

PART THREE - INTERPRETATION

The third part of ^{the} ~~he~~ thesis is -
interpretative. It consists of two chapters,
chapters XIV and XV. The former one is an analysis
of the patterns of the Dangs culture. This chapter
is related to the part two viz. the description of
the Dangs culture. For, in this chapter an attempt
is made to analyse and see a psychological relation
between the personality traits of a Dangi man and
woman and the items of the Dangs culture. It is
shown here how the geographical and physical
conditions and ~~h~~istory of the Dangs, the social
structure, the economic organisation and institutions,
the systems of religion, witchcraft and magic, art
and folklore, the child rearing systems, the nature
of an adult life, etc. develop typical traits of
a Dangi personality. It explains how a Dangi -
personality is a typical result of the Dangs ~~ku~~
culture. A Dangi is what he is because of the Dangs

culture. The relation between culture and - personality is an inter^{ac}tional process. The institutions and ideas which develop certain traits in a Dangi, are sustained and continued because they satisfy the personality needs of a Dangi. The institutions satisfy the psychological needs of the people, in turn again the needs are there because the institutions are there.

As stated earlier (in chapter I) three types of procedures have been utilised single or in combination for analysis of the cultural patterns, (1) personality assessment of varying number of individuals as individuals (2) psych^hological analysis of collective adult phenomena and (3) psych^hological analysis of child rearing systems.

Chapter XV, in the end is about the cultural changes in the Dangs and its impact on the Dangi personality. It reviews in brief the changes in the spheres of the Dangi life and discusses their effect on the Dangi personality. Suggestions have been made as to how the reforms should be introduced keeping in mind the psychology of the people.

CHAPTER XIV

THE DANGS CULTURE AND PERSONALITY - (A PSYCHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS)

I. INTRODUCTION

"Tied to the culture concept is a principal governing one's personality. We are what we are because of the habits, customs, language we have learnt since birth. How can we learn our habits ? The anthropologists toss this fundamental challenge to the psychologists"(1).

The individual does not start his race in life in a vacuum. The individual learns through participation in the culture. His behaviour is culturally determined; the social situations and

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1. Chase Stuart : The Proper Study of Mankind. New York, Harper, 1948. p.227.

stages into which the individual gradually steps into and passes through, and the roles he has to play are more or less defined and understood practically in the same meaning by all the individuals. Hence, to that extent individuals of one society differ in their personality structure from the personality structure of individuals in other society. The Dangis as a people are different from others because their personality structure is typical, a product of the Dangs culture.

In previous pages the various patterns, physical, material and psychological of the Dangs culture have been discussed. An effort is made here by analysing psychologically these cultural patterns, to show that the personality traits which make a typical Dangi are rooted in these patterns of culture. In other words, an effort has been made here to interpret the relation between the psychology of the Dangi personality and the Dangs culture.

In such a kind of study one has to find out the features which show how psychological forces operate in a culture. All facts and features of culture are not equally indicative of the psychic

and social pressures in that society. One has to observe, collect the basic data and decide which are relevant and important. Psychological development occurs as the person behaves in life situations. In the previous pages we have described the 'ecology and habitat' of the Dangi people. Lewin(2) and Brunswick, E.(3) use 'habitat' and 'ecology' to refer to naturally occurring non-experimental situations. Habitat refers to the world as it exists for the person and as it affects behaviour, the psychological situation of life space. It also includes the impersonal world (physical and geographical conditions, social groupings, etc.) which does not affect behaviour directly, yet both limit the psychological world and contribute to the content. After describing the non-psychological facts and psychological situations the task now is to see how they are related to acculturation and personality formation of a Dangi.

2 and 3 . As referred by Barker, R.G. and Wright, H.F. Psychological Ecology and the Psychological Development in Brand, H. (ed.) The Study of Personality. New York, John Wiley, 1954. pp.398-411.

II. ANALYSIS OF THE CULTURE -
SOME POSTULATES

1. The Dangs is a mountainous^{xi} and forest area.
2. The Dangs was a state formerly ruled by independent Bhil Kings, later on became a native state under the British rulers.
3. The Dangis live a hard life under very trying and rigorous physical and natural conditions.
4. ^{Family}~~Farming~~ is a unit of social and religious life in a village. Residence is patri-
^{the line of descent is}local and patrilineal.
5. There is underlying mistrust in the inter-personal relations. A quarrelsome and aggressive man is a bad man.
6. Panch is an important social institution.
7. The tribes are like the castes in the Hindu society.
8. There is scarcity of food. Corn is considered capital.

9. There is a right to own and enjoy property.
10. There is a galaxy of gods which control various activities and events in life.
11. There is belief in magic, witchcraft and sorcery.
12. Celebration of the festivals and economic and agricultural activities are related.
13. The stories of the goddess of Fortune, of the origin of the earth and tribes, have an emotional value. They relate the past with the present.
14. Skill in dance and music enhances social prestige.
15. A child is welcome. A male child does not enjoy an absolute premium over a female child. An infant is carefully attended.
16. A child once able to walk and look after his needs independently is not very carefully attended.

17. The process of socialisation is not rigorous; there is smooth and easy transfer from one age group to another.
18. Adolescence is not a period of stress and strain. Maturity means 'fit for marriage'.
19. The ideal of marriage is domestic. Marriage is a social and economic contract.
20. Cross cousin marriage is possible within the tribe.
21. As ^{an} adult the individual establishes his/her own house and family and fulfills the social obligations.
22. Death brings an end to life. There are two worlds; one of the living, the other of the dead. After death the individual joins the other world.
23. The Dangis are fatalistic and believe in rebirth.

III. THE PERSONALITY OF A DANGI MALE AND FEMALE

A Dangi, a slim and rickety individual, barely clad, living a monotonous hard life, is underfed and remains half-starved for many a days in a year. He is primarily a food gatherer. His small house, some utensils, agricultural implements and instruments and weapons like a bow and an arrow are his material equipment. The primary problem for him is to exist. So the activities and mores pertaining to self-maintenance and self-perpetuation are the primary forces of his activities. The self-maintenance mores include food gathering activities and customs that act as a defence against danger, which sustain and preserve the individual and the group, and enable it to carry on in face of obstacles. The basic problem for a Dangi is to satisfy his physiological and biological needs and to survive. He has to fight and strive for his mere existence. Biological needs enjoy a superiority over the socio-genic needs.

