The life of an individual is said to begin from the moment of conception. This is true so far as the life of an individual as a mere biological organism is concerned. But his life as a person begins from birth onwards. "From the birth on, the individual is under the impress of culture. There is always a body of culture which gives content and direction to the manner in which an individual will develop as a person." ¹ The individual is thus born in a society with a definite cultural frame. The individual learns through interaction with his culture. Thus behaviour is culturally determined. As Ruth Benedict ² observes, "The life history of the individual is first and foremost an accommodation to the patterns and standards traditionally handed down in his Community. From the moment of his birth the customs into which he is born shape his experience and behaviour. By the time he can talk, he is the little creature of his culture and by the time he is grown and able to take part in its activities, its habits are his habits, its beliefs his beliefs."

¹ Kimball Young: Handbook of Social Psychology, Ch. I
² Ruth Benedict: Patterns of Culture, Ch. I.
As the individual grows, he passes through different social situations and stages. He has to play varying roles at different stages and in different social situations. These rules are more or less defined and understood practically in the same way by all the individuals. The cultural patterns differ from one society or tribe to another and as a result the roles and social situations are defined and understood in a different way. That is why the individuals of one society differ in their personality structure from the personality structure of individuals in other society. The Kharwas as a tribe or community are distinct from others because of their typical personality structure which, in the last analysis, is the product of their distinct culture.

In part II, the various patterns — the physical, material and psychological — of the Kharwa culture have been discussed. These cultural patterns have been psychologically analysed here with a view to show that the personality traits which make a typical Kharwa individual are rooted in these patterns of culture. An attempt has been made in this chapter to bring out the relationship between the psychology of Kharwa personality and the Kharwa culture.

It should be kept in mind that all the facts and features of a culture are not indicative of the psychological
and social pressures in society. The student who undertakes such a study has to find out the features which demonstrate the operation of psychological forces. He has to observe, collect the basic data and decide as to which facts and features are important and relevant. The psychological development of the individual takes place as a consequence of his behaviour in social situations. We have described both the non-psychological facts (physical and geographical) and the psychological situations in the foregoing pages. We have now to find out how they are related to enculturation and personality formation of a Kharwa.

II. Analysis of the culture - some postulates

We may narrate here some of the salient features of the Kharwa culture described in part two:

1. The Kharwas are a coastal population.
2. The most hazardous of all enterprises known to mankind are sailing expeditions. The main sources of earning livelihood for the Kharwas are sailing and fishing.
3. The menfolk of the Kharwas are away on sailing expeditions for about eight months in a year.
4. Family is the unit of social and religious life in the Kharwa community.
5. Residence is patrilocal and the line of descent patrilineal.
(6) There is underlying mistrust in the interpersonal relations. A quarrelsome and aggressive man is regarded as a bad man.

(7) Panch is an important and most powerful social institution.

(8) There is a galaxy of gods which control various activities and events in life.

(9) There is belief in magic and witchcraft.

(10) Celebration of festivals and economic activities are related.

(11) The stories of the goddess of fortune (Vidhatri), of the origin of the earth and tribes, have an emotional value. They relate the past with the present.

(12) A child is welcome. A male child, though preferred, does not enjoy an absolute premium over a female child. An infant is carefully attended.

(13) A child once able to walk and look after its needs independently is not very carefully attended.

(14) The process of socialisation is not rigorous; there is smooth and easy transfer from one age group to another.

(15) Adolescence is not a period of stress and strain.
The ideal of marriage is domestic and not romantic. Marriage is a pious bond for life-long partnership between two individuals of the opposite sex.

Cross-cousin marriage in a restricted manner is possible; i.e., an individual can marry the daughter of his mother's brother.

As an adult the individual establishes his own house and family and fulfills the social obligations.

Death brings an end to the present life. The Kharwas believe in two worlds; one of the living and the other of the dead. After death the individual goes to the other world.

The Kharwas believe in fate. They also believe in rebirth.

There is a belief in ghosts and spirits.

III. The Personality of a Kharwa Male and Female

The Kharwas are a coastal population thickly scattered in the ports of Saurashtra. They are sea-faring and fishers. They are of dark complexion, short stature, strongly built and easily distinguished from others by their long whiskers but shorn of beards. They are industrious and hardworking and earn sufficiently to maintain themselves and their families. They are content if they get what is needed for the maintenance and do not believe in accumulating wealth or food. They are
satisfied if their stomachs are full today and do not worry about the future. Consequently, they spend away whatever they earn. A small house, some utensils, two pairs of clothes, fishing nets and his own or a hired canoe are his material equipments. He is a child of sea. He has to struggle against the forces of nature for his existence. So the activities and mores pertaining to self-maintenance and self-perpetuation are the primary forces of his activities. The self-maintenance mores include activities for earning his bread and the customs that act as a defence against danger, sustain and preserve the individual and the group and enable it to carry on in face of obstacles. The basic problem to a Kharwa is to satisfy his physiological and biological needs and to survive. Biological needs thus gain priority over the sociogenic needs.

Many of the thought processes of the Kharwas correspond to those we designate as scientific. These are evident in the construction and handling of the canoes and ships. But in the instances where reality cannot be apprehended, we find a type of animistic thinking. The Kharwas explain the spread of disease or epidemics as due to the wrath of the supernaturals. Similarly, they explain the etiology of the prolonged illness as due to magic or witchcraft. In cases of the spread of diseases or epidemics therefore, they resort to many rituals for propitiating the
supernaturals instead of taking scientific steps. In the same manner, when somebody is seriously ill for a longer time, they go to Bhuva and request him to prepare and give them a magical thread or charm to counteract the influence of magic causing the illness. The criteria by which the magic properties of these objects are established are apparently deductive, experimental and are checked pragmatically, i.e., they are considered effective only if they work. In the operation of the charm we have, therefore, the scientifically established efficacy of certain relationship between inanimate objects which are joined to/wish to injury. In the entire procedure of making a charm against illness, we see both the operation of a scientific principle and a projection.

