

A. N. SINHA INSTITUTE
OF SOCIAL STUDIES

MONOGRAPH 6

Psycho-Social Problems
of
Social Change

RADHANATH RATH

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A. N. SINHA INSTITUTE
OF SOCIAL STUDIES

Monograph 6

PSYCHO-SOCIAL PROBLEMS
OF SOCIAL CHANGE

*Psycho-Social Problems of
Social Change*

RADHANATH RATH



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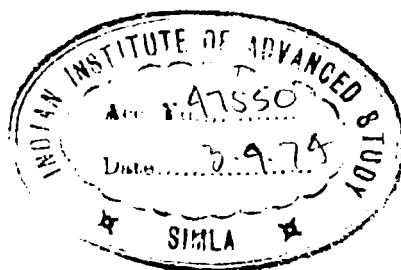
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FOREWORD

This is No. 6 in the series of our monographs. The main idea behind this series is to report in an integrated form the research activities of our own staff or of those who are located elsewhere but have kindly consented to visit us for a short while and to present their ideas to us. The present monograph is based on the three lectures delivered by Professor Radhanath Rath of Utkal University at our Institute in 1969.

Though social change and economic development with which the monograph deals have loomed large in the conceptual baggage of social scientists for a considerable time any semblance of consensus in any of its aspects seems to be tantalizingly out of hand. Hence what a reader is invited here to look for is not any tangible area of agreement nor even a ready-made understanding of the dynamics of social change; but a lively discourse by a scholar who is one of the front runners in the field of social psychology.

Patna
September 1973

SACHCHIDANANDA
Director

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A portion of this book was covered in a series of three extension lectures delivered at the A. N. Sinha Institute of Social Studies, Patna. The discussions after the lectures were so stimulating that I felt tempted to support some of the points raised in the lectures with more research findings which have accumulated in my department in course of years. My interest got further stimulus from the extensive reporting of my extension lectures by the local newspapers of Patna. But in spite of these encouraging factors the book probably could not have been completed without the persistent requests and persuasions of Dr A. K. Das Gupta, the then director of the Institute, Dr Sachchidananda, the present Director and Dr J.B.P. Sinha, Professor of Social Psychology of the Institute. So I take this opportunity to express my deep appreciation to them.

The title of the book probably is a little too wide compared to the restricted compass of this book. It does not contain all possible psycho-social factors involved in social change. The first three chapters have dealt with some theoretical aspects of social change. The last three chapters discuss certain research findings connected with some agents and groups of people involved in social change. So the book merely tries to focus a few important psycho-social problems of social change.

I very much believe that social change can be possible only by changing first the socio-cultural and physical environment of the people who are to be changed. Grandiloquent slogans and promises without being supported by actual physical change are likely to be counter productive. That which is to be achieved at the conative level can never be successfully tackled merely at the cognitive level. The present depressing socio-political conditions of the country marked with a heightened feeling of frustration and despondency will amply corroborate this hypothesis. The research findings discussed in this book merely illustrate some aspects of this psycho-social state of people who had been the subjects of our investigations. My earlier belief has been very much strengthened by the findings presented in this book.

Social research findings, in order to correctly reflect the social facts with certain acceptable degree of reliability and validity, must

be based on replicated investigations. This procedure will surely take more time but it is worth all the labour and time. Repeated investigations with the same instruments and techniques would make the results more credible and valid. It will also ensure consistency and predictability in the findings of the social sciences. This book contains many findings which are based on several replicated investigations.

I wish to express my deep appreciation to many of my colleagues and post-graduate students for their invaluable help in the collection of data over several years.

R. RATH

Bhubaneswar
September 1973

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COGNITIVE AND MOTIVATIONAL PROBLEMS

Introduction

Society, whether viewed structurally or functionally, whether taken as a multitude of socio-cultural and socio-economic forces, whether perceived as a matrix of psycho-social interactional processes, is always passing through dynamic processes of change. All societies, whether they are already highly developed or passing through a phase of rapid and unprecedented new developments, are constantly in a state of tension. The tension system of the former may be relatively less acute and serious than that of the latter.

Tension is caused due to a conflict between antagonistic social forces — those that seek to promote change and move ahead according to the rising needs of the new generation; and those which strive to maintain the *status quo* and freeze the onward march of history. The tempo of such conflicts and tensions is not the same in all societies at a particular moment in time. The forces for change may gather a greater momentum for sometime in a given society and dominate over conservative forces resisting change. During this period, rapid alterations take place in the existing structural and functional systems of society, but this state of rapid and revolutionary change in any society does not last for a very long time. As fatigue sets in, in an emotionally agitated action crowd, relative stability and quiescence follows a period of revolutionary social change; the unusual stresses and strains, which are the main components of great tension and disharmony, give place to relative harmony and integration. Then the forces maintaining *status quo* begin to gather strength until it is challenged by a new revolutionary force which slowly but steadily grows during the period of stability and *status quo*. Every social system contains its inherent seeds of conflict and contradiction which ultimately lead to their own transformation or complete annihilation. Whether this process is accelerated by “class struggle” of Marx or “creative minorities” of Toynbee or the “varyingly recurrent cycles of cultural change” of Sorokin, the processes of social change always imply the conflict between

the forces of vested interests, be they economic, cultural or any other socio-structural elements and the progressive forces desiring change. The rate and direction of social change is a function of the relative strength and weakness of these antagonistic forces and the resultant socio-cultural barriers. In other words, social change acquires various qualities and characteristics depending on the directions and dimensions of psycho-social field forces. Social change may be due to various socio-cultural factors. Ginsburg has given the following factors of social change.

- (i) The conscious desires and decisions of individuals.
- (ii) Individual acts influenced by changing conditions.
- (iii) Structural changes and structural strains.
- (iv) External influences.
- (v) Outstanding individuals and groups of individuals.
- (vi) A confluence of collections of elements from different sources converging at a point.
- (vii) Fortuitous occurrences.
- (viii) The emergence of a common purpose.

According to Ogburn "cultural lag" is the most dominating factor causing social change. "When the unequal time or degree of change produces a strain on the inter-connected parts or is expressed difficulty, when the correlation is lessened, then it is called a cultural lag." This imbalance according to him causes maladjustment and conflict which leads to social change.

Whatever may be the socio-cultural factors of social change, on the Psychological plane it involves a great conflict between the old and new, the traditions and modernity, the aged and youth, the conservatism and radicalism. The age old moral codes become ineffective; mores are of slight significance; sentiments for the past and holy, look vulgar and empty; the times seem out of joint; the old social and cultural systems start disintegrating. All this creates a disharmony in the belief and attitudinal systems and strikes a wedge of dissonance in the entire cognitive structure. This sharpens the mental conflicts and causes unbearable stresses and strains in all sections of social life. So the analysis of individual and group mind becomes one of the basic factors for understanding the complexities of social change.

When people are faced with new challenges and confronted with

new opportunities as well as barriers, acceptance or rejection depends not only on the basic cultural set up, the nature of social relations, and the economic possibilities and promises but also on the psychological factors. These psychological components of social change may be very largely related to economic and other insistent social conditions, but for understanding the basic features of social change the psychological components cannot be ignored nor can they be made absolutely subservient to any of the other non-psychological variables. Psychological experiences being the reflections of social realities as well as their controllers, are bound to be inextricably connected with social change. The nature and direction of psychological reactions will naturally depend upon the type of social change. But as both are dynamically as well as dialectically related, the understanding of sociological change is not complete without correlating it with psychological interactions. But unfortunately many social scientists especially the economists in India who consider themselves the sole agents responsible for the major social change forget this fact at a great cost of national wastage and human misery. But the importance of psychological components becomes very great in a country where changes are induced through democratic methods and social persuasion.

Cognitive and Motivational Components

Among the psychological factors the cognitive and motivational factors will be discussed first. In the next two chapters the attitudinal dimensions and personality and leadership problems will be analysed.

Man's cognitive map of the world will depend on three basic psychological phenomena. His surrounding physical and social environment with its relevant stimulus structure, including the psycho-social value system, is one of the most potent factors. The second is his intricate matrix of needs and goals, and the third is his accumulated structure of past experiences which is the resultant of the first two factors. Even though the dimension, direction and context of these three psychological components are bound to vary from person to person, yet there are a few major communality of psycho-social cognitive syndromes which do not vary too much. This gives stability and continuity to psycho-social forces which constitute the main vectorial matrix of a given psycho-social field. The cognitive structures are dynamically integrated with the needs

and goals of the individuals and group of people, and the past experiences are the connecting threads between the two.

In the context of social change instead of a broadly consonant cognitive syndromes in the population in general, there may be two or more groups of people whose psycho-social fields will be antagonistic to each other and whose interests constantly clash and are in conflict. In a country like India, today the most powerful group is that which resists change. Compared to the forces of vested interests in every field of social life, the group aspiring change is weak and powerless. As a result of this, *status quo* and stagnation, disintegration and decay, reaction and retrogression have been the chief features of the Indian psycho-social life. As the progressive group is determined to forge ahead, and forge ahead it must for its very existence—it projects its social ideology and aspirations which create a sense of optimism for change. But this force for change being not powerful enough to fight successfully against the obstacles of change it hits and retreats. This psycho-social guerrilla warfare is the cause of present social tension and confusion in the absence of any direction of the motivational forces.

Every social system has elements which have survival value because they serve some purpose, and have requisite cognitive and motivational functions. But sometimes the social function of a particular social value may not be very useful in the larger interests of the society; still due to various kinds of vested interests, confined to a smaller group of influential people who form the traditional but dominant elite, their will is imposed on the society. There are also many situations in the developing countries where changes are needed most, but the majority may have a great resistance to change due to socio-cultural lag. The resistance to change is also there because the new value system however desirable it may be, has not been psychologically appreciated by the people for whom change is considered to be good. In other words unless people actually feel the necessity for change there cannot be any tension system requiring strong motivational urge to reduce the tension. Consequently there would be no altered perception, no cognitive reorganization, no action programme, no ego-involvement and no emotional upsurge in the direction of psycho-social change. Sometimes due to lack of wide social support, groups having strong motivational need for a change may be isolated as social deviants. This social phenomenon is analogous to a symptom of a disease

caused by an unwanted and unassimilable foreign body. So any change with significant enduring consequences must be integrated with the need systems of the majority of people. Once something new is injected in small doses into the psychological need-system of people, it goes on developing in time with all its dynamic qualities of change, brings about alterations in the field forces of the existing social systems and creates a new focus of social dynamics. In course of time it becomes an essential property of an established social need acquiring a sociological autonomy of its own.

Those who are in advantageous positions to resist change seem to have patterns of cognitive structures derived from their favourable psycho-physical environment. Having better economic standard, better educational facilities and consequently powerful administrative controls, these people perceive any change in the *status quo* as social evil because the change obviously goes against them. Since they constitute the consciously aspiring group, having higher level of aspiration and greater experience of better living, their socio-economic needs remain unlimited. Their past experiences based on individual as well as class achievements further strengthen the appetite for more wants and higher goals. In contrast to this optimism arising out of satisfactory goal fulfilment, the striving group, be they students or teachers, workers or farmers, small traders or low grade office workers, is frustrated in all spheres of life. His world seems to be static and his aspirations stifled. He cannot see any change in his social environment and also has no faith in the future. The author has a trend study of attitudes in regard to several dominant social, cultural and political issues of the country over years since 1952. Surprisingly enough the trend of attitudes in regard to 26 out of 28 issues remains approximately the same. But many people who are at the helm of affairs and who by and large resist social change claim to perceive change all around. So the perceptual and cognitive structures of these two classes of people are totally different both in content and approach.

Once the cognitive structures derived from the dominant needs and goals and existing psycho-social environment are analysed, the subsequent behaviour patterns of these antagonistic social groups are easily understood. These structures not only limit the nature and content of perception, but also distort all that is perceived about the other group. The threshold for prejudice is considerably lowered. The fat man sitting on the money bag is

attributed all the inhuman qualities and the down trodden is blamed for all the social evils in the country. Schools and colleges are closed because the students demand too much facilities; the office staff is teargassed if there is a protest against price increase; the police is at the command of factory management if workers demand more wages. All this is evil because the vested interests not only perceive the existing socio-economic structure as the best possible one, but also the only desirable one from the points of view of national integration, high sense of patriotism and sacred ancient culture and heritage. Because of class polarization in regard to these social values, gradually they lose their social importance for the vast majority of people. Sensitization of a small group of people for these values, is in sharp conflict with the psychological resistance of the other group. But as the dominant vested interests are mainly rooted in the deep economic involvements and profit motives, the so-called high social values are also commercialized and polluted, leading to disintegration and decay of all that is held sacred and invaluable. Blackmarketing is resorted to even in a national emergency; eating a particular kind of food is associated with high religion; regional struggle passes as an example of national integration; prevention of cow slaughter becomes more important than the protection and care of starving fellow human beings.

Socio-economic group polarization gives rise to perceptual and cognitive dichotomy because groupings of people take place in the psycho-social field, partly in terms of complex features of the stimulus pattern. In some of the stereotype studies Rath and Das have found closely knit mental images indicating derogatory stereotypes for economically competitive groups of people. The distant ethnic groups are perceived as innocent and good with high culture and all desirable virtues. Prejudices are more due to economic competitions and cultural conflicts rather than strangeness and unfamiliarity.

The Bengalis, who are the dominant competitors in the economic and cultural fields of Orissa, are attributed the largest number of derogatory traits whereas the Punjabis were not considered to be bad because there was no economic conflict with them. Similarly, the British was perceived unfavourably compared to the Russian, the Chinese or the American.*

*This was done about two decades ago.

Once the psycho-social properties of the antagonistic groups are clustered together in the process of social conflict, the individuals belonging to the other groups are attributed all undesirable properties however undeserving they may be. The individual is seen as a part of a system to which he belongs and this frame of reference determines all the perceptual distortion, assimilation and social prejudice.