Temperamentally a Dangi is an introvert and individualistic. Mutual distrust seems to underlie his relationships. His activities and perceptions are governed by fear, fear of the strange and the stranger, of the natural and the supernatural. He regresses from the situation when he cannot face it. "What can I do? What can be done?" are the questions which reflect his helplessness. He believes that, "what is destined to happen will happen. No amount of our efforts can stop it". Hence, he submits and becomes a passive observer of the passing situation. He habitually gives up the struggle without more detailed inquiry and with a minimum of complaint. A Dangi is not insensitive to differences between people. But his full appreciation of these differences is blurred by his obstinate disposition, a tendency to feel offended, irritability and contra-suggestibility. The lack of curiosity about motivation is furthered by the conventional acceptance of an ambiguous answer to any personal question. The most characteristic reply is 'yes, may be this or that,' or 'I do not know,' or 'would laugh as if such a question is worth asking.' 'Why did your wife run away?' 'God knows,' he would answer.

violation of social code and aggression are disallowed. Hence, they have cultivated the compromising nature and are of peaceful temperament. Their behaviour is governed more by sense of shame than remorse or guilt. "It happens" is the attitude towards uncommon events or behaviour. It never arouses him to violent opposition.

An important feature of personality is his relation with the utility objects. The objects are regarded as the extensions of the ego as a part of himself, and are endowed with attributes very like the possessor's own. The object increases prestige in use. Property is not a great source of anxiety to a Dangli. Its chief function is to enhance the prestige of the donor by making him a great feeder.

His attitude towards his life and children ^{are} ~~is~~ typical. He has distrust for his wife and repressed hatred towards her. His attitude towards children is an illustration of his general attitude of laissez-faire towards life. The sexual situation with the woman leads to the fear of woman. The sexual dissatisfaction as well as disappointment in

the tender relations with the woman leads the man to strong hatred towards her. No such attitude exists between man and man.

A Dangi woman shares all the general traits of personality with the Dangi man. But she feels more 'insecure' in life, and hence her life is unstable. The instability is because of conflict in roles she has to play. For her social existence as a 'wife' and economically, she is dependent on her husband. She cannot adjust to the transfer to the role of a wife from that of a daughter. Moreover, if the husband cannot feed her, her life itself is at stake. So she leaves the house, joins the other house. The husband to her is one who feeds her and her children. Her ideal of marriage is domestic and economic, not romantic.

The inter-personal relations are governed only by the necessity of having a relation. There is no organised corporate group life. Even in the tasks which need group work, the element of individuality is prominent. For example, they share a common hunt or go on a fishing expedition, but everybody takes his own share and sits individually.

IV. RELATION BETWEEN THE ASPECTS OF CULTURE AND THE PERSONALITY TRAITS

The relation between culture and personality is reciprocal. Cultural patterns determine the personality traits, similarly cultural practices come into existence in order to support the personality traits and needs also. There is interaction between culture and personality.

(1) The Physical Environment as a Determinant:

The Dangs being a hilly and forest area there is hardly a sufficiently big and wide plain track of land where a big village can be populated. So the villages are spread out and the population is scattered over the entire region. The density of population is 226 per village. Moreover, all the families staying in a village are not necessarily of the same tribe or related to each other. Secondly, so far the Dangi lived a nomadic life. He searched out a virgin piece of land, cultivated it for a few years and finding that the returns are low, moved elsewhere in search of another piece of virgin land. Still on various grounds he leaves his house and sometimes the village also, to settle elsewhere.

Because of this, the social contacts and acquaintances are not very rich and deep. He is not emotionally and deeply related with his neighbours or village people. So a Dangi lives more or less an independent and individualistic life.

The physical topography and the nature of the soil have helped in the development and nourishment of this attitude. The pieces of cultivable land are not very big. The Dangi single-handedly can clean and prepare the land for cultivation, lopp the trees and plough the land. His agricultural implements are such that he can work single-handedly. Many a Dangi plough the field with the hand-drawn plough. The soil is rocky. So neither the soil can be ploughed deep, nor the bullock plough can be very profitably used. Beating the land and digging it with long sticks is an alternative method for ploughing. This all is a single man's work. Moreover, where everybody is in worry of his own subsistence, how can he help others? A grown up son after marriage also would leave the father's house to eke out his own subsistence.

Because of rocks and slopes, the tracks connecting the villages in many cases are not passable for vehicles and for carts also. So when no cart or vehicle can help, the Dangi has to carry his own luggage, climb the hill and walk down the distance. Where everybody is confined to the same fate, neither can he help others nor ask others to help him. Every individual has to depend on himself. Hence, their relationships are largely on a personal basis. Co-operative enterprises are personal in nature and hence not permanent. Thus it has nurtured the 'individuality' in life and the individualistic attitude leading to selfishness. Again, this has been strengthened by the conditions of food anxiety, water scarcity, and social conditions. This is apparent from behaviour patterns in many respects.

(2) Fear as the Governing Factor :

'Fear' is an important determinant of their behaviour patterns. They fear the strange as well as the stranger, fear animals, men and gods. The magical rites and religious system very well reflect this attitude. This attitude is rooted in past history

and has been nurtured by the physical conditions.

Under the tutelege of the Bhil robber kings, the people's life was always at stake. Their property, cattle and chastity of women were always in the fear of being robbed and spoiled. Because of this terror of the Bhil kings an individual Bhil was also looked upon as a 'symbol of death' by other non-Bhils.

The Bhil chieftains were subdued and were replaced by the British Government officers and servants. In its enthusiasm to establish peace and order the government indirectly curbed the power and freedom of the people by entering into treaties and contracts. The grumblings and uprisings of the people to fight for the rights in the forests were cruelly and high handedly suppressed. So much that even the pettiest government servant became a symbol of power and fear to them. They were living in a condition resembling slavery and serfdom, and hence developed a tendency to submit to power and fear of man and nature.