A second feature pertaining to basic personality structure of the Kharwas is his his relation to the utility objects. These objects are regarded as extensions of the ego and are endowed with attributes very like the possessor’s own. The object increases in prestige with use. Property is not a source of anxiety to the Kharwas. Property neither enhances the social status nor the prestige of the possessor. He does not get any position of prestige by virtue of having property. But if he uses his property in helping the poor and needy, he will be considered a good and respectable man.
The violation of the social code and aggression among themselves are disallowed. Hence, though militant by nature, they have cultivated an attitude of compromise in dealing with his fellow brothers. In his behaviour, he is governed more by a sense of shame than remorse or guilt. His attitude towards an uncommon event or behaviour is that of connivence. "It goes on like that" is his general reaction. He has a tendency of back biting. He will discuss such matters with others at private meetings and back bite the person guilty of such uncommon behaviour. But it never arouses him to active opposition, unless the event directly affects him personally.

The attitude of the Kharwa towards his wife and children is typical. He has a distrust for his wife and a repressed hatred towards her. His attitude towards children is that of laisser faire. The discontinuity of attitude of the mother towards the child and the belief that a woman can become a witch and can harass the man lead him to mistrust, and hate her. No such attitude of active mistrust and hostility exists between man and man. Of course, he does not trust even the man. But there is no feeling of hostility towards the man.

A Kharwa is, by temperament, an introvert and individualistic. Mutual distrust seems to underlie all his
relationships. His activities and perceptions are governed by fear, fear of the stranger, of the natural and supernatural. He is otherwise courageous and confident. He does not regress from the difficult situation and become a passive spectator, but he wrestles with it till he can. He would examine the situation from all possible angles and apply all his efforts and power to find a solution to it.

A Kharwa woman shares all the general traits of personality with the Kharwa male. Basic personality structure is the same. However, the position of woman in Kharwa society is different from that of a man and as such she develops certain traits which are typical of a Kharwa woman alone. She is completely dependent upon her husband for her economic needs and for her social existence as a 'wife'. She has to submit to her husband in matters of difference of opinion and has to please him always. The husband is the master of her life. Her pleasures and pains, comforts and discomforts, etc. depend upon his wishes. Husband is one who feeds her and her children, gives her shelter and protection. Her ideal of marriage is domestic and not romantic. She thus feels herself helpless and develops an attitude of submission.

There is no emotional warmth in the interpersonal relations. They are only formal and governed by the necessity of having a relation. Even in the tasks which need group work, the element of individuality is prominent. For example, even when they go on fishing expedition in a group, everybody keeps his own share.
IV Relations between the various aspects of culture and the personality traits

The relation between culture and personality is that of reciprocity. They mutually affect each other. Cultural patterns determine the personality traits. Similarly, individual personalities affect and modify the cultural practices so as to sustain the personality traits and needs. There is a continuous interaction between culture and personality. Personality develops into a particular configuration as a result of such interaction.

(1) The Physical Environment as a Determinant

The Kharwas are a coastal population thickly scattered over the ports of Saurashtra. The prosperity of the coastal towns completely depends upon the sea. The land and the waters of the wells near the coast are not suited to agriculture. Hence the people of this area have to earn their livelihood from sailing and fishing and the activities subsidiary to them. The Kharwas live on these two principal means of earning livelihood and agriculture and other sources of earning the bread are unknown to them. Hence, even with the increase in population, the Kharwas do not think of leaving their town and settling elsewhere. His social contacts and acquaintances are therefore limited. Even in his own town his contacts with the people of other castes and tribes are very poor and formal. His activities and interests are confined to his family only. He is mainly preoccupied with the problem of maintaining himself and his
family. This has led to the development of an individualistic attitude.

Sailing and fishing which are their principal vocations have sustained this attitude. Those who are engaged in navigation do not possess their own ship. The ship belongs to some rich person. The Kharwas are paid for navigating the ships. The remuneration is paid in cash and individually. Even though there is always a group of Kharwas on the ship, they get their return individually and in different amount. Similarly, fishing boats are taken by them on hire from a rich man. He is individually and personally responsible for the payment of hire charges and for the maintenance of the boat in good condition. Naturally, therefore, they keep the yield of fish individually. These facts have sustained the individualistic attitudes and selfishness.

The menfolk of the Kharwas are generally out on sailing expeditions for the major part of the year. They go on expeditions in different ships to different parts and countries. This fact acts as an obstacle in developing deep and emotional relationships. Everybody minds his own and nobody bothers about others.

Since the fate of the Kharwas is linked with the sea, and he has to struggle against the forces of nature for
his existence, he has cultivated courage, confidence and the capacity for tolerance. He is not easily frustrated by the obstacles in his way nor does he regress and retire from the difficult situation. He fights the obstacles till he can. A Kharwa individual is thus courageous, confident, daring and persistent.

While on sailing or fishing expeditions, they have to be alert and active throughout. They have to work hard and for many hours in a day. This has led them to be hardworking and industrious. Even old men who is incapable of strenuous work persists in light work like the mending and weaving the fishing nets. He does not like to sit idle.

(2) Fear as the Governing Factor

Fear acts as an important governing factor in their behaviour. They fear the strange as well as the stranger, fear gods, ghosts and spirits and fear the forces of nature. The magical rites and religious system very well reflect this attitude. The physical conditions and the nature of their vocation have nurtured this attitude.

The men are generally out on expeditions for major part of the year. The women and children are alone at home. In order to ensure safety and security of their families, the Kharwas reside in one compact locality called Kharwa Vas.
No other population is found in this locality. The entry of a stranger into Kharwa Vas is viewed with suspicion and fear. Mistrust of the women nourishes this fear. Hence, the houses are constructed too close to each other; streets are kept very narrow and no windows have been provided. Each house is watched by every other neighbouring house.