The perceptual and cognitive structures of a person are not isolated phenomena, but they involve the whole man with all his wants and goals and experiences arising out of his psycho-social milieu. In fact the need structure, the direction and mode of reaching the goals which are intimately related to the perceptual and cognitive organization, constitute the real motivational dynamics of human behaviour.

The wants and needs of a person may have positive or negative trends. The positive trend impels a person towards certain objects and conditions, and the negative one repels him away from these objective conditions. These wants may be physiological or may be directed towards social power, prestige, status or self-esteem. The social elite is more interested in the social needs because the organic needs do not pose a serious problem for him. He strives for more social and political power over his fellow competitors, and desires to enhance his self-esteem at any cost. His personal prestige and status is the pivotal point of all his beliefs, attitudes and social behaviour. Since he is also economically dominant, the social history is dominated by his achievement. The processes of social change which constantly throw out its own proletariat are more appreciated by the other group which is persistently haunted by fears and anxieties of self-annihilation and other resultant frustrations.

In India today, the size of this group is very much larger than the economically dominant group. As the frustrations and insecurities of the majority go on increasing, it sows the seeds of disintegration and chaos in the whole society. The dominant group can never fulfil the ambitions and aspirations of the majority without sacrificing its own status and position, and due to these narrow vested interests in the economic and political life there is no rapid growth and progress in any area of social life. So the leadership belonging to the socio-political elite go on promising the fictitious utopia, where all will be happy and prosperous without any sacrifice on any body's part. But the rich has become richer and the poor poorer in the last two decades of the so-called socialistic society.

As the economically dominant group is in the absolute control of all the aspects of Indian social life, the leadership of the proletariat cannot grow properly. So instead of revolutionary situation, there is confusion and chaos on a vast scale, due to lack of purpose and direction in the field of motivation of the majority. The chronically frustrated wants, in the absence of appropriate goals, make a person unstable and irritable and this has become the dominant characteristic of the present Indian society.

In this society, which is extremely polarized into rich and poor, there is all-round anxiety and misery. The abject misery of the vast majority of the Indian community spreads its poison throughout the society. The psycho-social field dynamics is such that one section of it cannot remain unaffected when the other section is abnormally disturbed. As a result of this the present Indian society is not only sick in all respects, but is also in process of total disintegration. "Misery does not love just any kind of company; it loves only miserable company." Today not only the poorest section of the population is dissatisfied and restless, but all the sections of people seem to be frustrated. The big business man is as much dissatisfied as the small trader; the students as well as the teachers; the top haves as well as the bottom have-nots. This all-round dissatisfaction and misery is not conducive to strong social goals and aspirations. In a study on level of aspiration conducted by the writer, the level of social as well as individual aspirations of groups of college boys and girls were found to be very low. As the level of aspiration is more a function of the level of achievement, scope of social mobility and social inspiration, it is expected to be low in a country like India compared to that of a balanced and healthy society. In addition to this, all the sociopathic deviations found in a disintegrating society are also very clearly visible. There is no consistent syndrome of harmonious motivational and attitudinal clusters, neither in the leadership nor in the common people. Hypocrisy seems to be the dominating feature of all national policies and oft-repeated socio-political philosophies.

Economic and socio-cultural polarization not only creates forces of social disruption, but there is also psychological disintegration. It gives rise to incompatible cognitive and motivational forces which exist side by side. The dominant elite apparently accepts some of the revolutionary ideological contents and new social values, without economic change on the action level. Along with

some of the hypocritical political slogans, there seems to be superficial cognitive changes in the minds of higher caste groups, though in real social situations there has been no real change. In one of our intensive intercaste tension studies, this kind of contradiction has been very clearly noticed [Rath and Sircar (a)].

The upper caste people seem to be more liberal and progressive in regard to casteism. They are more against untouchability than the untouchables are against this social evil. They appear to be more in favour of a social revolution and accept the idea of giving equal economic facilities to all the castes, with a view to abolish caste structure altogether. But in spite of this progressive outlook and cognitive restructurization, there has been no real change in the caste structure. This is one of the contradictions of the modern mind.

Motivation is always related to the goal to be achieved and the mode of achieving it is learnt in the past. The continued stability of motives depends on the social possibilities and scope of attaining them with a feeling of optimistic certainty. But in the existing social conditions of India, the uncertainties of achievement are so great that the motivating forces are weakened from the very beginning. Even at the national level, our five-year plans are noted more for missing the targets than fulfilling them. A young student does not know what he will do after matriculation, so he goes on to the college; but his university education also does not guarantee his future stability. No young man dare plan his future. In this social uncertainty street rioting and college strike give him temporary relief. Instability of motivation is also due to existing social structure which excludes all other possibilities and scope of mobility. This is found in the behaviour of strong social confirmity which is antithesis of social change. Stronger the demand for social confirmity in a particular social field, greater is the resistance to change. In the same study of intercaste tension it was found that the low caste groups have a stronger tendency to resist change in regard to their own improvement due to stagnant social conditions, excluding the possibilities of upward caste mobility. The low caste groups, particularly the sweeper community, prefer stagnation to change. He has a self-image of inferiority. Due to insistent social demand of confirmity, he not only confirms but becomes more rigid and intolerant about caste reforms. He does not want higher education for his children. Primary education is considered enough for him.

In his case cognitive structure is more rigid; hence the desire to change is greatly limited.

Apart from the psycho-social barriers inhibiting social change, the top leadership is also responsible for contributing to this whirlwind of uncertainty and frustration. When achievement is needed on the action level, the promises made only on the verbal level are not only useless but increase the appetite and sharpen the conflicts of people. Those who have not tasted the fruits of better living cannot aspire for a higher goal, so social movements in this direction in India are relatively slow. But the Indian population is gradually becoming so much aware of the forbidden but oft-promised good social life that they are getting easily agitated at the slightest provocation and frustration. This seems to be an unmistakable sign of irregular pulses of psycho-social change which is likely to be revolutionary at any time. Of course, this does not guarantee achievement, because greater the deprivation, stronger the possibility of straying away from goal. Two extremely hungry rats, immediately after release from the bondage, are likely to start fighting between themselves instead of going in search of food. Their perception due to extreme deprivation is so distorted that they see danger everywhere and the other rat becomes the target of his annoyance. This negative reaction weakens the positive one for food. The politicians and many other rival social organizations are no doubt behaving like these extremely hungry rats.

Angry and frustrated leaders are unfit for constructive leadership and achievement. Instead, they strive more for power, prestige and status for themselves and their own group. A top political leader defeated in election is only satisfied if he gets governorship; an unsuccessful man in life talks more about his past achievement than a really successful man. This is also true of a nation. A frustrated nation eulogizes its past much more gloriously than a nation which has solid achievements in the present. So India's perceptual focus is more on the past glories which have no functional relationship with the present. India had everything in the past including jet planes, space travel, atomic energy and what not. By this process the attention of the forward looking people is diverted and a handful of the ruling elite is quite successful in deluding the people by such propaganda. Man does not like to remain frustrated always. So he gets himself drunk at times. The allurements of the past glories serve as deadly intoxicants for people

who feel terribly inferior due to failure in this life. Through such mechanism of propaganda which becomes quite effective in a country like India, the inefficient, the unpopular, the unscrupulous and the aged are dominating the social life much more than the really efficient honest and forward looking individuals. This is a general feature of most of the underdeveloped countries of Asia and Africa of today.

In this context of psychological problems related to social change, the task of psychologists is to plan out an elaborate scheme of research to unravel the various components of cognitive and motivational complex, and suggest ways and means for bringing about induced social change. They should attempt to find out the areas of psycho-social resistance to change. The cognitive and motivational problems primarily associated with resistance to change are to be tackled. The "goal gradients" determining the driving forces for individuals and groups are to be determined. The nature and strength of opposing forces neutralizing the forces of change is to be properly understood. The method of strengthening and canalising the forces in the desired direction and weakening the opposite forces of resistance must be clearly defined. It is needless to say that in tackling these complex psychological problems an interdisciplinary approach and multidimensional attack is absolutely necessary.

ATTITUDINAL PROBLEMS

The psycho-social components of values having objective frame of reference, normative orientation, and individual or collective behavioural directive may be considered as the basic ideational field structure within which the social interaction takes place. In a different context, it may also be viewed that attitudes as the subjective aspects of persons are the internalizations of objective values. This process of internalization is the resultant of the various forces of socialization. These internalized values as attitudes having the cognitive, conative and affective components are the real determinants of individual and social behaviour. In whatever way values and attitudes may be conceived, the fact remains that an attitude with its multiplexity of components and multidimensional growth is bound to comprehend and focus the values and norms of an existing psycho-social field.

Whatever may be the focus of interpretation, the interactional pattern of social behaviour is understood better by analysing the nature, content, form and valance of attitudinal complex and its dimensions. Its importance is still greater if attempts are made to stimulate induced changes.

As an individual is socialized, his cognitive, affective conative tendencies with regard to various objects, persons, ideas, and situations become organized into enduring systems called attitudes. Whatever may be the direction of attitudes — positive or negative — the cognitive, conative, and affective components are interrelated in various degrees of cohesion. Each of these components may also vary in valance and in degree of multiplexity. So it is not enough to say that a person has a favourable or unfavourable attitude towards something but it is necessary to determine its valance by specifying the degree of favourability or unfavourability on linear continuum from one extremity to the other. Similarly, the components of attitudes may vary with regard to their degree of multiplexity. This includes the number and the variety of elements or parts making up a component. It may vary from a minimal knowledge

about an object to an exhaustive and highly integrated set of beliefs and ideas about it. The feeling component may also vary from undifferentiated positive or negative affectivity, to a highly multiplex set of emotions involved in it. Similarly, the action tendency may consist of a single and weak disposition or a highly elaborated family of dispositions towards an object. A strong and effective attitudinal system which endures for a longer period is likely to have greater consistency and deeper interrelations among the components, tending to flow in the same direction. A strong and favourable attitude towards science and modernity or traditional values will imply that the person having this attitude has complex and highly differentiated cognitive system with emotional commitment and strong action tendencies. This must manifest in any situation where action is demanded. In other words, the stronger the valance and multiplexity of the components the greater is the consistency and endurance of the attitudinal complex.

A set of attitudes of a person makes his attitude constellation, which reflects more or less his personality image. A constellation of attitudes has the maximum consonance, if there is close agreement and interrelationship among the various attitudes, and greater dissonance if they are contradictory to each other. The strength and effectiveness of attitudes depend more on consonance and inner consistency. Dissonance causes conflict and confusion leading to personality split in the case of an individual, and social chaos and disruption on a national level.

Through the processes of socialization, various attitudes gradually appear. A multitude of stimulating social conditions, and individual needs and aspirations not only strengthen attitudes but form suitable constellation of them, having internal consistency and interrelatedness. But in the Indian situation of today, the uneducated seems to have clusters of attitudes which are incongruent with modern approach and change, and the educated also does not seem to have integrated clusters of attitudes with well developed dimensions and context. As a result of that there is no uniform motivational direction of attitude clusters. The younger generation has no mature and socially accepted ideology because the society is unable to prescribe one in a consistent manner. If we analyse the social, cultural and educational ideologies of this country there seems to be attitudinal ambivalence in every sphere of Indian life. Neither the national leaders nor the social institutions are able to

spell out any clear guide line with strong social and economic support.

A balanced attitudinal growth is not possible if the stimulation is available only on the verbal level. The affective, cognitive, and conative components of an attitude with its rich content and dimensions are possible only when the stimulation is multi-dimensional. In the political field we talk of socialist ideology but there is no single important social organization or institution which can stimulate corresponding cognitive and affective experiences. There is no national socialistic programme which will elicit conative activities from the individuals and groups. Instead, the verbal stimulation is in absolute contradiction with the objective experiences. The same kind of contradictory experiences are to be found on cultural and educational levels. The cultures of the cities and rural areas are diverging more and more from each other. The gap between the educated and uneducated is growing wider. Due to deeper contradictions in the educational systems, the frustration leading to confusion of attitudes in the student population is on the increase. There are inherent and obvious contradictions between arts and science courses, between professional and non-professional educational systems both in regard to social prestige and monetary reward. The artificial dichotomy existing among the various subjects of study in schools and colleges does not help in the formation of an interrelated and consistent attitudinal cluster. Even single attitudes do not have a multiplex cognitive components which are the main contributions of any educational system. Inconsistencies due to social conflicts between traditionalism and modernity, humanities and science subjects, and the confused ideology found in the teachers in regard to superstitious religion and science, the students also do not seem to have any clear cut cognitive structures which give direction and strength to the attitudes. A disorderly socio-cultural set up clearly indicates a general trend of inconsistency and impotency among the components of attitudes in their valance, and poverty in their multiplexity. Religious attitudes are bound to be in dissonance with scientific attitudes; superstitious behaviours, whose occurrence far outweigh the rational behaviour, are in conflict with rational components of education. Inconsistency in the socio-cultural set-up has a parallel in the contradictory attitudinal trends of the younger generation.

Attitudes appear as enduring psychological organization because

they are intimately connected with the dominant wants, serving to satisfy major interests and aspirations. Attitudes arising out of need satisfaction are considerably strengthened if they have wide social support. In this process, attitudes of prejudice are as important as the socially desirable attitudes. Prejudices are the functional outcome of hostility, threats to self-esteem and various other frustrating social conditions. In the process of social conflict between the younger and the older generations, between the vested interests and the newly emerging proletariats among the various caste and class groups, prejudicial behaviours with all the concomitant hostility and aggression are the distinct features of the present society. Attitudes of hostility and aggression are found everywhere. Students and teachers, workers and management, voters and politicians, and every other section of people appear to be angry. At slightest provocation there is disturbance, riot, fighting not only among the so-called immature youngsters but it appears to be quite common among the matured and grey-haired politicians, not only at the time of election but also in the democratic citadels of Assembly and Parliament houses. This psychological attitude of aggression is a functional outcome of external chaos and contradictions. Insurrectionary group behaviour appearing in a mildly provocative social situation illustrates the phenomenon of hostility reaching the critical point of tolerance — the last straw which breaks the camel's back, the nodal point in social situation where qualitative social changes erupt all on a sudden.

