change (Linton 1951). However, these studies used the previous field studies, interviews with special informants, the analysis of folklore, literature, motion films, drama, political speeches, propaganda and other cultural products.

Sorer (1943) pointed out the Japanese preoccupation with ritual, tidiness and order and compared it with the behaviour of compulsive individuals in the Western world. He invoked toilet training as the explanatory principle. Benedict (1946) also echoed Sorer's view about early toilet training. "Every one agrees that a baby in Japan, as in China too, is trained very early ... He experiences only an inescapable routine implacably insisted upon ... What the baby learns from the implacable training, prepare him to accept in adulthood the subtler compulsions of Japanese culture (1946:238-50).

Bennet and Nagai (1953) criticised Benedict that she presented a static picture of ideal upper class patterns of a time gone by, and ignores distinctions by social class and changes through time. Kawashima (1951) has done field research on modes and differences in
conceptions of the values in interpersonal relations. She interviewed country people and showed that cultural ideals are less strongly held by them, especially by young people than Benedict reports.

Minami (1954) attempted to outline those modes of feelings, thinking and expressing which are peculiar to Japanese. He uses popular songs, ideals expressed in fiction, common sayings, writing on army life, essays by successful men, and similar non-scholar sources to deduce a number of themes or motifs. However no attempt was made to present a systematic characterisation of the Japanese.

Kato (1959) analysed life counselling columns in newspapers in Japan. His results showed that among adults, the greatest source of distress is interpersonal relations in the family. De Vos (1960) basing on the Thematic Apperception Test and a problem-situated test, argues against the widely held view that Japanese culture may best be regarded as a "shame" culture in guilt-shame dichotomy. De Vos and Watsama (1959) based on responses to Thematic Apperception Test reports a high incidence of concern over death and illness which the authors interpret as introjection of guilt.
Haring (1953) has produced a different kind of analysis than that of Benedict. He concludes that police coercion has been a more significant factor in moulding Japanese character than toilet training.

Phillip (1965) conducted a most detailed empirical study among Thai peasants. It dealt with two different but closely related problems: "the description and analysis of selected aspects of the psychological life of central plain Thai peasants, particular aspects of the villager's daily encounter with one another and the presentation of an approach for dealing with some of the problems involved in designing and carrying out cross-cultural personality research" (Phillip 1965: VIII).

**Psychological Anthropology in India**

In India the pioneering work in psychological anthropology was conducted by Sorer (1958) who studied the Lepchas of Sikkim. He explained the lack of any pattern of external aggression in the adult personality of Lepchas as largely due to the pattern of child rearing in their culture. The child was strapped to the back of the guardian and was given attention by
restricting his independent action. The other factors responsible were their isolated habitat, low material development and the difficulties of wresting a livelihood from their environment. Elwin (1950) tried to follow the explanatory framework of Goran and sought to derive the aggressiveness of the adult Bonda tribesmen of Koraput from the child rearing pattern prevalent there. The child is largely left to himself, so that he falls upon his own power and skills.

Taylor (1948) studied the basic personality in orthodox Hindu cultural pattern. Murphy (1953) did not exactly deal with culture and personality as such. Though caste was seen by him as a major determinant of interpersonal relations and inter-group tension, the typical personality of the caste groups or religious groups was not determined.

Stead (1955) studied the typical personality of Indian social classes in her study on the formation of the personality of a Rajput in the particular context of social structure and culture. She used the life history method. She discussed to what extent the Rajput personality developed in accordance with the demands of
social structure, how a private life partly inconsistent with those from the ideal norm. Carstairs (1957) studied three twice born castes, Brahmin, Rajput, and Bania. He builds up the personality structure of a sample of 36 individuals with the help of life history, interviews and psychological tests. The difference in the typical personality of each of the caste group was also explored.

Ray, Guha and Choudhary of Anthropological Survey of India studied the personality characteristics of several Indian tribal groups. They used projective and other psychological tests. Choudhary (1960) suggested a modification of the Thematic Apperception Test. Guha (1956) studied the impact of social cataclysm following the partition of India on personality.

Ray (1957) investigated the impact of culture-contact on the basic personality structure of Riang of Tripura and Baiga of Madhya Pradesh. He took a psychocultural base line, that is, the personality structure of the group least affected by culture-contact. The modification in the basic personality among the immediate and most affected groups varied according to the varying levels of contact. Ray (1959) studied the basic
personality structure of Abor and the Gallong children. 
He sought to generalise on the adult personality 
structure of these tribes. Ray (1965) differentiated 
the personality structure of Lodha spirit possessed men 
and typical Lodha. The study was based on psychological tests and interviews.

Harain (1957) attempted the National Character study of Indian Hindu. He analysed the religious scriptures, proverbs, films and childhood experiences. He characterised Indian Hindu as passive, depressive, dependent, mild etc., as against English character which is aggressive. No attempt was made by him to cross-check these personality characteristics against any life histories, interviews or psychological tests. 
Nair (1939) studied the Brahmin personality in Indian culture with special reference to South India. He showed how a small status group of Brahmins established its grip over the masses of India and he makes the personality of the Brahmin the most powerful factor conditioning the Indian social life. In his view the Hindu culture of today is, in a sense, a projection of the Brahmin personality.