There is also a historical reason for such fear. History shows that all the attacks of fantastic Mohammedan Kings on Suraishra have been from sea side. The Kharwa Vas is just near the sea shore. The apprehension that the history may repeat itself, incites them to take all necessary precautions for their safety and security.

Sailing is the most hazardous of all human enterprises and as such neither the knowledge of the Kharwa nor his most painstaking efforts are a guarantee of his success. Something unaccountable usually enters and baffles his anticipation. He can neither understand, nor anticipate, nor control this something unaccountable. This leads to the fear of natural and supernatural forces. The fear of the supernatural is an important element in the psychology of the Kharwa. Natural calamities like adverse wind or wind at all, rough weather, currents and reefs, epidemics, sudden death etc. are all inscrutable. However, he feels that he
can do something to wrestle with that mysterious element or force to help and abet his luck. There are, therefore, certain systems of superstition of more or less developed ritual, associated with sailing. In certain primitive communities the magic of sailing craft was highly developed. Worship of the forces of nature and magic are the forms of cultural response to these situations of precariousness. 'Dariya Puja', 'Bera Puja', 'Worship of Dariya Pir', magical rites etc. resorted to by the Kharwas, are the culturally determined patterns of response to such situations.

The systems of religion and of magic are based mainly on fear. Whatever objects are feared - dieties, events and forces of nature - are deified and worshipped. Offerings are made to them and their favour is solicited. Psychologically, religion and magic are too deeply interwoven with the fundamental springs of human emotion. Both magic and religion are the tools of adaptation.

For the Kharwas, magic serves not only as an integrative force to the individual but also as an organising force to the society. Magic, like religion, serves the purpose of restoring confidence in times of danger or crises. When magic fails, religion helps and both may partially contribute towards tiding over social or economic crises.
Productive magic like the magic for sailing and fishing asserts the man's power over nature and induces the Kharwa to go ahead with his aims. Protective magic like magic to avert misfortune, magic for the cure of sickness, has its obvious function. It serves to defend the right of the individual and helps the sufferer to calm down his feelings of outrage and his desire for vengeance. Magic has thus greater affinity with an emotional outburst, with day-dreaming and with strong uncei-iabl'e desire. It is a harmless method which enables the people 'to let off the steam.' It causes less disruption in society than the use of spear.

Witchcraft is a kind of destructive or black magic. It is in the form of magic to produce sickness or to bring death. Magic is generally to be found whenever man comes to an unabridgeable gap, a hiatus in his knowledge or in his powers of practical control, and yet has to continue in his pursuits. Forsaken by his knowledge, baffled by the results of his experience, unable to apply any effective technical skill, he realises his importance. Yet his desire grips him only the more strongly. His fears and hopes, his general anxiety produce a state of unstable equilibrium in his organism, by which he is driven to some sort of vicarious activity. In the natural human reaction to frustrated hate and impotent anger is found the materia prima of black magic. Belief in witchcraft by the Kharwas thus provides a theory of failure, misfortune and death. Countermagic can be employed to destroy the effect of this black magic.
The witch is a woman who casts her evil eyes on any individual irrespective of age or sex. Again, it is not possible to identify a woman as a witch. Any woman may be a witch and yet her husband or the near relatives may not know it. That is why a Kharwa male feels a covert fear of the woman and the consequent hatred for her.

(3) The Process of Socialisation and Intra-Familial Relations

A neonate becomes a 'man' in the real sense of the term through the process of socialisation. The methods of socialisation and child rearing techniques are uniform in all the families in a group or society. Hence they assume the forms of cultural patterns. The experiences of the child in regard to infantile care or neglect, disciplines with regard to food taking, sphincter control, weaning, freedom of movement, sexual activity, the obligation and responsibilities of the child, handling by the parents, attitudes of the parents towards the child etc., are all significant factors in the process of socialisation of a Kharwa child.

In Kharwa society, a child is always welcome, irrespective of the fact whether it is the first, second or fifth child. Since the society is patriarchal and the line of descent is patrilineal a male child naturally enjoys some premium over the female child. However, a girl is neither despised nor neglected. Both the boy and the girl are brought up in the same fashion and with the same amount of care.
The child is breast-fed and is carefully and immediately attended to. Its needs for food, rest and security are satisfied in a manner, pleasant and satisfactory to the child. Maternal care is the primary interest of the woman. But a Kharwa woman has to mind to many other works in addition to the household duties. She goes to collect the firewood, to serve as the maid servant and sometimes on daily labour. In the absence of the mother some other persons take care of the child. Thus different persons take care of the child at different times. Consequently, there is not one image, father or mother image in its mind. Though the infant feels emotional security, there is no scope for strong emotional ties between the parents and the child. There is another fact which perpetuates and strengthens this state of affairs. It is the discontinuity in the attitudes towards the child. As soon as he learns to subsist on food and to look after its needs independently, the parents do not bother much about it. It is not an attitude of neglect, but of 'laissez faire'. This fact is reflected in the interpersonal relations of the Kharwas. These relations seem to have been built up more from necessity than from emotional ties.

The method of swaddling, among the Kharwas, is typical and significant. It is one of the socially standardised way in which the adults and infants interact. The structure of the swaddle is such that it impedes free movement of the child. This gives rise
to aggressive responses which are inhibited. Inhibition of aggressive responses gives rise to hatred for the persons who swaddle it. Thus swaddling is one of the factors responsible for the hatred towards women.

Anal training is late and gradual. It is not associated with the idea of cleanliness but it is related with age. "The child is now a grown up one and so it must know how and where to perform the sphincter activities." This is what they say. Anal training is inducted gradually and apparently without the aid of punishment. In fact the child is not punished for any of its misdemeanors.