In every society there are authorities and social institutions which supply the necessary information for the formation of attitudes. Authorities like the parents, teachers, leaders, newspapers, broadcasting agencies, etc. and social institutions like the family, school and other organizations supply information to the young mind. But in the present context some of these sources of information are not considered very reliable by the younger generation. So, in the absence of trustworthy knowledge the young mind creates its own information, weaves out its own pattern of ideology and distorts the existing facts according to his own prejudice, unfulfilled desires and unattainable goals. Because of widespread communality of interests and similarity of purposes individuals readily get group support. Such groups very quickly appear in the scene and the common attitude flows readily in one direction. This conative component of a social interaction further strengthens the

attitude. Group support and individual attitude reinforce each other. This explains how strike situations and riotous scenes develop all on a sudden and become widespread.

Normally, primary group influences are major determinants of attitude development and its stability. But attitudes acquired through primary groups are either found to be inadequate or contradictory to other attitudes acquired in later life by coming in contact with other secondary groups. These two sets of conditions being heterogeneous in approach and content in the changing conditions of Indian situation of today, attitudes derived from them are in dissonance with each other. Attitudes acquired through the contact of the secondary groups grow stronger in course of time due to the demanding and insistent nature of group conformity.

So the younger generation creates its own attitudes and demonstrates them in the streets. The parents and teachers are helpless spectators. Group affiliation and group membership play a more effective role in attitude formation than the primary group influences, which are bound to be conservative and traditional. Since the clusters of attitudes ultimately form the vital core of personality, the young men's adolescent segment of personality is in conflict with his earlier one and consequently he suffers from split personality. In the society also, there are clearly divergent groups of conservative and radical personalities. This divergence is very deep and the cleavage is very wide between the younger and older generations. The psychological characteristics associated with conservatism are antithesis of modernism, so the younger generation having a different orientation and attitudinal framework revolt against it.

McClosky has identified the chief characteristics of conservatism in the following manner: "Conservatism in our society at least, appears to be far more characteristics of social isolates, of people who think poorly of themselves, who suffer personal disgruntlement and frustration, who are submissive, timid, and wanting in confidence, who lack a sense of direction and purpose (anomie), who are uncertain about their values (alienation), and who are generally bewildered by the alarming task of having to thread their way through a society which seems to them too complex to fathom."

"The extreme conservatives are easily the most hostile and suspicious, the most rigid and compulsive, the quickest to condemn others for their imperfections or weaknesses, the most intolerant, the most easily moved to scorn and disappointment in others, the

most inflexible and unyielding in their perceptions and judgment. Although aggressively critical of the shortcomings of others, they are unusually defensive and armoured in the protection of their own ego needs. Poorly integrated psychologically, anxious, often perceiving themselves as inadequate, and subject to excessive feelings of guilt, they seem inclined to project onto others the traits they most dislike or fear in themselves."

If the leadership in India today is in the hands of such conservatives what will be the social consequences in the shape of clash of attitudes, ideologies and emotions one can well imagine. Being conservative they are not in a position to impart a kind of education to the young in science and technology with all its educational and attitudinal implications. In fact, development of attitudes in consonance with modern ideology for social change is very much involved in the system of education with a special emphasis on the rational and scientific approach in its methodology and curricular content. But this becomes possible only when the leaders in the educational and political field are convinced of the ultimate national goals and objectives.

A need acutely and consciously felt in the society creates the initial impetus which channels the social change in a particular direction. Necessity by itself does not bring about the desired change. It requires a team of devoted leadership which is unhesitatingly wedded to the cause. To start with, this small but effective social force steadily gathers momentum and revolutionizes the whole society at an accelerated rate depending on the strength of existing need and motive force of the society. In India the present leadership which is in charge of modernizing the society is not free from hesitation and doubt in regard to the spread of science and technology which will generate forces of social change. The country's leadership, by and large is in the hands of a feudalistic and superstitious lot whose vested interest is better served in the continuance of existing outmoded and non-scientific education. This hesitant leadership is responsible for perpetuating the estrangement between science and common mass. The scientists are segregated and scapegoated by the administrators who do not have a strong faith in science and technology; but as it is considered fashionable to support science and technology they merely talk in favour of it. Excessive emphasis on administration, by itself, indicates a feudalistic and traditional mind. In addition to that the existing administrative

set-up which is primitive and outmoded by any modern standard, is positively resistant to the creation of a scientific atmosphere because it is afraid of a social revolution. So the contradictions between the traditional outlook and the acute needs of the modern society are creating greater confusion and deepening crisis in every walk of our life today. This kind of social atmosphere is certainly not conducive to the change of attitudes in favour of science and technology. So the programme of education in science and technology is bound to suffer due to this single major social factor. Lack of unhesitant social and administrative support is a great obstruction in the direction of attitude change and formation of new attitudes.

No doubt the number of educated people is increasing very rapidly year by year. The number of scientists and technocrats has also increased considerably but still due to a bad system of education, scientific attitudes and approach of the educated people, including the scientists and technocrats, have not improved appreciably in teaching the various subjects of study. This defective teaching is bound to create narrow and isolated cognitive structures, and confused attitudinal trends in the minds of the students. It becomes so extreme at times that the minds of individuals and groups undergo a process of split and disintegration with rigidly isolated and non-communicable segments. This abnormal development takes place because there are impenetrable psycho-social walls among the physical, biological, social sciences and humanities. Split personalities and warring social groups are the most incompetent people to bring about any healthy social change. Protagonists of science with low attitude consistency and weak convictions, however enthusiastic they may be in favour of science and technology, are the worst enemies of it.

Education commission and committees (whose accelerated rate of growth seems to be the function of our accumulated inaction and hypocrisy) have untiringly pointed out this weakness of our education; no country-wide programme has been taken up to give an integrated and all-round body of knowledge to the student population; what to speak of inculcating a scientific spirit and temper in the minds of whole population? As a result of this there is no consistency in the system or constellation of attitudes in the vast majority of the educated people. The cognitive, conative, and affective components of attitudes cease to be congruent in valance

and multiplexity. Incongruity and inconsistency in the attitude constellation provides a weak transitory base for any stable system of attitudes towards science and technology.

Not only there is no integration among the various areas of knowledge imparted in the schools and colleges but the teaching of any particular subject is also unscientific and traditional. A conglomeration of information without any causative and rational relationship among them, is mainly responsible for a general unscientific attitude and approach. A man who is by nature rational, at least in the sphere of acquiring knowledge, becomes more and more irrational and superstitious when taught in this fashion. Art or literature, social sciences or humanities, physical or biological sciences should inevitably lead to scientific approach, if teaching is based on causative and functional relationship. Due to lack of integration in the cognitive structure, the number and variety of experiences which constitute the multiplexity of attitude components do not contribute to the strength and direction of the attitudinal complex.

But at the same time, the needs and demands for modernity, generating new forces of social change, reveal ever expanding horizons of knowledge and rationality, and set out new orientation and direction before the younger generation. Inadequate body of information, irrational collation of facts, inaccurate perceptual set with confused focus and unbalanced constellation of attitude ill prepare the young man to accept this challenge and adjust to the demands of the time. So he breaks down in the process and is easily swept away in any political, religious or any casual social upheaval. One who is constantly in the process of drifting succumbs to any temptation and joins any crowd because he is in search of temporary relief from his incessant anxiety and insecurity. That explains why the disciples of Sri "Maas" and "Babas", "Maharshis", and "Senas" are on the increase. They provide easy escape from the frustrating turmoils of the contradictory social values and attitudes.

Action Programme

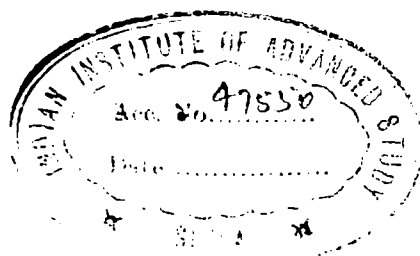
Attitudes appear, develop and grow stronger in the process of need satisfaction. This growth is further accelerated if there is a wide social support. Today in India the needs and desires of individual scientists may be satisfied to a great extent. So favourable attitudes

towards science and modernity is on the increase in the younger generation. But as the scientists still wage a bitter battle against the unscientific and very powerful administrative vested interests, the self-image of a scientist with marks of frustration and inferiority is not conducive for a rapid growth and spread of this attitude. That is why first class engineers and scientists prefer to have Indian police or administrative posts for the sake of higher social prestige and position. So a programme of action which is no doubt extremely difficult but nonetheless most important is to be taken up to change the attitudes of the leaders and administrators in this direction. Since they form a highly prestigious power group in this country, attitudinal change at the top is likely to create congruent attitude clusters in the followers, provided again the attitudes are need-satisfying from all points of view. If the top group has a real favourable attitude towards science and technology they become highly progressive and consequently those who endorse their attitudes, will also enjoy the highest economic and social status in the society. Unfortunately the top group of scientists, being the exploiting group, gives the fullest support to the administrators and all others who tend to retard progress and try to maintain *status quo* by freezing the onward process of history.

Congruent attitudinal change involving multiplexity of experience and multi-value orientation, is more effective and enduring than a simple and unidimensional attitude. If every subject of study is based on scientific approach and emphasizes the inter-connectedness running through all the areas of knowledge, then attitudinal change in favour of science and technology becomes multidimensional. Constant exposure to additional information coming from various sources and authorities and leading to the same direction and focus, creates a multiplex of varied experiences and elements of knowledge. This attitudinal multiplex, supported by the ruling elite, acts as a powerful agent of dissonance with the existing superstitious and inconsistent body of beliefs and attitudes. This factor of dissonance impels the individuals to proceed in the direction of consonance with the demanding character of the modern society. This programme of action should form an essential part of any educational system.

The role of social sciences and humanities in reorganizing cognitive structure and the system of values as means of social control is extremely important. They must try to expose the deep social

roots of interests and conflict of interests which produce the values. The gap between the traditional and the newly emerging values, the self-oriented and the collective-oriented values is to be narrowed by exposing the irrational foundations giving rise to conflict of interests. It is the duty of all educationists to take steps in the direction of institutionalizing science and technology in place of, or side by side with, the traditional areas of religious and philosophical systems. With a continued process of rationalization in the sphere of religion and other established non-empirical and mystical value systems, a newly integrated value structure will emerge as a function of individual and group needs and social demands. Existing value clusters are full of contradictions and hypocrisy; so they create a sense of insecurity and anxiety in every sphere of life. Even the top leaders of the country stand in a queue along with the common people, in the hope of getting mysterious blessings of any saffron clad sadhu or hoping to see their future by the help of palmists and astrologers. This element of conservatism which seeks to adhere to a system of traditional values, is a dark force against social change in the right direction. Science and technology, as the instruments of dynamic and radical change, is opposed by this force of reaction and regression. In one of our attitude studies (Rath and Kar) it was found that the older the people the more adverse is their attitude towards science and technology. They are more in favour of traditional religion. Contrary is the case with the younger generation. This conflict between the older and younger generations, between tradition and modernity, between speculative mysticism and new scientific approach is giving rise to a tremendous social strain which ultimately may disintegrate the society. So the role of all educationists in general and scientists in particular is to accelerate the process of reintegration with the least damage to the society. Unless we succeed, and succeed very soon, the inexorable forces of history will take a terrible revenge upon us and instead of consciously creating our own history and remaking man as we desire, with the help of science and technology — democracy and socialism — the most powerful weapons of modern times, we will be tied down to the relentless wheel of time in its onward march of annihilation.



PERSONALITY AND LEADERSHIP PROBLEMS

Psycho-social conflicts between the older and new generations, between traditions and modernity, and between old and new value systems are reflected more acutely in the socialization processes. In a transitional society the women are likely to be more conservative than men because the former as a class is less exposed to the conflicting processes arising out of modernity and urbanization. Moreover, the assumption that structural changes related to urbanization *per se* leading to dissolution of traditional cultures is an untenable one. Bascom and others seem to have come to the conclusion that traditional values can persist in an urban setting because the cities themselves are traditional and the so-called modern cities have intimate cultural relationship with the surrounding villages. This is much more true of Indian cities, whose population has still strong cultural roots in the villages. Moreover, some of the Indian towns, in fact, consist of cluster of villages only, maintaining all the cultural characteristics of rural life.

In this context of social change most of the modern educated men marry traditionally oriented females and while the husband makes compromises with his wife in tacitly accepting the traditional values, the children are likely to acquire traditional orientations from their mothers. Bruner suggests the general hypothesis that culture patterns learned early in life are more resistant to change in contact situations. "Values and kinship behaviour comprised the kinds of patterns found to be learned early" (Le Vine). Words as the indicators of these values and cultural concepts according to Hymes, "are likely to be learned early by a child and because of frequency, overlearned". Experimental works of social psychologists like Hovland, indicate that attitude preferences learned earlier have a long range advantage over those learned more recently despite temporary reversals.

So the Indian children, being stimulated by behavioural dispositions acquired in the milieu of the family or ethnic groups, have a substratum of traditional values and attitudes in the unconscious

depths of their minds. But as they grow up they are stimulated by both kinds of leadership belonging to the traditional and modern worlds, and this creates great confusion and conflict in their psychological field. This kind of confusion is bound to take place in any society to a greater or less extent but in India this contradiction is very much heightened in the case of educated people. Modern education is based on rational and scientific approach, whereas some of the traditional values may be based on irrational and superstitious outlook. The traditional values must be incorporated without raising any doubt. The old "guru" must be accepted without questioning. But the new education is based on scientific questioning and intellectual doubt. As a result of this inherent contradictions in the socio-cultural life, innovations in the political institutions and scientific laboratories are eagerly accepted but the traditional patterns of life intrude into them in new forms. This widespread syncretism, which is antithesis of rationality and scientific approach, works as a disintegrating force in the inner core of personality. This process of syncretism tends to produce split personality in most of the educated people. Ideology which is the central ideational core binding together the various attitudes and value systems of a person becomes weak in the process. This constitutes the single major cause of personality disharmony in regard to psychological field behaviour. The leadership as well as the youth of India by and large are having this kind of major personality split.