It is beyond the capacity of a pre-literate man like a Dangi to understand and control the events

of nature. The fear of the super-natural is also a dominating element in the psychology of a Dangi. Neither can he anticipate the event nor can he know the nature of it. Natural calamities like heavy rains, famine, fall of pests, spread of disease among the human as well as the cattle, sudden death etc. are inscrutable. Magic is one form of cultural response to ^{the} situations ^{of} uncertainty. But even after performing the magic rites the Dangi is not sure of avoiding or over-riding the calamity.

The following dialogue between a group of Dangis and a social worker throws light on their pattern of thinking.

Social Worker : Why do you offer this goat to the goddess ?

Dangi : Mavli Ma is mother goddess who protects us from natural calamities. If we do not offer her this sacrifice, her wrath will take our lives.

Social Worker : The mother is always merciful.

Can't you request her to be satisfied with a coconut ?

Bhagat (addressing the people) : If you offer only a coconut, then I shall not be responsible if some calamity befalls on the village.

Social Worker : Hear, is not goddess Mavli the mother of all, you, I and this goat also ?

Dangi : Yes.

Social Worker : Then we all are equal. You can as well offer me to the goddess, instead of this goat.

Dangi : But if it is determined that the goat should die in this way at our hands, who can prevent it ?

Social Worker : Think, who gives life ?

S Dangi : God.

Social Worker : Then, who gives the life has the right to take the life, not you. So please leave this goat.

Bhagat : Then I am not responsible if the village is put into difficulty.

Social Worker : Remember, last year you offered a goat, but how is that the young son of the Patel died ? Four others died because of cholera. Why did it happen ? Does this Bhagat give the guarantee that nothing such would happen this year, if goat is offered ?

Bhagat : How can I give the guarantee ?

Social Worker : So please spare this goat. Even Gandhiji died. Let us see what happens next year.

As the Dangi is perplexed and cannot help himself in such matters he feels helpless and recedes from the situation. Withdrawal is a general response which results from helplessness. "What can be done ? What can I do ?" are the queries which show his mind, that nothing can be done.

The system of religion and magic is mainly based on fear. Animals, deities and events of nature of whom he fears have been deified and are worshipped. Offerings are made to them and their favour is solicited to avert calamities. An elaborate system of magic has been created to meet the unforeseen

happenings. Psychologically religion and magic are too deeply interwoven with the fundamental springs of human emotion.

The magic has, for a Dangi, an organising power. Magic tends to create confidence in those who employ it. Productive magic like magic of fertility, planting and harvest in agriculture, magic of rain making, magic of hunting, etc. assert man's power over nature, allows the Dangi to go forward 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. It is a harmless method of enabling people 'to let off the steam'. It causes less disruption in the society than the use of the spear.

Witchcraft is a kind of destructive magic which is in the form of magic to produce sickness or to bring death. It provides a theory of failure, misfortunes and death. Counter magic can be employed to kill the effect of this destructive magic.

The witch is a woman. The witch woman casts her eyes on any individual irrespective of sex, age or religion. So the male feels insecure before a woman who is claimed as a witch. This is one of the reasons why a Dangi male should fear a Dangi female.

(3) The Process of Socialisation
and Intra-familial Relations :

A new born infant becomes 'Man' through process of socialisation. The methods of socialisation and the child rearing techniques take the form of the cultural patterns, for these methods are uniformly adopted by in all the families in a particular group or society. In a Dangi family the significant factors in the socializing process of a child are the experiences of the child in regard to infantile care or neglect, the disciplines with regard to food-taking, sphincter control, weaning, freedom of movement, sexual activity, the obligation and responsibilities of the child and lastly the handling by the parents and their attitudes towards the child.

The child is welcome in the family. The male child enjoys some premium over the female child, for the society is patriarchal and the line of

descent is patrilineal. Both the boy and the girl child are important and helpful to the family.

The child is breast-fed and is very carefully and immediately attended to. Its needs of food, security and rest are satisfied in a manner pleasant and acceptable to the child. Maternal care is the primary interest of the woman. In a Dangi family the mother has also to go to the fields for work or labour, hence there are different persons to take care of the child at different times. So the child gets the psychological protection but there is not one image, father, or mother image in its mind. Thus, though the infant feels emotional security, there is no chance of forming strong emotional ties. This state is strengthened by another fact, that the attitude of care and love towards the child does not remain constant. Once the child is taught to subsist on food in place of mother's milk and can independently attend to his own needs, the attitude of the parents is that 'it will be brought up, it will grow by itself'. The parents bother less about it. This attitude is not of neglect or avoidance but of passive outlook, *laissez-faire* attitude.

The method of swaddling is typical and significant. It is one of the socially standardised way in which adults and infants interact. The child is put like a lump of flesh in the swaddle, and all its free movements are restricted. It contracts and lies in it. A grown up child also, whenever it is rebuked or scolded goes itself and sleeps into the swaddle. The absence of the freedom of movement in the swaddle is the first in the series of situations from which the individual regresses.

Anal training is inducted gradually. There is no haste in it. It is not associated with the idea of cleanliness, it is related with age. The child is grown up so it must know how and where to perform the sphincter activities. It is induced apparently without the aid of punishment. In fact the child is not punished for any of its misdemeanors.

There is no haste also in weaning the child from the breasts. The length of time varies and there is no indication of anything traumatic about this phase of the child's life. No case of thumb sucking was observed by me. As the second child is born, the older one has to make place for it at the

breasts. This may in ordinary circumstances create jealousy in the older child. But the Dangis as such are not jealous. It does not mean that there is ^{not} at all the element of jealousy in the Dangis. The cultural conditions are such that jealousy need not be expressed. The older child is not weaned harshly, but its sense of shame is appealed. As the older child takes the solid food there is no great difficulty in weaning it from the breasts. Breasts do not hold high erotic value to the woman as a sexual stimulus. The breasts are more as feeding organs and hence of less sexual significance. It will be interesting to compare the process of and attitudes towards sphincter control and weaning in our society and those in the Dangi. There are not many 'dos' and 'don'ts' and taboos inflicted on a small Dangi child. The child is brought up in an atmosphere more of peace and friendliness than it is amongst us.