The child is breast fed and weaning is late and gradual. There is no specific time or age for the weaning of the child. A child continues to suck mother's breast till another child is born, or even after that. Mother neither objects nor punishes the child for clinging to the breast. There is no indication of anything traumatic about this phase of the child's life. No case of thumb sucking was noticed by me. As the second child is born, the older one should make room for it at the breast. This circumstance, would, in normal circumstances, give rise to jealousy in the older child. But the Kharwas as such are not jealous. This, however, does not mean that there is no element of jealousy in the Kharwas. The cultural
conditions of the society are such that jealousy need not be expressed. The older child is not weaned harshly, but its sense of shame is appealed to. Again, by applying some bitter substance on the nipple of the breast an aversion for breast is created in the child. The child feels that the breast now gives a bitter taste and hence he abandons the breast. Breasts do not hold high erotic value to the Kharwa women, as a sexual stimulus. The breast is more a feeding organ and hence of less sexual significance.

It will be interesting to compare the process of sphincter training and the attitudes towards it and towards weaning in our society with those in the Kharwas. There are not many 'dos' and 'don'ts' and taboos imposed on a young Kharwa child. The child is brought up in an atmosphere of ease and friendliness than amongst us. There are no fixed feeding schedules and no sphincter disciplines, as in our civilised society.

The absence of severe discipline in the Kharwa family has its effect on the attitude of the child towards those who care for it. Once the child is able to look after its needs independently, it is not taken care of. It grows by itself. Neither the mother nor the father is a strict disciplinarian. The chief influence of the absence of restricting disciplines and the instrument of punishment as a means
of coercion is on the constellations created around dependency. The attitude of care and love in early days and the attitude of laissez faire in later days creates a lull in the emotional life of the child. It may not shock the child, but at the same time it does not help in building strong emotional ties between the parents and the child. The intensity of attraction and attachment gradually lessens instead of getting stronger. Hence a Kharwa boy or a girl is not strongly attached to the parents emotionally.

The weapon of discipline is not enforced only by virtue of the power of the parents to impose it; but its most important adjunct is the dependency of the child on the parents. In this regard, the dependency of the child in Kharwa society is not properly and adequately satisfied by the roles of the mother and father in the process of socialisation of the child.

One immediate consequence of the relation of children to parents is the absence of abnormal inflation of the parental image. In the course of growth from helpless state in infancy to adulthood, the individual expects and seeks help from some superior being when he is confronted with a situation transcending his powers. It is natural, therefore, to expect that when he calls upon this superior being to aid him, he will utilise the same techniques which he has learned from his experience in winning the protection from the parents. Thus the absence of discipline in Kharwa society does not do away with the necessity of a superior being, a deity or a god; but the technique
for soliciting his aid is not by renunciations of gratifications. The individual who helps is approached and respected. The loyalty to an individual, to the group, or to the god is entirely contingent on the good deeds it performs. There is no adherence or loyalty to a single group or god. If one group of god fails to help, the loyalty is shifted to another group or deity.

The discontinuity of the attitudes towards the child has an important influence on the patterns of interpersonal relationships in social life. Mistrust underlies all interpersonal relations. The roots of this mistrust may be traced to the derogatory representation of a mother in the folktale who withholds her attention intermittently and caresses the child from time to time. Earlier experiences give rise to a feeling in the child that things will come to right in the end. But because of the discontinuity of the attitude by the mother and the perpetuation of the same, mother's constant support and the child's own omnipotence prove unreliable. It shows the inability to trust or feel that the mother is devoted to it. His confidence is shattered and this feeling of mistrust is generalized. He comes to mistrust everything, his own persons and friends, even the objects of the material world and gods. Even after performing the rites he is not sure that his efforts would be fruitful.

The further consequences of the relations of child to parents in the Kharwa society are: a precocious independence and a remarkable self-confidence in comparison with our standards of age behaviour. A Kharwa child is not attached to his home and dependent on his parents for a pretty long period like his brother.
in a civilised society. Again, he gains self-confidence at an earlier age than our children. The child either alone or in group, moves about in the fields to collect firewood, goes for fishing in the sea where waters are not deep, and bathes in the sea.

Within the family the relationships are symmetrical. The child is treated, as if it were a finished individual able in some degree to oppose the mother's will and endowed with rights similar to those enjoyed by the adults. A child is an incomplete rather than an inferior human being. This gives rise to a kind of independence and self-reliance in the child.

There is no discrimination in the treatment of children on the ground of sex. A boy and a girl are treated in the same manner. A boy neither enjoys a premium over the girl, nor is the girl despised.

Sibling rivalry among the Kharwa children is handled very carefully. It is discouraged. All children are treated equally and enjoy similar status in the family and in society. The older child is not punished or ridiculed for jealousy towards the younger child but an appeal is made to his sense of shame. He is told: "you are an older child. It is bad for an older child to beat a younger one." In the absence of the parents it is the older child who takes care of the younger ones. Since all children are treated equally, there is no situation in which one child may feel neglected and discarded and the other may feel more loved.
There are no stories of mother-son incest or brother-sister incest. There is no evidence for the existence of Oedipus complex in the Kharwas. The conditions which give rise to Oedipus complex are almost absent in Kharwa society. The menfolk are out for most of the time and therefore they do not steal the woman's love from the child. The father is again not a strict disciplinarian. There is therefore no reason for the rise of the sense of hostility towards father. The children are married at an age when they have hardly become mature sexually. When they feel the need for sex-gratification, they are already married and hence they have neither to repress nor to postpone the desire for sex gratification. This condition obviates the possibility of any type of incestuous sex relations.

Thus the situation in Kharwa society and culture is different from that in our civilised society. In our civilised society, the dependency situation between the child and the parents is not disturbed by the absence of care but by the introduction of restricting discipline.