The traditional Indian family is essentially feudalistic and controlled by the authoritarian head. The authority structure of the primary inter-personal environment leaves a deep impression in the early socialization of the child. The Indian tradition is to make the child conform to the ideal authority pattern and this is enforced by various disciplinary techniques. Too much emphasis on obedience training, the use of physical and other types of punishment, and a hierarchically arranged interpersonal environment seem to be correlated with an authoritarian political system (Le Vine). But as the child grows up, at least theoretically, he is impressed by the democratic values of equality, fraternity and liberty. The administrators and leaders continue to be intolerant feudalistic autocrats but at the same time preach all the democratic doctrines. In the school the child is not encouraged to ask questions; in the college he is not allowed to run his own affairs even at the post-graduate level; when he enters life he is not supposed to doubt

the infallibility of his superiors. The entire social structure is arranged according to inferior-superior pyramidal hierarchies. This age old social system was perfectly in harmony with the existing social conditions of the pre-independent days but it is out of balance with the social aspirations of the younger generation. This contradiction explains the rising frustration, tension, and acts of indiscipline in the youth. A young university student is quite docile before his father and teacher without any apparent hesitation but at the same time he is simmering inside to revolt, against his authorities. The same boy, who is so meek and mild in the class room becomes extremely arrogant when he leads a strike procession. This is understandable during a revolutionary period of change. Though this contradiction is found in any society between the old and new generations yet its tempo and intensity is bound to be more in a country like India where the degree of difference between the two is very much greater.

In fact, the personality of the youth seems to grow more outside the influence of the parents and elders. The home environment is more and more out of tune with the outside environment. The adolescent does not get any emotional help from the parents who are more shy of their growing young sons and daughters than they are of their parents. The grown-up boy does not discuss any problem freely with the parents, and never enjoys a film or a theatre with them. The uneducated mother, the authoritarian father and autocratic teacher appear to be strange and distant persons to the young boy or girl. This psycho-social distance between the two generations has become a normal feature of our society. Abnormal revolt and indiscipline are the natural outcome of such a situation.

In one of our studies it was found that the home conditions, including occupational and economic status, have no connection with the growing attitudes of children although positive relationship has been established between the two in other countries [Rath, R.(a)].

In other words, continuous growth of personality, with a consistent pattern of behaviour, is not possible in a country like India where there is a wide gap between the modern ideology and traditional home set-up. Modern democratic institutions are not developing properly due to the same reasons. Traditional and authoritarian socio-cultural set-up vitiates the modern democratic organizations and associations.

The self-image and self-concept occupy the pivotal point in

personality organization and this self-image is the product of social interaction. A child learns to conceive himself as having characteristics which are perceived by others. He cherishes certain values, aspires to reach certain social status, and assesses his and other's achievements according to certain social norms and value-sets. These norms and value-sets need not remain constant throughout his life. In a complex society, individuals become members of many groups and the values of these different groups may come in conflict. In resolving this conflict a new synthesis of values may be arrived at and the personality attains stability after going through a period of such conflict. But in the context of Indian society the gap between the traditional and modern values is so great, the criteria of judgment are so different, and the leadership is so vacillating that it becomes extremely difficult to resolve the conflicts. This may be one of the reasons for many new kinds of sociopathic deviations. An individual may not steal a small thing from any body but will not hesitate to cheat the government in all kinds of ways. He does not tell lies at home but unhesitatingly indulges in all kinds of political lies in public. An unscrupulous but successful man becomes the hero; his business shrewdness is much more appreciated than his honesty. Co-existing but contradictory value systems are responsible for this kind of confusion of values.

Social change is always related to a particular social system with all its inherent social norms and values. So it is unscientific to expect that people living in backward, bigoted and rigidly closed rural community would acquire ideas or react to new changes in the same manner as people belonging to progressive, industrial and urban environment. In the same social context also it is not possible to conceive that all the individuals will psychologically react to the same social change exactly in the similar manner. A highly intelligent and introverted person will incorporate old or new cultural standards and values differently from the less intelligent and extroverted individual living in the same environment. That is why even in a stable social system one finds so much psychological variation, ranging from well adjusted and well organized stable personality to unstable social deviants. But in spite of this variation, social stability is the main feature of this society with a strong psychological sense of social confirmity. In accepting the social norms and conforming to the social standards, the psychological needs by and large are not at variance with the social demands. Of course in no social

set-up the correlation between these two sets of forces can ever be absolute; but the variance may be confined within a tolerable range of divergence. In this social situation it becomes possible for most of the individuals of the society for normal psychological adjustment. But when this divergence goes beyond the tolerable limit of human adjustment the psychological world of order and stability which is the *sine qua non* of all psycho-social adjustment breaks down. The psycho-social field of the individual is violently disturbed by the worries and fears of the unknown, anxieties and uncertainties of the future, and the frustrations of the immediate present. His familiar world of values with corresponding enduring cognitive structures of attitudes and beliefs, stereotypes and prejudices, hopes and aspirations disintegrates very rapidly. He finds himself in a critical situation marked by rapid changes with ever changing new social demands requiring novel social adjustment. A critical situation, according to Cantril may be said to arise when an individual is confronted by a chaotic external environment which he cannot interpret and which he wants to interpret. "His anxiety increases because he has no frame of reference or standard of judgment in reference to which he can understand the new social change. In this unstructured and ill-defined psychological situation he is susceptible to new leadership which is capable of bringing in, a new revolution, a new conversion with new points of anchorage."

Resistance to anything which threatens the existing social conservatism seems to be the most common psychological phenomenon. But greater the resistance, the deeper the psycho-social stress and strain giving rise to a stronger tension and wider mental conflict. More intense this conflict, both overt and covert, greater is the possibility of social revolution. This happens more frequently with a greater degree of predictability in the transitional periods of socio-cultural changes. During such periods through which any developing country must some day pass, the contradictions between the past and present are very acute, the incompatibility between the parts and the whole becomes very unpleasant. The tensions caused by inequality in an ever-rigid stratified society, with all its unequal reinforcement and irrational distribution of reward and punishment, reaches a stage of breaking point. Extensive family disorganization while disintegrating traditional cultural patterns of living, creates greater disharmony in parent-child relationship and fosters greater tension between the generations. The corroding

effects of the new social forces on the old value system are so devastating (without leaving any roots of its own in the new soil) that nothing appears to be stable and lasting. Deterioration in one sphere brings about a far greater damage in another. So chaos follows chaos until it ends up in a revolution with all the promise of social stability and psychological hope. Such a revolution does not leave anything unaltered. New leadership emerges with a new approach to life. In the modern context technology will replace archaic human tools; urban civilization will submerge the rural culture; science will obliterate superstition. In short, modern age with all its associated social and cultural organizations will bury the medieval past.

Personality being the end-product of socializing processes, the existing caste structure of the Indian society gives rise to whole groups of disorganized and deviant personalities. Caste structure excludes certain kinds of socio-cultural mobility, so it gives rise to psycho-social stagnation which is ultimately reflected in personality disorganization. In one of our intercaste tension studies this point has come out quite clearly. The sweeper community being at the lowest ladder of caste hierarchy seems to have the largest percentage of neurotics compared to any other group. The sense of insecurity and inferiority is also extremely high. They feel so inferior, and their overall personality confidence is so low that they are incapable of any higher aspirations. They attribute to themselves all kinds of derogatory traits due to strict social conformity. Whole groups of people having this kind of psycho-pathic personality pose a great danger to any society. At the slightest provocation they are likely to indulge in socio-pathic behaviour. In course of time they will be more aware of this social discontinuity and cultural lag, and violent revolt against this social injustice will be the natural outcome. This has a parallel in the black-white relationship in the USA. The untouchables of today are comparable to the Negroes of America in the nineteenth century.

The leadership, barring a few exceptions (like late Jawaharlal Nehru), has deep roots in traditionalism which is antithesis of modernism and change. It becomes absolutely difficult for the modern leadership to go against modernism but at the same time he has not got that strength of mind which is the outcome of deep and unhesitating conviction in the philosophy of life to pursue the cause of modernity and change. A split mind always makes compromises

and a compromiser of contradictions can never be an inspired leader. He vacillates from position to position. A scientist dipping himself in the Ganges on an auspicious day, the politician presiding over scientific associations and also visiting Kumbha mela, with a view to earning Punya, educational authorities closing down colleges and scientific institutions on lunar and solar eclipse days, people breaking coconuts in launching a new ship, utilizing communal sentiments for democratic election are a few examples of split mind. A traditionalist Jagatguru or a modern Nehru is free from these conflicts to a great extent but not the modern young man.

Most of the leaders in the various fields of life being old in age are solidly behind traditionalism and *status quo*. But in the context of the modern world they cannot go against modernization. So they pay lip sympathy in favour of modernization but in reality they resist change. This tendency of the older generation which is unfortunately found strongly embedded in every sphere of our social life creates greater social tension and conflict. The younger generation feels very much powerless against it and instead of pursuing an inspired goal, wanders in purposeless wilderness. The younger generation is in favour of science and social change but powerless to do anything about it. In one of our studies (Rath and Kar, Rath and Misra) a negative but significant correlation between the favourable attitudes of the older people toward religion and favourable attitude of the younger people toward science was found. Old people above forty-five are more unscientific, more religious, more rigid, more neurotic and have a greater sense of insecurity compared to the younger people. This clearly indicates that the older people will have greater resistance in accepting innovations.

The political and social domination of older people explains why there is stagnation in the processes of social change in India. Wherever there is apparent change, as it is in the field of education, there is no change in quality. Real dynamic and qualitative change will depend very much on elasticity, creative imagination and boldness of the leaders but these qualities are likely to be absent in them. So from the psycho-social point of view the present leadership is unfit for bringing about rapid social change.

The chief dimensions of leadership behaviour are: (i) consideration, and (ii) initiating and directing. But these two dimensions are dynamically related to the group which is being led. "Consideration" behaviour is primarily concerned with motivating the members to

reach the group goal and maintaining internal harmony. But in order to establish this functional relationship between the two, the group must accept the leadership as reflecting the ideals and goals of the members. The leaders must be perceived as having the requisite capabilities and qualifications to deliver the goods. In a changing society like India it becomes extremely difficult to identify the ideal leaders who are acceptable to both the sides. The leaders who are dear to the conservative sections of the population are not able to inspire the younger generation, and those who symbolize the aspirations of the rising youth are considered to be immature and rash. The tempo and direction of social change will, therefore, depend on the strength and weakness of these two types of leaders.

The leadership in India is not only old in age but unmistakably belongs to the older generation. The traditional Indian society is dominated by caste and class hierarchies and the present leadership, having deep roots in this system, tends to perpetuate the caste and class forms. Except for a few, most of them take advantage of caste structure and economic exploitation through big business and landlord class. The Congress party which has been the ruling party for the last quarter century and has taken the responsibility of bringing about rapid social change is absolutely in the grip of capitalists and caste groups. This explains why modern democratic institutions in the country are vitiated by their feudalistic and caste outlook. Election is becoming more and more expensive. Due to feudalistic outlook the ruling class is so intolerant of the opposition. The so-called progressive measures in industry and other social institutions are frustrated. Any move for rapid change is suppressed. The leadership is "prisoner of indecision" when the question of science, technology or socialist measures are concerned. At the same time the leadership which is recruited from the traditional culture and wedded to the philosophy of *status quo*, wants to lead the progressive elements advocating modernity. But it is psychologically incapable of consideration of the new generation, initiating action and directing them towards social change. So the leadership enters into the world of irreality and day-dreaming about modernity and change. It gives slogans whose implications it cannot understand; it promises a socialistic utopia which it can never comprehend; and it makes a grandiloquent plan which it can never implement. If the change visualized in all these spheres does take place than the

very basis of its leadership will disappear. Traditional society with all its primitive social structure and cultural values will be replaced by modern values. Science and technology will dominate the socio-cultural field. By destroying traditionalism it will uproot itself. The old leadership is not capable of bringing about this far-reaching change. So the leadership wants to maintain the primitive caste structure, strengthen the nineteenth century feudalistic bureaucracy but gives slogans of the twenty-first century to satisfy the younger generation wanting change. This basic contradiction does not enable it to command confidence in the younger generation. So there has been a real crisis of leadership in this country. The leadership cannot consider the problems of the youth because it cannot understand them; it cannot initiate action in them because it does not believe in them; it cannot motivate them because it cannot move the group towards the goal; it cannot direct and coordinate their work because it has no confidence in their capacity. Once this antagonism appears between the leader and the follower, one perceives the other as possessing all possible derogatory attributes. If one likes a person he perceives him as one possessing all the desirable characteristics but if he dislikes him the reverse attitudes seem to appear. In a study "subjective factors judging personality traits" the author has demonstrated this tendency in people in a different context [Rath, R.(b)].

Authoritarian and democratic traits are the two chief functional leadership dimensions in relation to group members. In different social context they succeed differently. In some social situations democratic leadership is preferred where as in some other situations dictatorial leadership becomes quite effective. In feudalistic system authoritarian leadership may work quite satisfactorily. In India today the political system is based on democratic philosophy but from the psychological point of view the leadership is by and large authoritarian. As a result of this it creates all kinds of psychological problems. From the following description of authoritarian leadership the harms done by it in the changing society can be well imagined (Kretch, D. *et al.*).