The absence of severe discipline has effect on the attitudes towards those who care for the child. The child grows by itself. Neither the mother nor the father are strict disciplinarians. The absence

of punishment as a means of coercion has influence on the constellations created around dependency. The attitude of care and love in early days and the attitude of laissez-faire in the later days towards the child break the continuity of the attitudes. It creates a lull in the emotional life of the child. It is not a shock but it is not at the same time helpful in creating strong emotional ties between the parents and the child. Hence, a Dangi is not emotionally much attached to either of the parents. The food anxiety strengthens this detachment. A hungry child, if there is nothing to eat cries, drinks water and sleeps. The mother helplessly watches it and she also retires. The picture of the world and hopes of life understood by the child in the very early age begins to change as he gains the new experiences. The parents' passive attitude that 'God has given the child, he will also give food to eat' makes the child feel emotionally unsafe. So withdrawal is the response in social and individual situations, when the individual feels unsafe. Going to sleep is an act of withdrawal.

The weapon of discipline is not implemented by virtue of the power of the parents to impose it. Hence, the dependency of the child in the Dangi society is not properly satisfied by the role of the mother and the father in the process of socialisation.

The immediate consequence of the relation of the child to the parents is that no image of the parents is rigidly formed in the mind of the child. There is an absence of abnormal inflation of the parental image. In the course of development from the helpless stage in infancy to adulthood, the individual expects and seeks for help from some superior being when he finds himself in difficulty. In other situations of life also the individual will utilise the same techniques which he learned from his experiences in winning the protection from the parents. Thus the absence of severe discipline does not mean the absence of a superior being, a deity or god, but it influences the method of soliciting the help. The individual who helps is approached and respected. Hence, the loyalty to an individual or the group or to the god depends upon the good deeds it performs.

There is no adherence or loyalty to a single group. Chhotubhai or Swaraj Ashram said to me, "The Dangis are unreliable in their support to us. Today a Dangi may sincerely support us, but next day something may happen and he may turn against us".

The discontinuity of attitude towards the child has its effect on the patterns of inter-personal relations in social life also. The underlying mistrust which seems to cloud personal relationship may be derived from the phantasy of a fickle mother who withholds her attentions and caresses from time to time. Earlier experiences have created in his phantasy a bias in favour of the feeling, that things will come right in the end. But because of the discontinuity of the attitude by the mother, the mother's constant support and the child's own omnipotence prove unreliable. His confidence is shattered and he mistrusts everything, his own persons and his friends, even objects in the material world, and gods. After performing rites and magic he is not sure that his efforts would be fruitful and yield results.

The situation in the Dangi society and culture is different from our own. In our civilised society the dependency situation between the child and the parents is not disturbed by absence of care but by introduction of restricting discipline. The difference is still more between the Dangi culture and the Western culture.

The further consequences of the relation of the child to the parents are that a Dangi child becomes precociously confident as compared to our standards of age behaviour. A young Dangi child is no more home attached and dependent on his parents like his brother in the civilised society. The child either alone or in a group moves about in the jungle and earns some 'bread'. He is in his own way economically helpful to the family.

Moreover, within the family there is symmetrical relationship. People treat the child as though 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 creates a kind of independence and self-reliance in the child. The Dangi family structure is in this way different from ours, in which the relationship is complementary.

There is no discrimination made in treatment between a boy and a girl. The girl is more hard working than a boy and is an equal if not a more economic asset to the family. Hence, the conditions which create such discriminations are absent.

Sibling rivalry or jealousy among the Dangi children is taken care and not encouraged. All the children are treated equally by the parents and enjoy similar social status. In rebuking or scolding the child, his sense of duty and shame ^{are} ~~is~~ appealed. For example, a child is told : "You are an older child. It is not good for an older child to beat a younger one". Similarly, the eldest son, in absence of the father takes care of his younger siblings. Under the supervision of the father every son and daughter gets equal dealing from him. There is no situation in which one child may feel neglected and discarded and the other may feel more loved. The brother sister

relations are not tinged with hatred, for the sister's children are the prospective spouses of one's children. Sister as a sexual object is a taboo, but her child for the brother's son as a sexual object can be preferred. Hence, the brother sister sex intimacy is displaced in a healthy manner by the social conventions. Moreover, the maternal uncle is the first man to be approached in need of help. As a representative of the parent's side the brother enjoys a status in the sister's house.

(4) Relations Between the Sexes -
Male-Female Relations :

The attitude towards sex and handling of the sex relations are culturally patterned. Sex to us is a very delicate and perplexing behaviour. Sex is not a problem to a Dangi as it is to us. Sex knowledge and activity is not something that comes as a ^{bolt} blue from the ^{blue} ~~bolt~~. Sex is a natural phase of life. To him, it is not a special pleasure but an activity in the course of life.

Every child has the knowledge of sex organs and the use of them. The child has enough chances

to see and acquaint with the use of the genital organs. A few of the childish plays consist of the activities relating to the organs. Such activities are not allowed by the elders. Yet there is no 'phobia' about them. The Dangi looks upon the child's sex play as 'innocent', 'Childish' behaviour and that it should not be encouraged.

Adolescence, the onset of puberty is not a period of stress and strain. The transition from childhood to adolescence is a smooth process. For, the onset of puberty is not treated as a special situation and secondly, no hard and fast distinctions are made between the age groups. Moreover, the child is treated as an 'adult' without responsibilities. He is not debarred and rejected in the group of young people. The child may not take any active part in the talks and works of the grown up, but he can attend as a passive member. So, the onset of puberty does not make any significant change in his status or activities to be performed.

It has been discussed in earlier pages that no special beliefs or superstitions are connected with

the adolescence. The marks of adolescence, the growth of moustaches in case of a boy, ^{and the} starting of menstrual flow in case of a girl are treated as the normal phases in life. It only indicates that now the individual is fit for marriage.

The ideal of marriage is domestic and not romantic. In marriage one aims to build a house and get a house wife who will keep him and bear children for him. The sex relations are pursued primarily for race preservation. The sexual activity is considered pleasant but the sensual aspect in marriage is less emphasised. The emphasis falls on procreation, an emphasis aided by the fact that man power enhances the economic power. Potency disturbances are unknown in either sex. None of my informants talked of loss of strength through loss of semen. Moreover, there was no desire to emulate the ideal of celibacy and asceticism. There is no evidence of the presence of homosexuality nor there is an institution of transvestism comparable with the ^uenuchs.