(4) Religion and Fantasy - the Projective system

Religious belief consists in the traditional standardization of the positive side in the mental conflict and therefore satisfies a definite individual need arising out of the psychological concomittants of social organization. On the other hand, religious belief and ritual by making the critical acts and social contracts of human life public, traditionally
standardized and subject to supernatural sanctions, strengthen the bonds of human cohesion. Religion of the Kharwas, also, performs two functions. It satisfies the emotional needs of the individual and also acts as a powerful means of social control. If we are correct in assuming that in religion we ought to see the resultant of anxieties proceeding from the economy and from intrasocial tensions which need to be repressed, we ought to find here a religion which satisfies a few human needs. The religion of the Kharwas is a system which satisfies their need for relief from the anxiety they have about the success of their sailing and fishing expeditions which are contingent upon the forces of nature. Various rituals and rites connected with sailing and celebration of festivals are a clear projection of people's anxieties. The performance of these rituals and the celebration of festivals give them a psychological satisfaction that if performed properly, the results will be favourable and god's and Nature's wrath can be evaded. Thus the religious practices of the Kharwas determine their personality traits, and these practices in turn are invented by them in order to meet their personality needs and traits.

(a) The Kharwas have deified those elements of nature which they fear and find beyond control. These are the deities of sea, of water, of wind, of fish etc. But there is no strong and exacting deity or graded hierarchy of gods. The gods also function within
their fields and do not quarrel among themselves. Again, it may be observed that the goddesses are worshipped more and exercise effective control over the life cycle of the Kharwas. Kuldevi (clan goddess) is a benevolent and powerful goddess. Whenever anything untoward happens, the Kharwas fear that it is because of the displeasure of Kuldevi. The help of Kuldevi is invoked through the Bhuwa, especially for counteracting the influence of a witchcraft.

(b) Another salient feature of their phantasy is that an individual through the practice of mortification can achieve superhuman powers. Such a man can create miracles. He can eat charcoals, walk on them, can catch red hot iron in his hands and can forecast the course of events.

(c) Fatalistic tendency, the urge to believe in the inevitableness of events in life is the outstanding characteristic of Kharwa personality. Fatalism, which rejects science, is a general tendency of the Kharwas. They believe that, "what is destined to happen will happen." The writings of the goddess Fortune (Vidhatri) cannot be averted. What is written in the forehead of the individual at the time of birth will invariably occur." The story of a "son of Bhangi (sweeper) of Gogha marrying the Princess of Lanka" provides a psychological and emotional background to his faith in Fatalism. The Kharwas believe in fate, yet they do not abstain from efforts and work. They believe that if a man sits idle and does not put forth any efforts, how can the Fortune help him, even if there is written something good in his fate. Man has to put forth the efforts.
but the result will be according to what is in his fate. Thus
the fatalism of the Kharwas is different from that of many other
tribes.

This fatalistic tendency and belief in the inevita-
bleness of events have coloured his outlook towards life and its
events. As the Kharwas are engaged in the most hazardous enter-
prise viz., sailing, their safety and security are at stake
every moment. This situation creates tension and anxiety in his
mind, for which there is no redress. The belief that "what is
written in the foreheads will invariably occur" gives them solace
and soothes the effect of tension and anxiety. It reflects the
awareness of the limitations of human capacity in face of the
natural forces and calamities. It also provides an explanation
for failure. The story of the goddess Fortune provides a strongly
emotional background. It saves him from experiencing remorse and
makes him feel at ease by compromising.

(d) The Kharwa believes in and fears the ghosts and spirits.
All the dead persons do not become ghosts, but only those whose
desires are unsatisfied at the time of death become ghosts. He
believes in life after death and rebirth. The next life of the
individual is determined by his good or bad deeds of present life.

Death brings an end to the relations of the individual
with the living beings and he becomes the member of the group of
the dead. It forms a different world unrelated to this world.
If certain rites are performed and spirits and ghosts are satisfied they are liberated from this stage, relinquish their forms and join the group of the dead. Thus the Kharwa does not fear much the death and the dead. The attitude towards sickness and death is representative of his general attitude of fatalism and helplessness. "What can we do before God's desire? We are helpless before God." This does not mean that they do not feel sorrow at death. They do feel sorrow and grief but they do not convert mourning into an ambitious display of terror situation. They treat the death as a loss, but they have invented techniques for getting it past quickly. The mortuary rites lessen the shock of the loss by the death and also help the individual to resume the daily life.

(e) Immortality of the soul among the Kharwas seems a condition taken for granted for every individual. The relations with the dead are neither characterised by great fear, nor are the ideas about immortality characterised by great expectations, for there are no great dangers to be avoided. The Kharwa's ideas about immortality indicate the absence of such an anxiety as is expressed, for example, by the Christian idea. We may correlate this absence of anxiety about death and immortality with the absence of severe disciplines in childhood.
(f) The Kharuas, like any other tribe, invoke the aid of supernaturals - gods and goddess - for tiding over the crises or difficult situations in life. But the techniques employed by them for propitiating the gods and invoking their aid is not of self-punishment or self-deprivation. The supernatural aid is solicited by offering oblation and feeding ritual. This fact, again, may be correlated with the absence of strict disciplines in childhood. Since the mother is no more a disciplinarian in the sense of restricting influence, nor is the father in a Kharu family, she fails the child as a protective influence. This situation prevents the formation of the constellation in the individual "If I obey you, you will protect and care for me" or "If I want to be protected by you I must renounce certain gratifications and suffer." These techniques are thus the indicators of the relations of the child to the parents. Since, as a child, an individual is not required to suffer self-deprivation, for getting the protection and support of the parents he does not feel the need for it, for propitiating gods and soliciting their aid.