"The authoritarian leader wields more absolute power than the democratic leader; he alone determines policies of the group; he alone makes major plans; he alone fully knows the succession of future steps in the group's activities; he alone dictates the

activities of the members and the patterns of interrelations among the members; he alone serves as the ultimate agent and judge and as the purveyor of rewards and punishments. Hence, the fate of each individual within the group is in his hand.

"The authoritarian leader deliberately develops these absolute functions and actively resists changes in them. The techniques by which he reinforces and protects his leadership status are various. By preventing individual members from participating in the setting of the group goals and by imposing what often seem to them irrelevant subgoals, the autocratic leader guarantees that his guidance will be indispensable for the long term functioning of the group. Under this type of control, the involvement of individual members is segmental and dependent, and the group goals are unclear."

One can very easily identify most of the characteristics described above about the leadership functions in all the walks of our social and political life. The conflict between the socio-political ideal of the modern generation and the actual functioning of the leadership in India creates many more problems than it actually solves.

On the whole the personality and leadership problems in the context of social change should engage our attention more and more. The social scientists should design elaborate schemes of research focussing the various problems of leadership and personality. The psycho-social conflicts of leadership, the attitudinal and cognitive dissonance, the nature of conflict between the ideological and conative levels, the conflicting modes of change of the authoritarian personality in adjusting to the democratic demands of the age and various other problems relating to this transitional period of change are to be tackled, so that with minimum damage to the society the induced changes can be brought about.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS AND PERSONALITY DIMENSIONS

1. *Introduction*

It is widely accepted by the psychologists and sociologists that a personality continuously grows through the socializing processes. The biochemical and physiological syndrome of a person no doubt has its own contributions but the general behavioural patterns and personality traits are acquired bit by bit through social interactional processes. Study of personality traits without any reference to the basic socio-cultural field forces remains a mere abstraction. "The influence of culture is so powerful, and experienced so uniformly by the members of a society that they have many basic character traits in common. Know the culture to which an individual has been socialized and you know how he will behave in many situations" (Yinger, J. M.).

The bio-social needs of the people are integrated with the external social demands. The latter are gradually internalised and the former are steadily socialized in course of socio-cultural adjustments. Due to the multiplexity of the stimulating world and multidimensionality of the responding organism, the prediction of the resultant behaviour may not reach absolute certainty. But the general trend of personality syndrome of a whole group of individuals living in a well defined matrix of social field forces can be generally indicated. Elaborate studies of this kind would in the long run help the other social scientists and planners interested in exploring the possibilities of induced social change.

Rapid social change does not merely depend upon the leadership, however inspired and dedicated it may be, but it also depends very much upon the vast masses of people who are the instruments of social change. It is also not enough to have very noble ideas for social change, at the cognitive level of a small fraction of the population but the impediments to social change which create powerful areas of resistance to change are to be removed as early as possible in order to bring about the desired end. That which is to be achieved at the conative level cannot be solved merely at the

cognitive level. Even the cognitive structure of a person, or groups of persons, is shaped very much by the social conditions which may work as the basic factors in obstructing social change.

It, therefore, becomes imperative for social scientists to explore these problems and discover the psycho-social forces which are likely to shape the personality structure and determine its behavioural trend. Then only the changes desired in the personality field can be manipulated by bringing about necessary changes in the psycho-social world. This is the very basis of induced social change in any developing country where rapid social changes are planned to be achieved in a shorter duration of time. Hence the importance of psycho-social researches to find out the interactional relationship between the psychological make-up and social field forces is increasingly felt by social scientists.

2. *Personality Make-up*

(a) PROBLEM. An elaborate research project had been undertaken by the author to study the caste tension that might exist among six caste groups of Cuttack.* In addition to the various kinds of other issues the problem of general personality trend of the individuals forming different caste groups was also investigated. In socio-economic as well as cultural fields the upper caste people differ very much from the lower caste groups. So if the social field forces have anything to do with the personality make-up of the individuals the personality trend of the lower caste groups should differ from that of the upper caste groups.

There should be more shared tendencies in a small closed group having a slow rate of socio-cultural change, slight status differentiation and homogeneous socializing institutions with very deep social and cultural roots extending to the distant past. All these conditions govern very strongly the low caste groups and also to a lesser extent the upper caste communities.

According to Inkeles and Levinson, "National character refers to relatively enduring personality characteristics and patterns that are modal among the adult members of the society." So the personality characteristics of people belonging to the caste groups, particularly the broad two groups of high and low caste subcultures,

* Cuttack is a city of about 200,000 population in the State of Orissa, India.

are likely to differ significantly due to marked differences in the two subcultural field forces.

There may not be significant differences among the upper caste groups or among the lower caste groups as the socio-economic and cultural milieu may not be so distinctly different within the upper caste or lower caste groups, but there should be significant difference in personality make-up between the two broad upper and lower caste groups. With that purpose in view, this project was designed to study the six caste groups in regard to their personality make-up in the areas of security-insecurity and neuroticism. These two aspects of personality are not only very important for understanding the general trend of behavioural patterns, but the socio-cultural environmental set-up, which is so different for the high and low caste groups, should have marked influence in bringing about significant differences in the personality make-up, at least in regard to these two traits. In other words, if the upper caste and lower caste groups project significant personality differences the factors causing this difference may possibly be found in the different socio-cultural conditions. Consequently from the point of view of social change the differences in the area of personality make-up can be bridged only by removing the differences inherent in the social field forces of the caste groups.

(b) **SUBJECTS AND PROCEDURE.** For the main study of caste tension three upper caste groups were selected for study. The three important high caste groups hierarchically arranged according to their caste and social status were the Brahmins, the Karans, and the Khandayats. The Brahmins traditionally occupy the topmost caste from the points of view of both educational and cultural heritage. The Karans are very close second to the Brahmins on the caste hierarchy. The Khandayats are the cultivator class which is also very close to the second. There is a very keen competition in modern times among the three upper caste groups in all spheres of life. But greater competition is going on between the Brahmins and the Karans. The three low caste Untouchable groups known as Harijans were the Dhobies (Washermen), the Panas (low caste labourers) and the Hadies (the sweeper community).

Each of the six caste groups included 100 subjects selected from among the members of that caste group of Cuttack city by stratified quota sampling technique. The city was divided into several areas

and from each area a specific number of individuals was selected randomly. This method was mainly used to find out the samples of high caste Hindus and the Dhobies who were widely distributed in the city population, but in the case of the other two low caste Hindus, namely, the Hadies and Panas, random selection was made from among them who usually live in segregated areas. The samples were derived from the adult male populations only. It was not possible to control any other factors except the caste.

It was planned to interview all the subjects individually with printed questionnaire, but some of the high caste Hindus were not very much willing to be interviewed. They preferred to answer the questionnaire by themselves privately. After the questionnaire was filled up the interviewers collected the necessary information from the subjects. But in the case of low caste groups all the subjects had been interviewed by specially trained interviewers belonging to the same caste. In order to ensure proper interviewing and data collection, the interviewers were checked from time to time by interviewing some of the subjects already interviewed by them. This method worked quite satisfactorily. A few cases had to be rejected for certain irregularities or bad interviewing. Data were collected from 600 subjects in all, belonging to six caste groups. Most of the Harijans had to be paid in terms of daily wages for the days of interview in order to create an interest and incentive in them.

There is a hierarchical order in respect of social status among the high caste and low caste Hindu groups studied in this investigation. Among the high caste Hindus, the Brahmins occupy the highest social status, and then comes the Karan caste, and last of all the Khandayats. The Karans not only come next to the Brahmins in social status, but in the economic and political fields also they are the staunch rivals of the Brahmins in Orissa now. There seems to be some kind of a strong bitterness and antagonism between these two castes. This rivalry has given rise to a bitter communal feeling against each other, mostly among the educated and well to do people. The term Khandayat literally means the soldier and several centuries back they were really the soldiers to the rulers of those times, but now this group is mainly recruited from the peasantry class. When they get high education or grow rich some of them like to describe themselves as Karans. The Karans have come mainly from the clerical groups. They are economically better off than

Khandayats. Culturally they consider themselves very close to the Brahmins. There is a possibility of social locomotion between the Karans and Khandayats but there is no such possibility between the Brahmins and any other caste. The Brahmins form a close social group, excluding any inter-caste communication. From the sociological point of view the Brahmins can be taken as the highest caste and does not have any marital relationship with any other non-Brahmin caste.

Among the Harijans there is also caste stratification. The caste feeling and antagonism among the low caste untouchables is very bitter. Each of the three low caste groups mentioned here is a closed caste group without any possibility of social inter-communication. Not only there is no marital relationship among them but they even do not take food or water from the members of the other Harijan castes. Each caste is supposed by its members as being superior to the others. But socially and economically the Dhobies (Washermen) seem to enjoy better status, at least in the cities. Next to the Dhobies comes the Pana group whose members mostly belong to the labouring class. Although some of them specialize in country liquor preparation, they do not have any stereotyped caste profession like the Dhobies and the Hadies. The Hadies (Sweeper) seem to occupy the lowest status from the social as well as professional point of view. Their main communal work is to clean the drains, latrines and roads.

But from the broad social, economic and caste points of view the three upper caste groups may be taken together to form the high caste Hindus, and the lower three castes as belonging to the broad untouchable group having more or less the same social disadvantages. So it is expected that besides having their own caste outlook the upper caste groups taken together are likely to differ from the lower caste groups in their attitudes and opinions in regard to certain caste and social issues. But a very important point should be remembered in this connection. In the economic and political fields the class and group competition, rivalry and antagonism can be clearly marked even at the conscious level. The poorer or oppressed groups may not be willing to be reconciled to their economic status, and they may have a strong desire to go higher up economically and there may also be a possibility to achieve that goal. In other words, under certain circumstances political and economic mobility is achievable. But in the field of caste professions and rights

there has been no such inter-caste communication in the last hundred years. So, there is a great social conformation in regard to casteism. The lower caste people may grumble against economic hardship, but there is no such open grievance against the caste impositions which have been accepted over centuries. The caste characteristics are taken to be as real as skin colour or body height. This kind of uncritical and century-old social acceptance might have been disturbed in the last few decades by the revolutionary social reforms. The whole caste structure has been challenged socially, legally and politically, and new sparks of revolt have been deliberately fanned by various social forces. But how far this simmering has spread into the deep recesses of caste mind is a question which still remains to be answered. Studies of this kind may throw some light on such problems [Rath, R. and Sircar, N. (a)].

(c) TESTS. Maslow's test of security and insecurity was used to measure the dominant personality trend found in the six caste groups. Similarly, the test of neuroticism, which was used and standardized by the Psychology Department of Calcutta University, was applied to measure the trend of neuroticism. Both the tests were carefully translated and tried on a small sample consisting of people belonging to the six caste groups as a first pilot study. After the pre-test the language was suitably modified and tried again on a similar group of people before it was finalized. As it was a comparative study of group trends, no attempt was made to go through the elaborate procedure of validation of the tests. By comparing the scores of the two tests a kind of internal consistency was checked. The test—re-test reliability was found out on a sample of 20 per cent of the subjects. In the case of security and insecurity test, the test—re-test correlation was 0.84 and for neuroticism it was 0.87.

(d) DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

(i) *Neuroticism*

Table 1 presents the scores of neuroticism obtained by the six caste groups. The larger scores indicate higher trend of neuroticism. The results show that there are larger number of people having higher neurotic scores in the three lower caste groups compared to high caste groups. It is assumed earlier that due to very socio-cultural

differences the two high and low caste groups should differ in personality make-up.

The mean and median scores are consistently higher in all the low caste groups compared to those of higher caste groups.

TABLE 1
SCORES OF NEUROTICISM OF SIX CASTE GROUPS

Scores	Low Caste Groups				High Caste Groups			Group total
	Dhoba	Pana	Hadi	total	Brahmin	Karan	Khandayat	
Below 100	1	1	1	1	4	5	1	2
101—200	11	4	7	7.3	8	15	9	10.6
201—300	12	11	11	11.3	21	30	18	23.0
301—400	19	20	25	14.6	16	23	31	23.3
401—500	19	20	20	19.6	24	14	20	19.3
501—600	13	15	12	13.3	16	5	13	8.0
601—700	13	15	15	14.3	8	7	7	7.3
701—900 and above	12	14	9	11.5	3	1	1	1.6
	N = 100	100	100	300	100	100	100	300
Mean	452.0	486.0	448.5	437.6	393.0	323.0	382.0	346.3
Median	435.4	469.5	429.5	478.5	403.7	299.5	372.1	361.4

TABLE 2
CHI-SQUARE VALUES FOR NEUROTICISM SCORES
OF SIX CASTE GROUPS

	Hadi	Pana	Dhoba	Brahmin	Karan	Khandayat
Hadi	<i>X</i>	2.70	2.36	13.04	27.68**	11.91
Pana		<i>X</i>	3.78	15.81*	35.24**	20.28**
Dhoba			<i>X</i>	11.98	27.42**	7.40
Brahmin				<i>X</i>	14.56*	8.62
Karan					<i>X</i>	12.96
Khandayat						<i>X</i>
All 3 lower castes						5.08
All 3 upper castes						23.54
Two broad upper and lower caste groups						47.64**
All 6 caste groups						78.87**

* significant at 0.05 level

** significant at 0.01 level

Table 2 which presents contingent chi-square results, found among the different caste groups, clearly show that the three high caste groups taken together significantly differ from the three low caste groups in regard to the distribution of neuroticism scores.

It can be further presumed that the three lower caste groups should not differ from one another in this area of personality make-up, as they are likely to share the same kind of common socio-cultural set-up. This should also be true in regard to the three upper caste groups. The results confirm this hypothesis. The contingent chi-square obtained among three upper caste groups as well as the three lower caste groups taken separately are not significant. When the inter-caste relationship is assessed among all the six caste groups the chi-square results again become significant. So broadly the hypothesis is confirmed that the low caste groups have larger number of neurotic persons compared to the high caste communities.