Sinha (1966) in a psycho-analytic frame of analysis aims at identifying the deeper psychological
factors and unconscious motive forces which help the growth of particular form of the society among the matrilineal Garo. He makes the oedipus fixation with all its derivatives, the most important factor determining the various aspects of Garo life and social structure.

Spratt (1966) who is neither an anthropologist nor a psychologist, came up with the thesis that contrasted with the punitive modal character of Europeans, a Hindu's basic personality structure is narcissistic; his super-ego is either weak or non-existent, and all his libido is cathexed on the ego. The Hindu attempts to mould his personality on the modal of the permanent phallus. He reduces important institutions of Hinduism to narcissism. His book aroused considerable controversy, though his reductionist approach has not added anything substantial to the culture and personality study of the Hindus. Vidyarthi (1970) has analysed the cultural personality of the Gayawal.

As the initial influence came from Britain to Indian anthropology, there was a lack of effort to conduct any study in the area of psychological anthropology. However, in post-independence India, there are,
as reviewed above, efforts were made to conduct such studies under the influence of American anthropologists. The researcher's survey of the leading journals in Indian anthropology like *Man in India, Eastern Anthropologist, Journal of Social Research, Indian Anthropologist*, and *Journal of Anthropological Society* from the years 1971-1981, clearly showed paucity of studies in psychological anthropology. Dube and Madan (1972) were also of the opinion that Indian anthropologists continue to be concerned with descriptive and descriptive-analytical studies of aspects of social organisation and religion. There has been no shift in their concern in the last ten years as indicated above. It may be mentioned that the need for such studies has become inevitable as a large number of anthropologists are getting involved in the field of applied anthropology and directed change. In these roles the understanding of the personality is an important factor in the introduction of developmental programmes. Such studies would help the anthropologists to decide as to what type of programmes should be introduced, how they should be introduced and why they should be introduced.

The foregoing review of the studies in psychological Anthropology shows four important characteristics:
First, the studies are based on the empirical data and the methods used are the ethnographic as well as psychological tests. Secondly, in the course of historical development, the terms like basic personality, modal personality and national character are developed with little modification in the definitions. Thirdly, the studies which are concerned with the description of the personality in a single culture in the beginning, later shifted their attention to cross-cultural studies using rigorous statistical devices. Finally, there are no consistent efforts made by the Indian anthropologists in this field and the studies are sporadic in nature. The present study is an attempt in this direction.

The present thesis is essentially an analytical study with the emphasis on the cultural personality of the Yanadi tribe inhabiting Sriharikota island situated in the eastern coast of peninsular India. The Yanadi are semi-nomadic with their scantly material and low technology of earthen pots, few knives and a fishing trap. They move from one place to another in the island in search of forest work and fruits, roots, fish and small game. They live in small, circular and dome shaped huts which can be easily built by a couple with casuarina branches and thatched with palmyra leaves and can be
easily shifted from one place to another. The island Yanadi can be said to have homogeneous culture. Hence the group personality of the tribe is studied through the cultural data and therefore the term cultural personality is used in this study.

Studies Related to Yanadi

Earlier, a few attempts were made by census officials, social workers and also anthropologists to record the socio-economic life of the Yanadi. Ranga Rao (1901) wrote about the Yanadi of Nellore district and Thurston (1909) provided a brief ethnographic description of Yanadi of the mainland. Cushing (1917) visited Sriharikota and wrote an article on their socio-economic life. Reddy (1940) wrote about the socio-economic life of the Yanadi of Andhra Pradesh and Tamilnadu. He has also written two articles in 1947 in Eastern Anthropologist. The Yanadi attracted the attention of social workers like Venkatram (1941) who wrote on the Yanadi of Gitter District, Andhra Pradesh. Raghavaiah (1964) wrote a full length monograph on the Yanadi social life. It is based on the data of mainland even though he has mentioned about the Yanadi of Sriharikota island. A village monograph published by
Census of India 1961 on Rettamala village includes brief sketches on the socio-economic life of Sriharikota and also provides some glimpses of the Yanadi of the island. However, no attempt has been made to study the personality of Yanadi in general or Sriharikota Yanadi in particular. Hence, the present study.

Objectives of the Study

The main objective of the study is to study the personality of the Yanadi tribe and to analyse the variables affecting the personality.

More specifically the study aims to study the social organisation of the Yanadi; their economic life; world view, and child rearing practices.

It also aims to characterise the cultural personality of the Yanadi, and to analyse the variables in the formation of the personality.

Chapterisation of the Thesis

The thesis is divided into nine chapters. The first chapter deals with the review of the studies in
psychological anthropology and the statement of the objectives of the study. In the second chapter, the field is introduced. In the third chapter, the methods of field work is explained. In the fourth chapter, the social organisation of the Yanadi is analysed. In the fifth chapter, the economic life of the Yanadi is described. The sixth chapter deals with the discussion of the world view of the Yanadi. In the seventh chapter the child rearing practices of the Yanadi are described. The eighth chapter characterises the cultural personality of Yanadi with the discussion of the variables that influence the formation of the personality. The last chapter deals with the summary and conclusion of the study.