(g) The usual incest taboos and taboos concerning sexual relations and marriage exist. The taboo covers both sexual objects and sexual aim. The myth about 'god Brahma having been fascinated by the charms and beauty of his daughter Saraswati' is very popular among the Kharuas. They quote this myth and tell young boys and girls that even a grown up brother and sister should not meet in privacy. These facts show that the disposition for incestuous relations are there. The taboos about incest are very strict and it is considered the most degrading, brutal and irreligious act.
The myths about the incestuous relations can be better understood in terms of social psychological explanation rather than in psychoanalytic terms. Incest means a prohibited sex relation, for example, between mother and son, father and daughter, brother and sister etc. Incest taboos may be regarded as an effective device for the maintenance of harmony and solidarity in the family as well as the group. If the girl can be married within the family to the brother or father, it would create sex jealousy and hostility between the brothers and between father and the grown up sons. The sensual approach of a son towards his mother would not only disturb the normal mother-son relationship but also bring about active rivalry and hostility between father and son. Hence such relations would have been declared as 'against the desire of god!! Unless it is declared to be against the will of god, the taboo will not act as a powerful deterrent. The fact that incest taboos are convenient devices for the solidarity of the group and family, will be evident from the marriage customs prevalent among many castes and communities. The cross cousin marriage is a taboo among the high caste Hindus while it is not so in some tribes like Bihals, Even Kharwas and Rajputs allow cross-cousin marriage in a limited manner. A boy can marry the daughter of mother's brother. But a girl cannot marry the son of mother's brother. This custom seems to have been introduced with a view of keeping the property within the family circle. The Kharwas claim to have Rajput strain. Rajputs were the ruling community. If a Rajput chieftain has no son, his property and kingdom will be inherited by the daughter. But if the daughter is married
to sister's son the property and kingdom will remain within the family circle. Again there was a custom of dowry in these castes. The father of the girl has to give good dowary to his daughter. If therefore the daughter is married to sister's son the dowary remains within the family. A girl cannot marry the son of mother's brother because in that case the son cannot accept dowary from father's sister. He will thus be at a loss. These social psychological considerations underlie these marriage customs. Parallel cousin marriage is allowed in Parsees and Muslims. Marriages between brother and sister have been allowed in many primitive tribes.

Such stories concerning the incest relation serve two purposes. It serves as a historical record of some important event, and secondly, it is the expression of the pressure of certain social conditions currently prevailing on the products of phantasy. Freud holds that this is a combination of historical event and a biological tendency of man. But we can say that the oedipus tale and the complex found in contemporary individuals have nothing to do with the remote past, except in so far as the same type of institutions which created the complex in the remote past still exist in some form today. Nor is it a process of the racial unconscious; but both are produced by the same institutions which are a specific type of patriarchal family organization, operating on a given biological make up of man. Stories and folklores may contain elements of history, but what is historical in it is of relatively little importance because the history is distorted to the use of expressing current conflicts - conflict of a general kind created by the existing social organization. These
stories retain nothing of the remote past, except perhaps the characters. Hence so far as the characters and occurrence of incest relation are concerned it may be a true story. But the element of horror and guilt feelings associated with it may be later interpolations. This later addition may be the result of the attitude nurtured by the society towards the violation of social norms by the members. Supernatural wrath and calamities linked up with taboos, indicate how strongly the society want to enforce the taboo.

(h) The phantasy about the origin of the world and the tribe is similar to those prevailing in other communities. It runs like this: "Under the instructions of God Brahma, the waters of the sea were rushing forward to destroy everything, Lord Manu, the son of Sun God, was moving on the Himalayas with his family and Rishis. River Kritmala was flowing by the side. Manu went to fetch water from the river. A small fish came into his hands. The fish was crying 'save! save!', Lord Manu took the fish out. The fish began to grow large like a giant. There was a ship on its head. The fish was still shouting 'save! save!'. Manu, with his family and Rishis and all types of seeds, entered into the ship. In few seconds the earth was deluged under the waters of sea. Manu and others remained in the ship for a few days. Then the waters receded and mountains came out first. Manu and his party landed on the Mount Meru and stayed there. Manu had twelve sons who were the ancestors of Kshatriyas. Kharwas regard themselves as Kshatriyas and the descendants of Manu."
A myth like this cannot be looked upon as an idle speculation about the origins of things or institutions or tribes. Nor is it the outcome of the contemplation of nature and rhapsodical interpretation of its laws. It is the statement of an extraordinary event, the occurrence of which once for all had established the social order of the tribe or some of its economic pursuits, its arts and crafts or its religious or magical beliefs and ceremonies. It is a statement of Primordial reality which lives in the institutions and pursuits of the community. It justifies by precedent the existing order and it supplies a retrospective pattern of moral values, of sociological discriminations and burdens and of magical belief. The function of myth is to strengthen tradition and to endow it with a greater value and prestige by tracing it back to a higher, better, more supernatural and more effective reality of initial events.

This myth has an important place in the social and cultural life of the Kharwas. By tracing the origin of Kharwa community to a single common ancestor, it emphasises the necessity of unity and harmony among the Kharwas. Moreover, it denies any discriminations between individuals and families on any grounds whatsoever - status, prestige, prosperity and the like. And we see that there are no such distinctions in Kharwa community. All are equal in status. Thirdly, Sun God is a symbol of vitality and what is good in the universe. The tracing of the origin of
Kharwa community to this God implies an emphasis on the development of good qualities, virtues and sense of moral values in the individuals. This conclusion has been justified by many articles, stories and poems published in "Vahanvati" and "Dariya Chhoru" - the journals brought out by the Kharwas. In these articles, stories and poems, there is contained an appeal, an urge to shake off ignorance, bad habits and bad customs and to cultivate good ones to achieve a position and status which they used to have in the past.

The association of sea, fish, and ship into the myth supply important clues about the life and vocation of the Kharwas. They are called Kharwas because they live in the midst of salty waters - i.e., sea. Their existence and economic prosperity are dependent upon two things - ship and fish. So they are by tradition and by birth sailing and fishing tribe. That is why, they worship the boat and the fish (Nashchhu Deva) while resuming fishing expeditions at the end of Akhar - a period of rough weather. Thus the myth performs an important function - that of strengthening tradition, values, unity and solidarity.

5. The Super-Ego

Here the term 'Super-Ego' is not used in the Freudian sense. Here 'Super-Ego' means the conscience, the strength and power to stand and resist against the difficulties. It means the capacity to face difficulties and frustrations. Super-ego is built up in the individual during the process of socialisation.
Super-ego may be normal or neurotic, weak or strong. The normal super-ego undergoes changes in accordance with the external reality, whereas the neurotic super-ego tends to remain fixed to its infantile conditionings. Super-ego is the product of interaction between dependency and restrictive disciplines during the childhood. Neurotic super-ego is the product of the interaction between extreme dependency of the child and severe restrictive disciplines. The super-ego is therefore a delicately poised indicator of the security system of the individual.