Though there are no signs of sex disturbances, the relations between the sexes, male and female are strained. The root cause lies in the social status enjoyed by the girl, and the philosophy of marriage.

In a Dangi family a daughter is equal to a son in social status. The daughter is a great economical asset and equally helpful in the house. So in a wife the male finds not only a sexual object but an additional earning power also, but the male has to pay the price for it. What the father loses in his daughter he gets by way of bride price, and what the husband loses by way of the bride price gets it repaid in the earning of his wife. It means that the rights of sex relation with the woman and use of her labour are bought by paying a price. Thus, the male is always worrying about the stability of the family life, for if the wife runs away or is unwilling to stay with him he is put to trouble and is at a great loss. This situation is perpetuated by the attitude towards marriage.

The Dangis distinguish between the ceremony of 'pen bharvi' and marriage. The 'pen' is a ceremony which gives license to a man and woman to stay together and build a family. There are no religious rites in 'pen' which are performed in the marriage ceremony. The celebration of marriage is expensive. So most of the couples are united by 'Pen'. The difference which a Dangi sees between 'Pen' and marriage is that marriage is a sacred thing, while 'Pen' is not. The union by 'Pen' is revocable, while that by marriage is not revocable. Thus, the ceremony of 'Pen' does not emphasise the life long fidelity of the spouses. Moreover, if a girl runs away from the husband's house, she is not forced against her desire to go back to her husband's house. Thus, no value is attached to adjustment in marital life.

In the Dangi family the girl after marriage goes to the husband's house to live with him. It changes the status of a daughter into that of a daughter-in-law. Thus, a newly married girl is in conflict. It is very difficult for a young girl of fifteen years to dissociate with the paternal affinity

and build new emotional system in the in-law's house. She feels insecure and emotionally unsafe. Escaping from the new atmosphere, running away is a natural response of the woman in this situation. The scarcity of food and the anxiety resulting from it, the failure of husband as a food provider enhance her feeling of insecurity. Hence, broken marriages are excessively common.

The husband is affected more in such cases. For, he loses in his wife a sexual object and an economic asset. He also loses the money of the bride price till there is other man to marry this girl and pay the bride price for her. His reaction to this is anxiety and a kind of hatred towards women. The husband cannot force his wife to come back against her desire, for he fears ^{of} her witchcraft. There is a fear of being eaten up. The wife who is a witch may apply her magic upon the husband whom she dislikes. Hence, his fear and hatred towards women become more acute. The husband, to command control over his wife cannot beat her or give physical punishment, for he fears that she would run away, and that people would criticise his behaviour. Hence, the hatred is repressed.

The male wants to keep his wife under control that she may be obedient to him. Therefore, some men use some medicine to hypnotize the woman. It is believed that this medicine, roots of some tree, if dropped in her food or drink, she becomes as obedient as a hypnotized person to her husband.

There is male-female hostility and the females feel insecure, so the regular marriages are short-lived. It is clear from the fact that the 'Khandhadia' marriages are not unstable like regular marriages. For the 'Khandhadia system' changes the position entirely. The husband comes and stays with his wife, instead of wife going to live with the husband.

(5) Food Scarcity -
A Source of Anxiety :

Food is the primary need for existence. From all his resources the Dangi is not able to collect the corn and other eatables to meet the needs of his family for the whole year. Many families run short of their produce within eight or ten months.

Many have to remain half-starved or even without food for a good number of days in a year. 'Food' is the great problem for a Dangi.

The shortage or abundance of food supply in a society creates different conditions. Hence, the minds of the people are also affected indifferently. It affects the structure of the social organisation, family ties, economic relations, religious beliefs and rites, rituals and the mental frame-work of the people which is the result of all these.

The economy of the Dangis is the subsistence economy. It requires ^{the} techniques of production, distribution and preparing for events of failure. The ability to guard against ^{the} food anxiety of ^{the} people depends on their intellectual and technical resources, and the means of exploiting and controlling the natural environment. A third element in the control is social organisation for co-operation toward these ends. But there are always elements such as weather, rainfall which are beyond control.

The technical equipment, the plough and an axe of the Dangi is adequate under ordinary circumstances. Under conditions of drought it fails. Because of carelessness and passivity, the Dangi does not look after the crops. Hence, the returns are not as much as they should be under ordinary circumstances. The social organisation for co-operative effort regards the 'fight against food' by inner feelings of its importance. The social organisation in some respects is communal and individual in some others. Worship of gods and goddesses is done communally. The festivals of Tera, Pola etc. though celebrated on the same day are celebrated individually.

The magical forms of insuring food supply are of customary kind though the help of god. The procedure of entreaty and sacrificial offerings is adopted. All the animals and aspects concerning production have been deified. The various stages of the agricultural and harvesting activities are ceremonially celebrated.

Though the techniques and organisation for production are adequate there is an evidence of

exaggerated anxiety about food. The elaborate scheme of rituals and deification of corn as goddess 'Kanasari' are indicative ^{of} this. Secondly, there is an over-emphasis on eating itself. The emphasis being on quantity and not on quality. The taboos about eating and cooking, taking oath of Kanasari etc. point to this anxiety. Tendency not to steal is an important evidence for this.

The rational methods for dealing with food anxiety consist of storing food and increasing the prestige of the experts who perpetuate the technique. There are constellations of ideas, institutions and festivals, for example, the custom of giving feasts, the festivals of Tera, Pola, the magic of rain etc. are centred around food anxiety which have taken different forms.

As seen before, corn has prestige value. One who produces a large quantity of corn, much more than his needs is looked upon as a respectable man, an āssāni. Corn is capital and can be given on loan on interest. Help can be rewarded by giving corn. Giving feasts enhances social prestige. One who is

related to his wife not through 'pen' but by marriage is a man of status. For, the major part of the expenses in marriage is done in giving feasts and gifts. Food is thus a means of enhancing ego.