It would be interesting to compare the different caste groups with one another. Contingent chi-square scores presented in Table 2 indicate interesting trends. The contingent chi-square between the scores of the sweeper community and those of the other two low caste groups are very low, but the intergroup chi-square scores increase when the sweeper community is compared with the higher caste groups. Only in relation to the Karans, the second in the hierarchical order of the upper caste groups, the difference is significant at one per cent level. In relation to the Brahmins and the Khandayats the difference is not significant. The Karan group differs significantly in having lower neurotic scores from the Brahmins and all the three low caste groups. The difference between them and the Khandayats is not significant. This is the only group which is close to the Karans in this respect.

It is interesting to note that in the whole study of caste relationship the Karans, who occupy the second in caste hierarchy, appear to be more stable and more confident compared to the other two high caste groups.

The Brahmins appear to show marked symptoms of instability, insecurity and nervousness. It was the dominant group for the last three thousand years or so in every sphere of socio-cultural life, but only in the last few decades their authority is being challenged in the society. This creates a socio-economic threat for the Brahmins and this challenge comes mainly from the Karans who are not only the nearest to the Brahmins in the caste hierarchy but their closest competitors in all the spheres of life.

In the last few decades the achievement of this group is phenomenal. This community being the rising social group seems to have developed much greater self-confidence, personality stability

and sense of security through the processes of socio-economic competition and achievements. So they are likely to show less neurotic and less insecurity trends compared to the other two high caste communities. The Brahmins who have been occupying the top position for centuries are now facing a social situation which is full of threats and challenges from the other rising communities. So they are likely to project more symptoms of neuroticism and insecurity. The third high caste community, namely, the Khandayats has not achieved success like the Karans. That is why no great socio-cultural change has taken place in this community.

The arguments stated above justify the results obtained on the neurotic questionnaire by these caste groups. The Karans are different from all the low caste groups and Brahmins in regard to the neurotic scores. They seem to have much larger percentages of people piled on the lower end of the scale indicating less neuroticism compared to other caste groups. They are not, however, different from the third high caste group, namely, the Khandayats. It has just missed the five per cent level of significance by a very small margin only. The mean and median scores of the Karan group are the lowest. They fall far below the mean and median scores obtained by the Brahmins and Khandayats.

The Washerman caste is not different from any of the other castes except the Karans. The Sweeper caste is also not different from the other castes except again from the Karans. The Panas appear to be different from each of the high caste community in this respect. The Brahmins are different from the Karans and Panas.

The following conclusions may be drawn from the discussions:

- (1) The total of three low caste groups taken as a whole is different from the combined three high caste groups in regard to the scores on neuroticism. The low caste groups seem to have higher incidence of neurotics among them.
- (2) The three low caste groups do not differ from one another in this respect. The same phenomenon is also noticed among the three high caste groups.
- (3) The Karans seem to be the most stable group in this respect having less incidence of neuroticism and all other groups except the Khandayats differ significantly from this group in having higher incidence of neuroticism.

- (4) Only the Panas differ from all the three high caste groups having higher incidence of neuroticism. This caste group seems to have the largest percentage of neurotics compared to any other group.

(ii) *Security and Insecurity*

The security-insecurity test standardized by Maslow has been used in this study after proper pre-testing. As the scores are used only for comparative purpose no attempt was made to standardize this test at this stage. After a careful pilot study it was used on the present sample. It was re-tested on twenty per cent of the cases and the test—re-test reliability was found to be 0.84.

TABLE 3
SECURITY-INSECURITY SCORES OF SIX CASTE GROUPS

S. Nos.	Range of scores	Low caste groups			Group total	High caste groups			Group total
		Dhoba	Pana	Hadi		Brah- min	Karan	Khan- dayat	
		N= 100	100	100	300	100	100	100	300
1.	+ 79 to + 297	2	1	2	1.6	9	10	5	6.17
2.	+ 15 to + 78	8	4	4	5.3	17	17	8	13.6
3.	- 39 to + 14	14	3	4	7.0	8	21	20	16.3
4.	- 40 to - 120	21	17	17	18.3	25	29	25	26.3
5.	- 121 to - 476	55	75	73	67.3	41	23	42	34.3
Mean		-115.4	-149.0	-171.4	-145.2	-97.5	-58.8	-87.7	-86.8
Median		-152.8	-226.1	-233.2	-215.9	-89.1	-45.0	-90.7	-75.2
	Maslow's mean	= 53.4							
	Median	= 78.4							
	N	= 796							
	Range	= +297 to - 476							

Table 3 presents the scores of security-insecurity tests under each of the caste groups. The scoring method of Maslow was also used in scoring the questionnaire. By looking at the group-means, it is quite obvious that the Indian samples seem to have much greater sense of insecurity compared to an American sample. This cross-cultural difference is quite understandable. When Maslow's mean is 53.4 the lowest mean in this study happens to be -58.8 and the

highest one goes as high as -171.4 . The same tendency is noticed in regard to the median scores also. They range from -45.0 to -233.2 compared to 78.4 of Maslow's sample. So it is quite clear that by the standard of American sample the Indian samples seem to have much greater sense of insecurity.

But as we are interested in the comparisons of six caste groups the results indicate very interesting trends. Basing on the earlier hypothesis, it is supposed that the low caste groups will have greater sense of insecurity compared to the high caste groups. This supposition is amply substantiated by the results. The mean of the three low caste groups taken together is -145.2 compared to -86.8 of the total mean of the three high caste groups. The median of the former is also much higher (-215.9) compared to that of the latter (-75.9). The range of mean scores varies from -171.4 for the Sweeper caste to -115.4 for the Washerman community among the three low caste groups, whereas the mean varies from -97.5 for the Brahmins to -58.8 for the Karans. In this regard the Sweeper community among the low caste groups and the Brahmins among the high caste groups appear to have maximum amount of insecurity. Here again the Karan group appears to be more stable compared to the other caste groups. Such tendencies have already been noticed in regard to the incidence of neuroticism and the reasons have been put forward in support of this socio-cultural occurrence.

TABLE 4
CHI-SQUARE VALUES FOR SECURITY-INSECURITY SCORES
OF SIX CASTE GROUPS

	<i>Hadi</i>	<i>Pana</i>	<i>Dhoba</i>	<i>Brahmin</i>	<i>Karan</i>	<i>Khandayat</i>
Hadi	<i>X</i>	0.49	9.84*	24.32**	54.12**	23.16**
Pana		<i>X</i>	12.30**	28.20**	59.64**	27.38**
Dhoba			<i>X</i>	11.72**	24.38**	4.40
Brahmin				<i>X</i>	11.24*	9.53*
Karan					<i>X</i>	10.78*
Khandayat						<i>X</i>
All 3 lower castes						17.14*
All 3 upper castes						18.08*
2 Broad lower and upper caste groups						70.04**
All six caste groups						105.20**

* significant at 0.05 level

** significant at 0.01 level

Table 4 presents the chi-square values for inter-caste comparisons. When inter-caste comparison is made in this regard it is found that the Sweeper caste does not differ from the Panas. They are alike in having the similar trend of insecurity. The Washerman group differs from the other two low caste communities having lower scores of insecurity. It does not differ significantly from the lowest high caste community, namely, the Khandayats. Barring these two cases all other castes differ from each other significantly. Due to a better sense of security in the Washerman group the difference between the three low caste groups reaches the level of significance at .05 level. But the inter-caste chi-square results for the three low caste and three high caste groups treated separately are much lower compared to the scores obtained by combining the three upper caste and three lower caste groups into two broad high and low caste groups (70.04). The inter-caste chi-square results based on six castes treated separately are also highly significant.

It has been repeatedly noticed [Rath, R. and Sircar, N. (*a, b, c*)] that people belonging to the Washerman community behave more like the upper caste people in regard to many psycho-social behaviour. This phenomenon can be explained with a reference to actual psycho-social field forces observed in the present Oriya society. The Washerman community comes in constant contact with the upper caste groups. They visit homes of the latter very frequently and there is continuous social interaction among them. Although the Washerman is taken as belonging to a low caste group, he has no psycho-social interaction at all with the low caste Harijans. So, according to the earlier hypothesis, the caste groups should behave differently due to different psycho-social interactional patterns. As a result of the surrounding field forces their personality patterns would also differ. Accordingly, the behaviour of the Washerman and the Brahmin communities can be reasonably explained.

The earlier findings in regard to the incidence of neuroticism are to some extent corroborated by these facts. The following conclusions can be drawn in regard to the incidence of security-insecurity feelings among the caste groups.

- (1) The three low caste groups taken as a whole seem to have greater sense of insecurity compared to the three upper caste groups taken as a whole.
- (2) Two of the low caste groups do not differ from one another

in this respect. The Washerman community seems to have come nearer to the lowest of the three upper caste groups, namely, the Khandayats, in this respect. The Washerman group having greater social contact and interactional communication with the higher caste groups seems to have moved upward and projected similarities with the third lowest among the high caste groups, namely, the Khandayats.

- (3) The Karans seem to have greater sense of security than the Brahmins who appear to occupy the lowest rank among the three upper caste groups in this respect. In other words, the Brahmins from among the three upper caste groups have much greater sense of insecurity, and the Karans have the least sense of insecurity. In regard to the incidence of neuroticism similar tendency has been noticed.

3. *Self-Images and Social Conditions*

The investigation on caste tension also included a study relating to stereotypes. "Stereotypes are socially conditioned habits of thought acquired by the people from the stock of widely prevalent and readily available verbal concepts." They express the mental pictures the subjects have about a group of people and these mental pictures are projected by a large number of people belonging to that particular society. The stereotypes in the long run shape and direct the pattern of behaviour towards others. Usually stereotype studies include groups which are normally out-groups but attempts have been made here to explore the mental pictures the subjects might have also about themselves [Rath, R. and Sircar, N.(b)]. This kind of study gives an idea as to how the subjects themselves perceive their own group people. This is likely to reflect the self-image of the groups. In this connection, it may be hypothesized that if the society has developed certain socio-economic status and accepted certain psycho-social behavioural patterns, the stereotypes are likely to reflect these psycho-social phenomena. Here also the groups are likely to conform to the social norm by accepting the stereotyped pictures about themselves, if these are the widely accepted images of the existing social groups. In this particular context the lower caste groups might condemn themselves by selecting more of derogatory trait names which are used by others. As they occupy the lowest strata in every sphere of social life, they are likely

to have a strong sense of inferiority. Due to social conformity they would not only choose unfavourable trait names for themselves but due to strong feelings of inferiority and insecurity they would constantly carry self-condemnatory images for themselves. In other words, the prevailing abominable socio-economic conditions are bound to create a strong tendency of self-condemnation.

After proper pretesting a list of forty-seven traits were selected for this study having as far as possible equal number of favourable and unfavourable trait names. Traits selected by at least twenty-five per cent of the subjects were taken into consideration for the study of stereotypes. The details of stereotypes selected by six different caste groups for five other out-groups as well as for themselves have been discussed in a separate paper [Rath, R. and Sircar, N.(b)]. Here only the problem relating to self-image will be discussed in order to highlight the fact as to how the social conditions shape the mental pictures of the subjects.

DISCUSSION

TABLE 5

NUMBERS OF TRAIT NAMES AND RATIOS BETWEEN FAVOURABLE AND UNFAVOURABLE TRAITS FOR THE DIFFERENT CASTE GROUPS

<i>Selected by the</i>	<i>No. of favourable traits</i>	<i>No. of unfavour- able traits</i>	<i>Total No. of traits</i>	<i>Average score in percentage</i>	<i>Trait ratio</i>
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
		Brahmin			
3 low caste groups	14	18	32	58.8	0.78
2 high caste groups	12	9	21	46.3	1.33
Brahmins themselves	18	4	22	60.2	4.50
		Karan			
3 low caste groups	15	17	32	59.5	0.88
2 high caste groups	11	12	23	55.5	0.92
Karans themselves	17	13	30	54.0	1.30
		Khandayat			
3 low caste groups	14	19	33	54.2	0.74
2 high caste groups	9	4	13	38.8	2.25
Khandayats themselves	19	3	22	45.3	6.33
		Dhoba			
2 low caste groups	10	10	20	65.4	1.00
3 high caste groups	4	4	8	38.9	1.00
Dhobies themselves	14	8	22	53.3	1.75

Table 5 (continued)

	Pana				
2 low caste groups	11	11	22	62.3	1.0
3 high caste groups	3	8	11	42.7	0.38
Panas themselves	11	13	24	61.4	0.85
	Hadi				
2 low caste groups	11	11	22	60.0	1.0
3 high caste groups	4	5	9	41.7	0.80
Hadies themselves	12	13	25	66.4	0.92

Rath, R. and Sircar, N. (b), p. 290.

Table 5 presents the number of favourable and unfavourable traits, the average percentage of responses and the trait ratios between the favourable and unfavourable traits for each of the caste groups selected by the high and low caste groups and by the subjects for themselves. The number of favourable traits has been divided by the number of unfavourable traits in order to get the ratio for each of the caste groups.

If the number of favourable traits is larger than the number of unfavourable traits, the trait ratio will be more than one and if the opposite tendency is observed it will be less than one. If both the categories of trait names are equal in size it will be just one. The size of such ratios will indicate the favourable or unfavourable trend.

There is hardly any difference among the trait ratios for the three upper caste groups as attributed by the lower caste groups. It is 0.78 for the Brahmins, 0.88 for the Karans and 0.74 for the Khadayats. The three high caste groups have judged the low caste groups in a different way. It is 1.00 for the Dhobies (Washerman group), 0.38 and 0.80 for the Panas and Hadies respectively. But there is a very important difference between these two caste groups in regard to the number of traits, both favourable and unfavourable attributed to each other. When the three low caste groups have selected thirty-two to thirty-three traits for the upper caste groups the latter have chosen only eight to eleven traits for the former. This might indicate that the high caste groups have paid very little regard to the lower caste people. As they disregard the low caste groups in the social affairs, there is very little psycho-social communication among them and consequently the low caste groups do not seem to have secured any important place in the cognitive map of the upper caste people. But as the society is dominated by the upper caste people in every sphere of

social life, they are likely to leave wider impressions in the minds of the lower caste people. The main actors of a drama will no doubt create wider and deeper impressions on the audience compared to the minor roles. The same principle seems to operate here also.