As we have seen in the earlier pages, the training and disciplines of the child in Kharwa society are neither rigid nor strict. They are enforced late and are gradual and without any punishment for the lapses. The child has not to forgo any gratifications for getting protection and love. Moreover, as soon as the child becomes independent and capable of satisfying its needs by itself, it is allowed unrestricted freedom. Consequently, a Kharwa individual becomes independent precociously and more self-confident than his brother in the civilised world. The super-ego of the Kharwas is normal and strong. A Kharwa individual withstands all types of hardships and calamities with courage and confidence. He has the stability of mind to ponder over the situation and think out the remedies. He does not regress or retire from the difficult situation unless it goes beyond human capacity.
The rate of educated individuals in the Kharwa population has considerably gone up. Many Kharwa individuals have taken education up to postgraduate level and are well placed in life. The Kharwas of Porbandar and Veraval are well advanced in this matter than those of other towns. I met one Kharwa physician engaged in medical practice. He was M.B.B.S. and well placed in society and life. Similarly, his brother was B.A. L.L.B. and was carrying on legal practice. One of my informants, Mr. Shamjibhai Motivaras, was M.Com. L.L.B. and was serving in a Shipping Company. I found many graduates engaged in different government and non-government offices and firms.

In Veraval, the Kharwa Students' Association is running its own primary school. I had the pleasure to visit this School and meet the children and teachers.

Though the facilities for educating their children have increased, the Kharwas do not take full advantage of the same. The number of the educational institutions has gone up and so the number of the children enrolled in the schools. But I was told by the teachers in primary schools that the Kharwa children are very irregular in attendance. Even when they come to the school, they are neither properly dressed nor do they have all the required books and other articles. They do not prepare the homework too. This reflects the general attitude of Laissez Faire of the Kharwas. The parents do not bother whether the children regularly go to the school or not, whether they are paying attention to the study or not.
The spread of education has caused violent changes in the ways of thinking and behaviour of the Kharwa youths and adults. Education has broadened their field of vision and experience. Their notions of 'eatables and non-eatables,' 'good and bad' have changed. For example, Faribhai, a teacher in Taluka School in Veraval, told me that he does not even take fish. He is purely a vegetarian. The most important change caused by education is that the educated people have stopped drinking liquors and they are persuading others to do so. They insist on cleanliness in every matter. They look after the education of their children and see that they are well clad and equipped when they go to the schools. An educated youth looks smart, active, polite and very impressive.

Another discernible change brought about by education is found in the field of religious and magical practices. The educated Kharwa individual does not believe in magic and witchcraft. Shamjibhai and others told me that it is merely a superstition of the people, not a fact or reality. Consequently, they now take all cases of sickness to the physician instead of to a Bhuva. Their views about the etiology of the disease have thus altered.

Thirdly, the educated youths and adults have come to believe that the restrictions and taboos on the freedom of women are meaningless and unnecessary. Of course, they dare not remove these restrictions on their wives on account of fear of the Panch.
Haribhai Qari, a Legal Practitioner in Veraval, told me that he
dares not take his wife to the cinema, although such a restric-
tion is abused and unnecessary. He said that when majority of
the people are uneducated, abrupt and violent, changes in the code
of conduct and behaviour are likely to be opposed. In order to
improve the conditions, they have been persuading their fellow
brothers to send their daughters to the schools. I found, in Veraval
and Porbandar, a good number of girls studying in Secondary Schools.
Thus the lot of the women will gradually improve.

Fourth, the spread of education has brought about a
wide gap in the thoughts and outlooks of the youths and their parents.
Consequently, the place of joint family system is being taken by the
divided families. This change in the social organisation does not
have any adverse effects on the patterns of relations between the
married sons and the parents as they have happily adjusted to this
change.

Lastly, the Kharwas of Porbandar have modified their
code of marriage so as to make provision for divorce in genuine cases.
Of course, the cases are very scrupulously examined and divorce is
given only on the grounds of some permanent deformity of either spouse,
incapacity of the woman to bear children, and where either spouse is
suffering from serious contagious and incurable disease. This marks
the landmark in the history of social advancement of the Kharwas.
(b) **Transport**  

Development of transport and communications provide greater opportunities for coming into contact with the people of distant places. The transport and communication facilities have made it possible to bring new articles and fashions into use. The media of mass communications like the newspapers and radios have made them aware that the world is wider than they know. They have made the people politically conscious and forward looking. Frequent visits to large cities in the interior part of the country have now become possible. This has led them to compare their ways of living with those of advanced communities and incited them to better ways of living.

(c) **Economic Development**  

The Central and State Governments have undertaken the implementation of development programmes to develop certain ports and make them all-weather ports. With the development of ports, the transactions of the cargoes from these ports have increased. Consequently, the opportunities for employment and for raising the standards of income have also increased. The Kharwas are now better off economically than they were prior to Independence. Their standard of living has improved, and better comforts of life are now accessible to them.

The government has undertaken the implementation of a scheme for the development of fisheries. The fisheries department advances loans for the building of a boat, for mechanising it and
for the purchase of fishing nets. The Japanese nets have been introduced for catching fish. Every Kharwa has now his own boat, equipped with machines and implements for fishing. They can go for fishing to distant parts of the sea. With the improved methods of fishing, the yield of fish is considerably good. Moreover, the cooperative societies of fishermen have been formed. These societies purchase the fish from the Kharwas daily on reasonable price and export it to the interior parts of the country. As such the economic exploitation by the rich individuals and money-lenders has ceased.

The government have started hospitals and dispensaries in various cities. Mobile dispensaries have also been started for the rural population. Maternity hospitals and child health centres have been opened. The Kharwas have appreciated the necessity of medical aid. Though the orthodox individuals still believe in magic and magical charms, they do not disregard the necessity of medical aid. The incidence of various diseases has therefore decreased and the general standard of health and hygiene has improved.