Food scarcity is common to many backward pre-literate cultures. It has created hypochondriacal fears and cannibalism in society like the Marquesian culture(4) in Pacific islands. Food scarcity has affected the Dangi personality in a different manner, for the network of institutions and ideas in the Dangi society is in a different manner. For example, all means of production are in the hands of men. Secondly, the right to own and enjoy one's property is recognised. One has every right to claim the return of the help given to others. The Dangi thinks, "I have no right to steal the corn from his barn or envy him. He will give me corn as a payment of my labour when he hires me". A man who asks for corn free of charge loses his status in the eyes of others. So if he is not able to get corn he would try to produce some roots or fruits or kill a small hunt and feed the members of his family. But when he does not get anything it is his fate. He retires to his hut and sleeps.

4. Kardiner, A. : The Individual and His Society. N.Y. Columbia, 1955. pp. 137-250.

Regression and embalming are the reactions to this state of helplessness. When he gets food he is happy. Thus the feeling of euphoria is connected with food. Because of the recurrence of such experiences and practices, he becomes disinterested in going for work and remains contented by his lot. The Dangis are called proverbially idlers and slow workers. "But in a society in which people expect to be hungry annually and in which traditions and proverbs accustom them to expect such a period of privation their whole attitude towards economic effort is affected"(5). A Dangi accustomed from infancy to an irregular diet does not feel indignant or surprised at missing a meal and sitting idly.

The phantasy of life and ideologies reflect the food anxiety. The ideal of a Dangi is to become a successful agriculturist and hoard the corn. The child when asked expresses his ambition to have the store full of jars of corn, and he asks for the favour of the goddess Kanasari. The legendary tale tells that a Dangi eats more, thrice a day because god Mahadeo has told him to do so.

5. Herskovitz, M.J. : ^{Economic} Anthropology. New York, A. A. Knopf, 1952. p.292.

(6) Inter-Personal and Inter-familial relations : 566

In all social and religious functions the village is a functional unit.

(a) The social organisation is such that from all indications the greatest repression falls on the impulse for mutual aggression. The Dangi exerts a repressive influence over all aggressive impulses even though there are some situations provocative for this kind of response. The cases of struggle and conflict between the husband and wife, or between two neighbours, or individuals, or families are not solved by the individuals concerned by fighting or going to the court of law, but by appealing to the peace of the village and society as such. Compromise is made and a kind of understanding is arrived at after discussion before the Panch. Sanctions of this kind cannot be forced only on the basis of authority, or on the basis of sense of shame. The sanctions are backed by the positive knowledge of mutual advantages and by appealing the good self. Compromise is not looked upon as humiliating. For example, if the wife is having illicit relations with some other man and is unwilling to stay with

him, the husband's problem is solved if he gets back the money of bride price and other expenses. He says, "What is the use of bringing an unwilling horse?" Such attitude tends to make the traits of aggression and emotionality useless. There is little necessity for competitiveness and for any form of overt aggression within the group. In inter-personal and inter-familial relations, excessive emotions, violent preferences and strong allegations are disallowed. The Dangian preference is for a middle course, a moderate amount of feeling, and a balanced attitude. This does not mean that envy and jealousy are absent. It merely means that the social organisation diminishes the opportunities for their exercise.

A Dangi does not lack aggression as a psychological disposition. Aggression is an important but morally conflictual disposition and that it is expressed overtly but indirectly in the form of suspiciousness, extreme concern with sorcery, magic and the like.

(b) Family is held as a unit in all inter-social and intra-social relations. All the families are equal in status. No distinctions of caste or tribe are

maintained, except in selection of a spouse and eating cooked food. So the tensions resulting are absent. Hence, there is no tendency to make a show or exhibit oneself for gaining status and prominence.

(c) The Panch is a powerful social body which settles all the problems of communal and inter-personal conflicts. The Panch extracts work and settles problems not by wielding authority but by persuasion and with a view to arriving at a settlement. Panch's decision is final and should be obeyed by the persons concerned. In obeying the decision the individual does not feel that he is compelled to do so, but feels that he becomes helpful in avoiding the struggle. The person disobeying the decision is not a good man. He is quarrelsome and disliked by all.

(d) The aggressive tendency in a Dangi is repressed is evident from the fact that, the times when there were quarrels the expressions of anger and aggression were disproportionate to the cause for quarrel. The aggrieved man would shout and abuse loudly, the facial expressions become crude, not to be found in normal behaviour. However, hardly a murder is committed.

(e) As said earlier mutual distrust seems to underlie most relationships. Self-centredness and individualistic attitude are characteristics of the inter-personal relations of a Dangi. The distrust for the support of mother which lingered in his mind as a child is extended to his friends, relations and even to his wife also. Kolgyabhai said "No-body has a fast friend who can enter the mind of other people and know what is going inside?" A Dangi does not bother about the matters of other individuals and families. The attitude he holds is "Why should I go and interfere? It does not concern me. It is his personal affair." There is no tendency to help in difficulties also, until asked for it.

(f) The cooperative enterprises reflect the self-centred attitude, hence ^{they} are not permanent. The Dangis perform many activities in group, for example, fishing, hunting etc. Though the activity is performed in the group the efforts are individualistic. Every individual keeps the collection of the fish made by him. It is his luck that he may get more or less. When an animal is killed its flesh is distributed to all, and every individual eats his share.

A Dangi likes to be in large busy groups.

If they have no other work on a holiday they sit together and talk. The general tendency is not to sit in a circle facing each other, but in a line. They are fond of groups where emotional contact with the people is 'safe' and where they can withdraw emotionally without being noticed. If a Dangi has to eat in the presence of others he turns his back to others. They do not turn to each other's activities, unless and until they become public and affect everybody.

(g) Another feature of inter-personal relationship is that there are no hierarchies of status, or rank. No individual commands respect or submission because he is of a particular tribe, is wealthy or holds a rank of the Patel or Karbhari. A man of property, a well-to-do man enjoys respect and prestige, only because he is a good man and helps others. A man of property who is willing to help others by giving corn or money on loan, or hiring them as labourers is recognised as a 'good' man. His words carry some weight. But he cannot drag the people against their feelings and opinions. Property is appreciated as far as its utilitarian value is concerned, but it is

shorn of its magical properties to command love and awe for its possessor. Envy, covetousness and many other vices do exist but they are treated as anti-social. Moreover, a Dangi believes that man's life is guided by his lot and every individual has a right to hold and enjoy property. So there is an absence of the tendency to self-aggrandisement. Hence, murder and theft are rare.