The most interesting part of the study relates to the self-image of the groups. The trait ratios indicating better self-image of the upper caste groups are consistently higher than those of the lower caste groups. It is 4.50 for the Brahmins, 6.33 for the Khandayats and 1.30 for the Karans whereas the Hadies and Panas score only 0.92 and 0.85 respectively. But the Dhobies have scored higher trait ratio of 1.75. Among the lower castes the Dhobies have consistently behaved like the upper caste people because in the social field they are closely associated with the upper caste people. Again and again this phenomenon has appeared in the study.

Similarly, it is also noticed that the Khandayats have much better self-image for themselves compared to the Brahmins and the Karans. Why it is so, it is difficult to explain.

The two low caste Harijans, namely, the Hadies and the Panas, have projected more derogatory traits compared to favourable ones for themselves. As the society has thrown them to the lowest socio-economic strata they have also condemned themselves. They seem to have accepted the social judgement by shaping their mental images accordingly. The number of traits selected by these low caste groups for themselves vary from twenty-two to twenty-five. This shows that they have chosen plenty of evaluative terms for themselves like the upper caste groups who have also selected twenty-two to thirty traits. But the number of derogatory traits chosen by the lower caste groups to describe themselves are larger than those chosen by the upper caste people. This trend no doubt indicates a sense of inferiority and self-condemnation in the two lowest caste groups. This finding is also consistent with other findings relating to higher incidence of insecurity and neuroticism found among the Harijans. In conclusion, it may be said that the prevailing socio-economic conditions are by and large responsible for creating mental images for the individuals belonging to other out-groups or for themselves.

4. Cognitive and Attitudinal Syndromes

Attitudes and beliefs form an important part of the personality make-up. The beliefs and attitudes of a man are likely to reflect

his socially acceptable status. Conformity to the social norm being a basic social behaviour, the individual would like to live up to the expectations of the other social groups. Caste system in India is so old that the oppressed lower caste groups have internalized the socially imposed caste norms without any revolt. They believe that they are inferior, dirty and they should deserve certain kind of inferior treatment meted out to them. In spite of all the talks of reforms the lower caste groups still have not changed their beliefs and attitudes towards themselves. The following two tables will illustrate some of these points.

TABLE 6
PERCENTAGES OF RESPONSES OF SIX CASTE GROUPS IN THE STUDY
OF ATTITUDES AND OPINIONS

Statements	CASTES								
	Hadi	Dhoba	Pana	Total	Bra- hmin	Kar- an	Khan- dayat	Total	
1. The Harijans if not held in their proper place will become unbearable.	Yes	43	62	59	55	32	32	37	33
	No	52	38	41	44	67	65	62	65
2. Low caste people should be segregated from those of the upper caste people.									
(a) Strongly favour.		22	21	38	27	20	19	15	18
(b) Undecided.		11	9	22	14	9	8	10	9
(c) Strongly disfavour.		65	70	40	58	71	73	75	73
3. One who objects to caste conventions is a traitor.	Yes	88	83	88	86	46	51	48	48
	No	12	14	11	12	36	42	39	39
	?	0	3	1	1	18	7	13	13
4. Inter-caste marriage should strongly be discouraged.	Yes	57	58	53	56	31	24	17	24
	No	41	40	39	40	55	64	68	62
	?	2	2	7	4	14	12	15	14
5. The low caste people can only do that kind of work which requires physical labour. But they are incapable of doing intellectual work.	M.F.	29	42	40	37	31	26	25	27
	S.F.	10	20	31	20	18	25	15	19
	D.F.	60	38	29	42	49	49	60	53

Table 6 (continued)

6. Laws against untouchability are detrimental to social upliftment.	Yes	20	51	34	35	34	30	27	30
	No	71	48	60	60	55	59	57	57
	?	9	1	5	5	11	11	16	13
7. It is not possible for a gentleman to mix freely with low caste people.	M.F.*	39	30	44	38	16	6	14	12
	S.F.**	22	21	23	22	24	15	12	17
	D.F.***	39	48	33	10	60	79	74	71
8. I can never dream that I will ever like to marry in any other caste.	M.F.	65	47	46	53	45	27	31	34
	S.F.	15	22	20	19	17	12	16	15
	D.F.	20	30	33	28	37	57	53	49
9. The ways of living of different castes are so rapidly disappearing that it becomes necessary now to maintain them by all means.	M.F.	75	75	61	70	43	40	42	42
	S.F.	17	11	25	18	13	13	18	15
	D.F.	8	14	14	12	38	41	40	40
10. Do you approve the use of the term "Chhotajati"?§	Yes	54	49	41	48	17	12	13	14
	No	44	48	58	50	82	88	82	84

§ It means low caste in a derogatory sense.

Rath, R. and Sircar, N. (a), pp. 9, 13, 23.

*M.F.=Moderately favour

**S.F.=Strongly favour

***D.F.=Disfavour

Fifty-five per cent of the lower caste people still believe that if they are not held in their proper place they will become unbearable, whereas only thirty-three per cent of the upper caste people think so. Similarly, twenty-seven per cent of the former believe in the desirability of their segregation compared to eighteen per cent of the upper caste. As many as eighty-six per cent of the lower caste people would very strongly recommend caste conventions compared to only forty-eight per cent of the upper caste groups. The caste conventions including the necessary social sanctions have kept them down for centuries, still they would like to retain the caste conventions. But the upper caste people, being more conscious of this social evil, appear to be more progressive at least at the cognitive level. Then again fifty-six per cent of the low caste people as against twenty-four per cent of the upper caste people feel that intercaste marriage should be discouraged.

According to the prevalent notion in the society fifty-seven per cent of the low caste people believe that they are only capable of

physical work. They consider themselves incapable of intellectual work like the upper caste people. In this regard more of the upper caste people seem to hold a charitable view towards the Harijans. Slightly more than a third of the lower caste community still think that law against untouchability is detrimental to social upliftment and sixty per cent of them think that it is not possible for a gentleman to mix freely with low caste people. Seventy-two per cent of these people can never dream that they will even marry in any other caste. They seem to be so disturbed about the possibility of disintegration of caste system that eighty-eight per cent of the low caste Harijans suggest that it becomes necessary to maintain the caste system by all means. About half of them will not mind the word 'Chhotajati' (low caste in a derogatory sense) being used for them. In all these areas of beliefs and attitudes the upper caste people seem to be more generous towards the low caste people, and at least on the cognitive level they appear to be more progressive and favour the quick disintegration of caste system for the welfare of the society.

By scanning the results of Table 7 the same unmistakable trend of inferiority and self-condemnation of the Harijan caste groups is noticeable and by and large the upper caste people seem to be more hopeful for social change. Seventy-one per cent of the former

TABLE 7
PERCENTAGES OF RESPONSES OF SIX CASTE GROUPS
IN THE STUDY OF BELIEFS

<i>Problems and specific issues</i>	<i>Res- ponse categories</i>	<i>Dho- ba</i>	<i>Pana</i>	<i>Hadi</i>	<i>Group total</i>	<i>Bra- hmin</i>	<i>Kar- an</i>	<i>Khan- dayat</i>	<i>Gr. total</i>
1. Untouchability arises:	Yes	23	31	21	25.0	17	9	12	12.6
(a) Out of God's will?	No	77	69	78	74.6	76	84	83	81.0
(b) Out of the bad man- ners in the society?	Yes	66	57	74	66.0	73	70	71	71.3
	No	33	42	26	33.6	21	28	26	25.0
(c) Out of inferiority to all the higher castes	Yes	68	44	78	63.3	33	41	41	38.3
in intelligence?	No	32	56	22	36.6	58	49	54	53.6
(d) Out of the unlawful acts of the upper	Yes	86	59	81	75.3	64	79	79	74.0
castes?	No	12	41	18	23.6	30	15	20	21.6

Table 7 (continued)

2. Do you think if the people of lower castes forcibly try to be equal in all fields with the people of upper castes:										
(a) The social security and peace will be at stake?	Yes	25	23	25	24.3	78	73	65	72.0	
	No	72	73	71	72.0	21	26	31	26.0	
(b) The dissatisfaction among people will grow more?	Yes	23	37	63	41.0	79	72	62	71.0	
	No	74	57	35	52.0	19	24	31	24.6	
(c) The clash between individuals instead of decreasing will grow more?	Yes	40	20	52	37.3	70	70	53	64.3	
	No	48	51	40	46.3	22	27	36	28.3	
(d) Social progress and achievements in the field of knowledge will be checked?	Yes	40	27	12	26.3	47	52	40	46.3	
	No	57	62	86	68.3	49	44	52	48.3	

Rath, R. and Sircar, N. (c), pp. 298, 301.

think that untouchability arises due to their bad manners in the society and thirty-eight per cent are convinced that they are inferior to higher caste people in intelligence. There is a still more serious and disturbing tendency amounting to deep self-condemnation, as found in the lower caste groups. They believe that if by force caste equality is brought about the social security and peace will be at stake (72 p.c.), the dissatisfaction among people will grow more (71 p.c.), the clash between the individuals will increase more and more (64 p.c.), and the social progress and achievements in the field of knowledge will be checked. But very few upper caste people seem to share these beliefs with them.

The results presented in Tables 6 and 7 unmistakably indicate that considerably large number of low caste people do not seem to desire for a change in caste system. They appear to be more rigid in their caste outlook than the upper caste people. Due to long stagnation in their closed caste groups, and constant and continuous imposition of caste philosophy on them by the upper caste people, the lower caste people do not seem to have a desire to break

the caste shackles which have forced them to social stagnation for centuries. The social field forces governing their existence are such that in order to adjust to the external social world they have to conform to the expected social norms. "To the extent that the need for approval creates real pressure toward the opinions of others as the person understands them, when one direction of opinion has relatively higher audibility than the other, conformity may be expected to lead not merely toward uniformity but toward uniformity in the direction of the more audible opinion" (Smith, M.B.).

The upper caste people are more exposed to progressive thoughts of the time so they appear to be less rigid, at least at the cognitive level. But prevalent social field forces, being what they are, the lower caste groups are bound to have such beliefs and attitudinal syndromes which are the functional constituents of the surrounding socio-cultural setting. So, in order to bring about the necessary changes in the cognitive and conative areas, the real social situations must be changed first. The two sets of socio-cultural conditions in which the caste groups live are so different that they are bound to cast their shadow on the mental horizons of the caste groups.

5. Conclusions

The evidences presented in this chapter clearly demonstrate the fact that the personality dimensions are the functional resultants of the existing social conditions. Some individuals with a critical approach to life and social conditions may be able to develop a social consciousness and will to change, and go beyond the self-limiting conditions existing around them. But most of the people will be determined by the surrounding psycho-social field forces. Two of the Untouchable groups feel more inferior and insecure compared to the third group (the Washerman) because the latter has not only better socio-economic status but greater social contact with the higher caste-groups. They look upwards whereas the Sweeper and the Pana communities remain stagnant. The Brahmins in the changing social conditions are more unstable and feel more insecure, whereas the Karan community because of greater socio-economic stability and achievements attain greater stability. So personality changes in the individuals and groups would be possible only when the social conditions undergo changes. The verbal

appeals to improve the groups would have no effect unless the material and cultural conditions are changed. Unless the occupational and material conditions of the lower caste groups are radically changed they will not even be in a position to take advantage of all the so-called reforms undertaken to improve them. If the Harijans do not wish to educate their children all kinds of educational help offered in this regard have no functional meaning to them. If they are not motivated to break the shackles of stagnation nobody can do anything in the matter.

The psycho-social stagnation of these groups is so deep-rooted and the basic personality patterns are so disorganized that superficial talks of reforms may bring about only catastrophic social upheaval. More and more of these people with such deep feelings of inferiority, insecurity, and neuroticism are likely to become sociopathic in a superficially permissive society, where cheap political slogans are never backed by any basic socio-economic change. It is also not safe for any society to have large groups of people with such deep personality aberrations. The social reformers and planners of the Indian society should take note of this in planning social reforms and induced change. The basic occupational and material conditions giving rise to necessary psycho-social and cultural super structures should be drastically altered so that the groups with a new set of goals will be able to take advantage of social reforms and induced changes with least damage to the individuals and society.

GENERATION GAP

1. *Attitudes of College Students and Their Fathers*

There is likely to be some kind of gap between the younger and older generations. The former is expected to be more forward looking, restless and more interested in social change. The latter would tend to be conservative and like to maintain the *status quo* in every sphere of life. This is quite natural. The older people having gone through certain processes of socialization over a period of time would not normally welcome changes which are likely to upset the settled conditions of life. They would avoid new conditions which are likely to create forces of maladjustment, and the concomitant conflict and anxiety. But if the gap is too wide all kinds of social tension giving rise to serious group and individual conflicts would appear in the society. Again, if the gap is too wide the younger mind would feel inclined to learn more from the people of his own group rather than from his parents and teachers. This paves the way for conflicting social situations.

Sometimes this generation gap itself makes social change possible but it cannot always guarantee rapid change in a specific direction. The generation gap may produce more chaos and confusion and less social change in any particular direction. So, in order to predict the possibility of social change and its direction, it is necessary to study the nature of this generation gap.