(d) Legislation

Two legislations passed by the State Assembly and the Parliament have brought about basic changes in the life of the Kharwas. These legislations are: The Act of Prohibition and the Marriage Act.
As stated earlier, the Kharwas are habitual drinkers. Every Kharwa takes liquor at night after supper. The evils of drinking are evident. It not only brings unnecessary burden on the economy of the family, but also disturbs smooth relations in the family. I was told by my informant that many times, under the influence of intoxication, the men beat their wives. The Kharwa women have a peculiar hatred towards drinking. This situation adversely affects the relations between husband and wife. With the introduction of prohibition in Gujarat, the incidence of drunkenness has gone down. Illicit distillation is still widespread among the Kharwa population, but the fear of being caught has restrained them from taking liquor too frequently and in overdose. Many individuals have given up drinking.

The marriage Act has prohibited child marriage. The average age for marriage of a Kharwa girl was 12 to 15 years and of a boy from 15 to 18 years. That is, a girl was married before she was sexually mature and understand the full significance of the marriage for her life. I was told by my informant of an incident in which 12 year old married girl had given birth to a child. That means, an individual was married before he had any idea about the married life, about his responsibilities, about the dangers associated with sexual life, and about the parenthood. Marriage was again regarded as indissoluble. These facts created many complexes and problems of adjustment. Under the above act, an age for marriage for a girl is 16 and for a boy 18. Of course, even at this age boys and girls are not fully aware of the problems and responsibilities of married life.
yet marriages at premature age have ceased. Hence the problems of marital adjustment have been reduced. The spouses can have better understanding of each other’s psychology. This has a favourable effect on the relation between the sexes.

Impact of the Changes on the Personality of Kharwas

The changes brought about in the cultural patterns of the Kharwas through various agencies have exerted far reaching influence on the life and personality of the Kharwas. They have affected their attitudes, sentiments and values. A Kharwa individual is losing faith in the efficacy of magic and magical charms. He has come to believe that sickness and disease are caused by physiological causes and not by the influence of evil eye of a witch. He believes that magic and witchcraft are not facts but the superstitions of the mind. This attitude is more apparent in the youths educated.

Another important effect of these changes is on their attitude towards gods and goddesses. The primitive belief was that the calamities which befall on individuals are the result of the wrath of the gods and goddesses. This wrath of the divine can be averted by offering oblation and sacrifices. There was, therefore, a custom of offering the sacrifice of a goat to the goddess, so that the goddess may be pleased and they may be rewarded with good yields of the fish. This attitude is now changed and the custom of offering a goat to the goddess has ceased since last decade. The educated and the enlightened individuals now believe that the divine elements
are all compassion and help the people in their efforts for good and virtuous life.

The spread of education has brought about a change in their concepts of moral values. Their ideas about 'good' and 'bad' are considerably altered. Taking liquor, which was considered a necessity, is now looked upon with disgust and as bad. They abhor drunkenness. The enlightened people look upon non-vegetarian food as bad.

There has been a notable change in the attitudes of young people towards the women. They have been able to see the absurdity of various restrictions imposed upon them. The gradual change from joint family system to the system of divided family has afforded better opportunities for intimacy between husband and wife. They can meet and talk at any time, and not merely at night as in joint family system. This has resulted in better understanding of each other. The very fact that the girls are now educated up to secondary level, vindicates the change in their attitude towards women.

The ideal of marriage among the educated young people is completely altered. It is now no more a domestic one; but the elements of romance are gradually finding place in it. To an advanced Kharwa youth, a wife is not merely for looking after him for household work and for bearing children. His picture of a wife has been more comprehensive. A wife is not merely a means of satisfying his biological needs. He recognizes the psychological needs of love and emotional warmth. He wants to build his family on the pattern of high caste Hindu family.
The Laissez-Faire attitude towards children, their needs and their education is giving way to sensitiveness towards their needs. The enthusiastic and educated parents have become conscious of the necessity of properly educating their children so as to carve out a definite future for them.

The development programmes undertaken by the government, facilities of loans, rise of various cooperative societies etc. all have contributed to the economic betterment of the Kharwas. The Kharwa women, are now rarely required to go on work. They can, therefore, properly attend to their children. The discontinuity of attitudes of the mother towards the child, which was the source of many complexes and constellations, has now ceased. The present children will come out as youths of sound and better personality.

The material equipments of the Kharwa individual have also improved as a result of economic betterment. Different articles of luxury such as radios, utensils of brass and stainless steel, stove, iron coats, cups and saucers of china wares, items of furniture like chairs and teapots, clothes of terylene and terrycotton now find place in a Kharwa house. The economic insecurity and the anxiety resulting therefrom has almost disappeared.

Lastly, the raising in the age of marriage through enactment by the Government, coupled with the spread of education, has introduced revolutionary change in the system of selecting a partner for marriage. Formerly, the parents of the boy and the girl used to settle the marriage. The boy and the girl concerned
were neither allowed to see each other nor their consent was obtained. The groom and the bride used to see each other on the first night after marriage. Till then, they were strangers to each other. Now this condition has been modified and the boy and the girl are permitted to see each other and to give their consent or dissent to the proposed matrimonial relation. Since the marriages are now arranged with their consent after seeing each other, a better understanding and attachment prevails between them. This has contributed to the improvement of the psychological atmosphere in the family. The incidence of quarrels and conflicts between such spouses has gone down considerably. Consequently, the child has now a better feeling of security which is very important for the development of a healthy personality.

The changes brought about in the cultural patterns of the Kharwas by various sources have favourably affected the personality of the Kharwas. The Kharwas have happily adjusted to the changes. Not only that but they have welcomed these changes. No serious problems of adjustment or the stability of family and social life have arisen. If this process of changes and the happy adjustment to them has been continued we can expect a Kharwa child growing into an adult with a sound and balanced personality.