(7) Religion and Phantasy -
the projective System :

Religion in the Dangi society performs two functions. It satisfies the emotional needs as well as is a powerful means of social control. If it is correct to assume that religion is the result of anxieties proceeding from the economy and intra-social tensions which need be repressed, religion must be such which satisfies a few needs. The Dangi religion is a system which satisfies the anxiety they have about rainfall and food. The various rituals and rites connected with agricultural activities and celebration of festivals are a clear projection of people's anxieties. The performance of rituals and celebration of festivals give them a psychological satisfaction that if done properly the results will be favourable and god's

and nature's wrath can be evaded. Thus the religious practices of the Dangis are not only determinant of personality traits, but also they are created ^{by them} in order to support their personality needs and traits.

(a) The Dangis have deified any object or animal which they fear and find beyond control. These ^{are} the deities of hill, tree, animals, water, wind, corn. But there is no strong and exacting deity or graded hierarchy of gods. The gods also do not quarrel among themselves. Actually it can be seen that goddesses are more worshipped and more powerful than the gods. The goddess Kanasari and Mavli Ma especially often figure in the activities of the Dangis. How much intense is their food anxiety can be inferred from the fact that the Dangis not only often worship the goddess Kanasari but also swear in her name, and do not crush corn under the foot or pluck the grass even. Mavli Ma is a fearful goddess. Whenever anything untoward happens a Dangi fears that it is because the goddess is angry. If some mistake occurs a Dangi fears that she would be angry. To appease her anger a cock or a goat has to be offered. In his phantasy she becomes someone terrible, revengeful, a horrific

figure drinking the blood. A woman can take the form of a witch, and a witch is satisfied only with the offerings of blood. It is possible that projecting the female in human or god form as a blood drinking witch or goddess is an expression of a Dangi's mistrust and hatred for woman. Every individual carries with him a heightened awareness of spirits, powers, and gods.

(b) Another feature of their phantasy is that an individual through the practice of mortification can achieve the powers. Such a man can eat the charcoals, throw them on his body, and can find out a coin hidden in the earth or elsewhere.

(c) The outstanding characteristic of the Dangi personality is his fatalistic tendency, the urge to believe in the inevitableness of events in life. Fatalism, which rejects science is a general tendency of a Dangi. He believes that "What is destined to happen will happen." The writings of the goddess Fortune cannot be averted. What is written in the forehead at the time of birth will invariably occur. If it is written in a girl's fate that 'She shall marry her own son' no amount of effort can undo it.

The story of 'Satee marrying her son' provides a psychological and emotional background to a Dangi's faith in fatalism. The sex relation between mother and son is incestuous and can never be imagined. What can be done if it is written so in one's fate? Whatsoever efforts one may make but he cannot rub out what is written in fate. The events of life thus cannot be stopped. It is futile to fight against the wish of the fortune. "If a young son dies, the wife runs away, the crops fail, there is epidemic among cattle, the house catches fire, corn and currency notes are burnt, what can be done? If my neighbour has plenty of corn and I die of hunger, I should not envy him. Dangi takes solace that "It is because of my fate that I have to go without food."

This fatalistic tendency and belief in the inevitableness of events have coloured his outlook - towards life and its events. It is an important cultural trait of the Dangi personality. The attitude of helplessness and tendency to withdraw are in one way the result of this fatalism. This belief also gives an explanation for failure. The story of the goddess Fortune provides a strongly emotional background. It

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is an appeal to the past in justification of action in the present. It saves him from experiencing remorse and feel at ease by compromising.

Such stories and myths of incestuous relations e.g. between mother and son or brother and sister in one form or other are prevalent in many societies, pre-literate and literate. In the 'Upnishadas' also there is such a story of 'Yama and Yami'. The point in question is that, why such a story originates? What is the meaning of the fact that certain relations are held incestuous? In the hands of a Freudian this story would be interpreted on psychoanalytic lines as a projection of ~~oedipic~~ feelings. The writer feels that such stories should be interpreted in relation to the social structure and organisation of the particular society. It should be understood in terms of social psychological explanation.

What is incest? How and why the incest taboos came into existence? Incest means a prohibited sex relation between two individuals of the opposite sex, for example, mother and son, father and daughter, brother and sister, etc. Incest taboos are the social customs. Incest taboo and incest feeling are not instinctive. Incest prohibitions should be regarded

as a device to maintain peace and solidarity in the family as well as the group. For, if a girl can be married within the family to the brother or the father, it would create sex jealousy and hostility between the brothers and the between the father and grown up sons. The sensual approach of a son towards his mother would disturb the normal mother-son relationship and introduce active hostile rivalry between father and son. Hence, it might have been thought that such relations should be declared as 'against the desire of God'. The cross cousin marriage is a taboo among the Hindus, while it is not so in the Dangis. The parallel cousin marriage is accepted in the Parsees and the Muslims, and not in the Hindus. Linton in 'The Study of Man' observes that the prohibition of marriage between mother and son is the only one universally present. Marriage between father and daughter is permitted in at least one society, the Azande, while several groups have recognised or even required marriages between both brother and sister.

So such a story of incest relation prevalent in a particular society reflects the past of that

society, hence, so far it is a true story. But the element of horror and guilt feelings associated in the story i.e. committed suicide out of shame - are not true. It is the result of later addition. The element of horror is the result of the attitude nurtured by the society towards the violation of the social norms by the members. The befall of supernatural wrath and calamities indicate how strongly the society wants to enforce the taboo.

(d) The Dangi believes in and fears the ghosts and spirits. All the dead persons do not take the form of the ghosts, but only those whose desires are unsatisfied at the time of death. He believes in life after death and rebirth. The ^{life} after death ~~life~~ and the species of rebirth depend upon the deeds, good or bad performed by the individual during his life time.

The death brings an end to the relations of the individuals with the living beings, and he becomes a member of the group of ^{the} dead. It forms a different world unrelated to this world. If certain rites are performed and the spirits and ghosts are

satisfied they are freed from this stage, relinquish their forms and join the group of the dead. Thus the Dangiz ^{does} ~~ed~~ not fear much of the death and the dead as he fears the living beings, their magic and sorcery. The Dangi's attitude towards sickness and death is a representative of his general attitude of fatalism and helplessness. "What can be done if a man is sick or dies"? "It is in the hands of God" They do not deny sorrow at death. But they do not convert mourning into an ambitious display of a terror situation. They treat the death as a loss, an important loss. But they provide detailed techniques for getting it past as quickly and with as little violence as possible. The death rites not only characterise the temperament of the Dangi, but they also reflect his temperament. The mortuary rites lessen the shock of the loss by the death and also help the individual to readjust to the daily life. It is the need of a Dangi also. If he is supposed to express his sorrow profusely for a number of days and mourn for the loss, he would have to die of starvation. If he does not work, he does not get his bread.

(8) The Super-Ego :

Here the term super-ego is used not in the Freudian sense. The super-ego means the conscience, the strength and power to stand and resist against the difficulties. Super-ego is built up during the process of socialisation.

The super-ego of the Dangi is weak, a neurotic super-ego. In the extra-ordinary circumstances, in accidents, in cases of sudden befall of a calamity the Dangi cannot stand against the situation, he feels helpless and doomed. Neither has he the stability of mind to think out the remedies, nor the courage to face it. He accepts the situation as the god's gift and recedes from it. The weakness of super-ego is the result of the faulty process of socialisation.

In a Dangi family the attitude towards the child is not continuous. The attitude of care and love in infancy is replaced by a kind of passive carelessness in childhood. From the state of warmth and security the child all of a sudden feels the

state of insecurity and frustration. This creates in him the attitudes of diffidence and inadequacy. The child also lacks sufficient experience with restriction. The mother or the father are not the strict disciplinarians. Such a child who becomes accustomed to sheer passivity never learns to be strong in face of trials. For he has not learnt the techniques to handle situations.

V. PERSONALITY STRUCTURE IN GENERAL

A culture is more or less organised and there is a persistent pattern of institutions, habits, attitudes and values through which the individuals live. These institutions and habits and values have influence on the individuals. The question may be raised, "Is there any uniformity in the influence these institutions and other patterns have on individuals in a particular culture? Are all the Dangis influenced in a similar manner alike in their personality structure and uniform in behaviour? Should they be so?" All the individuals cannot be alike and uniform in thought and action, Individuals always differ^{as} regards sex, age, status etc. There are also

individual differences in strength, beauty and intelligence". Personality structure", says Kardiner, (7) "should be differentiated from character. Character is an individual arrangement of ego attitudes, the formation of which depends on strictly individual perception of situation and experiences, while personality structure refers to the larger orbit of potentialities which the culture creates". Culture creates an orbit within which move all ^{the} individuals comprising the culture. The orbit is made up of the institutions to which all individual in a society are subject. Within this orbit differences appear for the sexes, age, status, premogeniture etc". So there is a scope for individual differences in thought and behaviour patterns. But these individual differences function within some frame work of values or norms.

Hence, it is not correct to say that all the Dangi males have same kind of experiences from their wives and have same attitudes towards them. It is not proper to say that all the eldest or the youngest

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7. Kardiner, A. : The Individual and His Society. N.Y. Columbia, 1955. Ch.IV.

sons in the Dangi family^{ies} have the same character. Individuals do differ in specific personality traits or in the organisation of them. The 'great inconsistency' of overt behaviour may be resolved to relative 'consistency' when seen from the point of view of motive(8). A wide variety of laboratory experiments as well as evidence obtained from studies of group participation show that by and large consistency of performance is greatest in those situations where there is ego involvement(9). Any one Dangi individual does not necessarily represent in microcosm a cultural configuration as a whole. But it does mean that common traits and personality trends are discernible in a series of individuals who have been subjected to and have participated in the same cultural patterns, and that the former cannot be understood without a reference to the latter. Hence, an individual born and bred in a Dangi society is a Dangi. He is typical in having his personality, structure quite different from that of individuals born and bred in other cultures. All the Dangis are alike in this aspect and ~~indifferent~~ indifferent from others.

8. Murphy, G. and Jensen, F. : Approaches to Personality. New York, Coward McCann, 1932. p.387.

9. Sherif, M.S. and Cantril, H. : Psychology of Ego-involvement. New York, John Wiley, 1947. Ch.6.

We may agree with the statement of Murphy, Murphy and Newcomb⁽¹⁰⁾ that "most personality traits owe their constancy in a large degree to a constancy in situation. In the child and in the adult many traits are so well defined that they insistently impose themselves upon all researchers regardless of situation, but many of them reflect at any given moment both the inner make up and the social world in which the person functions in such a way as to make the two logically (and experimentally) inseparable". The Dangs, geographically as well as culturally is a single unit. The Dangs in any region of the Dangs live under similar physical, social and cultural conditions. Hence, there is a great constancy in the situations and experiences which the Dangs come across. To that extent there ought to be consistency in their thought and action patterns, and personality structure.

VI. CONCLUSIONS

Cultural patterns and personality traits are interrelated. This chapter attempts to see a

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10. Murphy, G., Murphy, L. and Newcomb, I.M. : Experimental Social Psychology. New York, Harper, 1937. p.887.

relation between the psychology of the Dangi personality and the patterns of the Dangs culture. In the beginning of this chapter the Dangs culture has been analysed into its various constituent patterns, and then it is shown how these patterns, the physical atmosphere, scarcity of food, economic and social organisations, religious practices and beliefs, the socialisation process, the ideals and responsibilities in life etc. work together to form and develop the personality of a Dangi. No single factor is a sole determinant of a personality trait. All the cultural factors are interrelated and organised. They all together determine the psychology of the individual, As cultural patterns mould personality traits, personality traits also create the cultural practices. Culture and personality interact.

No society and culture are static. Cultural and social patterns change and they have their effect on the personality of the individual. The next chapter discusses the cultural changes in the Dangs, and its impact on the personality of the Dangi.