The generation gap is sometimes located by studying the attitudinal gaps that might exist between the younger and older generations. One of the possible ways of finding it out is to study the parents and their children in regard to the similarities of their attitudes towards the various burning issues of the day. This kind of study gives an idea as to whether the children have learnt these attitudes from their parents and teachers, with whom they come in close contact, or they have derived the attitudes from their friends of the same age. A study of Remmers and Weltman and another study conducted by Young and others revealed a close relationship between students' and parental attitudes in the American social set-up.

But under the present Indian conditions, it is likely to be different. Here the adolescent students do not freely mix with their fathers and teachers and discuss the social and political problems of the country. The authoritarian father seems to abhor democratic permissibility at home where the members of the family could share each other's view. The same autocratic father does not change his mental attitudes when he comes to school as a teacher. That is why the generation gap in India appears to be wide. The social tension between the generations is creating very serious problems.

(a) **PLAN AND PROCEDURE.** The present investigation was designed to find out the attitudinal relationship between the fathers and their college-going sons and daughters. A total of 150 students comprising 100 male and 50 female students and their fathers were the subjects of this study.

An omnibus attitude questionnaire formulated on a five-point scale in relation to thirty socio-political and socio-cultural issues was administered to them. This questionnaire is being administered to different student samples at an interval of four years since 1952 [Rath, R. (*a, b, c, d*)]. All the thirty issues have been classified under five categories for the sake of meaningful discussion (Mohanty, S. N. and Rath, R.).

(b) **DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS**

TABLE 8
ATTITUDE SCORES OF STUDENTS AND THEIR FATHERS

(Figures are in percentages)

Chi-square value at 0.01 level = 13.28

Chi-square value at 0.05 level = 9.49*

N = Students (S) = 150

N = Fathers (F) = 150

<i>Groups</i>		<i>Very favour- able</i>	<i>Moder- ately favour- able</i>	<i>Unde- cided</i>	<i>Moder- ately unfav- ourable</i>	<i>Most unfav- ourable</i>	<i>Chi-sq- uares of distrib- ution</i>
<i>(A) Foreign powers and their influences</i>							
1. American	<i>S</i>	14.67	31.33	22.00	24.67	7.33	25.73
influence	<i>F</i>	9.33	8.00	12.67	46.00	24.00	75.27

Table 8 (continued)

2. Russian influence	<i>S</i>	16.67	23.33	23.33	26.00	10.67	11.73*
	<i>F</i>	13.33	10.67	14.00	39.33	22.67	41.13
3. British influence	<i>S</i>	10.67	29.33	22.00	23.33	14.67	16.33
	<i>F</i>	14.67	22.67	17.33	34.00	11.33	23.53
4. America's responsibility for war	<i>S</i>	16.00	22.67	31.33	20.67	9.33	19.93
	<i>F</i>	11.33	17.33	6.67	39.33	25.33	49.67
5. Russia's responsibility for war	<i>S</i>	13.33	26.67	27.33	19.33	13.33	14.07
	<i>F</i>	24.67	40.67	8.67	14.00	12.00	50.80
6. War against Pakistan	<i>S</i>	48.67	16.67	11.33	12.67	10.67	78.67
	<i>F</i>	15.33	20.00	10.67	15.33	8.67	65.93
7. War against China	<i>S</i>	43.33	19.33	10.67	15.33	11.33	54.67
	<i>F</i>	12.00	21.33	7.33	49.33	10.00	89.00
(B) Internal Politico-Economic Issues							
8. Democracy in India	<i>S</i>	14.00	36.67	21.33	19.33	8.67	33.33
	<i>F</i>	48.00	26.00	8.67	11.33	6.00	91.47
9. Indian administration	<i>S</i>	14.00	28.67	14.67	22.67	20.00	11.00*
	<i>F</i>	14.00	10.67	12.67	39.33	23.33	42.13
10. Abolition of princely states	<i>S</i>	6.00	14.67	37.33	12.67	29.33	49.93
	<i>F</i>	3.33	9.33	12.69	38.67	36.00	78.73
11. Nationalisation of banks, etc.	<i>S</i>	39.33	31.33	14.67	10.00	4.67	64.93
	<i>F</i>	14.00	21.33	46.00	12.67	6.00	72.27
12. Marxism	<i>S</i>	18.00	26.00	33.33	9.33	13.33	28.20
	<i>F</i>	20.67	14.67	8.00	44.67	12.00	64.40
13. Communism	<i>S</i>	10.00	21.33	21.33	28.67	18.67	13.53
	<i>F</i>	13.33	14.67	8.00	26.00	37.33	41.00
14. Congress party	<i>S</i>	14.67	43.33	22.00	12.00	8.00	58.87
	<i>F</i>	45.33	29.33	8.00	10.67	6.67	85.33
15. Socialists	<i>S</i>	18.67	38.33	24.00	8.67	10.00	44.60
	<i>F</i>	42.00	29.33	8.67	12.00	8.00	68.07
16. Communists	<i>S</i>	9.33	24.00	21.33	27.33	18.00	14.20
	<i>F</i>	7.33	15.33	12.00	39.33	26.00	45.47
(C) Socio-Cultural Issues							
17. Religion	<i>S</i>	36.67	34.00	13.33	8.00	8.00	60.47
	<i>F</i>	42.67	28.67	12.00	11.33	5.33	70.73
18. Women's emancipation	<i>S</i>	32.67	40.67	6.00	10.00	10.67	72.80
	<i>F</i>	12.00	14.67	19.33	42.67	11.33	51.13
19. Present-day Indian culture	<i>S</i>	28.67	37.33	18.00	7.33	8.67	50.13
	<i>F</i>	40.67	26.00	10.67	16.67	6.00	56.80

Table 8 (continued)

20. Classless society	<i>S</i>	38.67	25.33	15.33	10.00	10.67	43.93
	<i>F</i>	10.67	13.33	12.00	41.00	22.67	49.33
21. Joint family system	<i>S</i>	41.33	38.00	6.00	6.67	8.00	97.47
	<i>F</i>	47.33	39.33	4.00	5.33	4.00	138.60
22. Gandhian principles	<i>S</i>	24.00	31.33	8.67	27.33	8.67	34.13
	<i>F</i>	24.00	12.00	6.67	28.00	19.33	43.67
<i>(D) Educational Issues</i>							
23. Co-education	<i>S</i>	47.33	22.00	7.33	7.33	16.00	81.60
	<i>F</i>	11.33	12.67	5.33	22.67	48.00	85.13
24. Present system of education	<i>S</i>	10.00	22.00	12.00	33.33	22.67	26.47
	<i>F</i>	8.00	12.67	11.33	42.67	25.33	61.13
25. Basic education	<i>S</i>	40.67	34.67	14.67	6.67	3.33	84.47
	<i>F</i>	35.33	46.00	6.67	10.00	2.00	113.47
<i>(E) Attitude Towards Other Out-groups</i>							
26. Bengalees	<i>S</i>	37.33	30.67	15.33	12.67	4.00	55.93
	<i>F</i>	0.00	56.00	32.67	8.00	3.33	140.87
27. Biharies	<i>S</i>	31.33	36.67	17.33	10.67	4.00	56.73
	<i>F</i>	0.00	52.33	35.33	10.00	2.00	129.47
28. Telugus	<i>S</i>	20.67	38.00	26.67	12.00	2.67	55.00
	<i>F</i>	0.00	49.33	32.67	16.00	2.00	102.07
29. Muslims	<i>S</i>	14.00	36.00	25.33	15.33	9.33	34.20
	<i>F</i>	0.00	31.33	46.00	18.00	4.67	78.27
30. Harijans	<i>S</i>	20.00	38.67	27.33	12.00	2.00	59.27
	<i>F</i>	0.00	21.33	48.67	28.67	1.33	93.53

In Table 8 the attitude scores of all the 150 students both male and female towards the various issues arranged under five categories have been presented in percentages. The chi-square results of the distribution scores under five categories of answers have also been given. If the subjects have randomly answered under the five heads the scores will be more or less equally distributed under the five heads and the chi-square results based on equal distribution probability will be insignificant. If on the other hand, the subjects have carefully chosen their answers and the results indicate attitudinal trend, the attitude scores are likely to be unequally distributed over the five heads and the chi-squares will be significant.

If the chi-square results are not significant the subjects might have either selected the responses randomly or they are genuinely

divided on the five-point scale equally. It will be difficult to come to any specific conclusions if they are not significant.

The chi-squares for all the thirty issues, given under this head, are statistically significant. So it may be assumed that the subjects have not selected their answers randomly. The scores indicate the true attitudinal trend of the samples.

TABLE 9

CHI-SQUARE RESULTS BETWEEN THE ATTITUDE SCORES OF FATHERS AND THEIR COLLEGE-GOING SONS AND DAUGHTERS

*Significant at 0.05 level = 13.28

**Significant at 0.01 level = 9.49

	Contingent Chi-square Fathers N=100 Sons N=100	Contingent Chi-square Fathers N=50 Daughters N =50	Contingent Chi-square All students N =150 Fathers N=150
<i>(A) Foreign powers and their influences</i>			
1. American influence	28.80**	22.34**	49.27**
2. Russian influence	16.25*	12.44*	21.70**
3. British influence	3.41	8.46	6.68
4. America's responsibility for war	25.37**	21.27**	46.08**
5. Russia's responsibility for war	16.51**	9.53*	25.35**
6. War against Pakistan	29.39**	33.65**	54.77**
7. War against China	28.71**	29.59**	54.63**
<i>(B) Internal Politico-Economic Issues</i>			
8. Democracy in India	25.32**	20.14**	42.57**
9. Indian administration	13.88**	8.46	19.68**
10. Abolition of princely states	21.92**	23.66**	41.94**
11. Nationalization of banks, etc.	29.18**	17.45**	45.89**
12. Marxism	35.29**	19.18**	63.09**
13. Communism	14.62**	9.52*	20.80**
14. Congress party	24.41**	14.70**	37.66**
15. Socialists	17.93**	11.57*	27.51**
16. Communists	9.96*	6.72	11.93*
<i>(C) Socio-Cultural Issues</i>			
17. Religion	2.56	4.02	3.12
18. Women's emancipation	44.86**	34.88**	73.62**
19. Present-day Indian culture	8.93	6.79	15.14**
20. Classless society	42.72**	24.53**	62.21**
21. Joint family system	4.85	1.70	3.46
22. Gandhian principles	10.21*	14.94**	22.04**

Table 9 (continued)

<i>(D) Educational Issues</i>			
23. Co-education	50.65**	23.75**	73.17**
24. Present system of education	2.17	6.20	6.07
25. Basic-education	9.85*	3.11	8.95
<i>(E) Attitudes Towards Other Out-groups</i>			
26. Bengalees	64.57**	15.74**	78.17**
27. Biharies	48.52**	18.46**	61.56**
28. Telugus	31.89**	6.64	35.12**
29. Muslims	25.84**	9.79*	33.12**
30. Harijans	43.35**	14.05**	56.94**

Table 9 presents the contingent chi-squares of the samples, namely, the college students and their fathers. If any two samples agree with each other in regard to their attitudes towards a particular issue the contingent chi-square will not be significant. In other words, if the contingent chi-squares between any two sets of scores will not be significant, both the samples could be assumed to have been drawn from the same population. That would indicate that the college students and their fathers have the same kind of attitudinal trend in regard to the particular issue under consideration.

By analyzing the data it is found that in respect of five out of thirty issues the contingent chi-square results between the whole group of students ($N = 150$) and their fathers are not significant. So it may be presumed that in respect of these five issues the parents and their college-going sons and daughters have similar attitudes.

The college students and their fathers seem to have similar trend of attitudes towards the British influence in India. As the Britishers were the rulers of the country for a long period the attitudes towards them are likely to be firmly established in the minds of the people for years to come. The students might have learnt these attitudes from their fathers or imbibed them from the firmly embedded political traditions of the age. But in regard to six other international and nine internal political issues the fathers and their sons and daughters have different attitudinal trends. They do not seem to influence each other in these areas of socio-political behaviour.

Out of six socio-cultural issues the students and their fathers disagree in regard to four socio-cultural areas, and agree in having

the same attitude trend towards religion and joint family system. As these two social issues are intimately connected with the very social fabric of the Indian life it is not surprising to find agreement between them towards these issues. Similar agreement is also noticed in the area of education. In regard to the present system of education and basic education they do not seem to differ from each other. They all condemn the present system of education and as a way of escape they have favoured basic education which is almost out of use now. The basic education is nothing but an idealistic escape from the present frustrating situation.

In short, the college students and their fathers do not seem to agree in their attitudes towards twenty-five socio-political issues. They agree in having the same kind of attitudes towards five issues, namely, the British influence in India, religion, joint family structure, present system of education and basic education. It may be presumed that in regard to these five issues the students and fathers seemed to have shared the common attitudes among them but not in respect of the other twenty-five issues. In other words, in the later socio-political areas they have no common contact so they do not influence each other. The other five areas in which there is agreement are so common and vital to the whole population that both the groups might have derived the attitudes from the universal social pool of beliefs and attitudes and not necessarily from each other. As these beliefs form the basic roots of socio-cultural traditions of the Indian society, all are likely to be influenced equally by this universally social stimulation. But as most of the other issues are of recent origin the students and their fathers have no communality of beliefs in these areas. The adolescent students seem to have acquired these attitudes from other sources.

On comparing the attitude scores of male and female students separately with those of their fathers, the male students and their fathers agree only in regard to same five areas of socio-political life discussed above. Only in regard to basic education and Gandhian principles the contingent chi-squares are significant at five per cent level. In regard to Indian culture they also agree with their fathers. Except for this small change there is no difference between the male students and the total sample of students including the girls. But in addition to these five areas of attitudes, the girls seem to have agreed with their fathers in regard to the attitudes towards the communists, Indian administration

and Telugus. But the fact remains that in twenty-two other areas of socio-political life the girls also have nothing in common with their fathers. In other words, even the girls who spend most of their time at home do not seem to be very much influenced by their fathers in these areas of psycho-social life. They appear to learn the attitudes from their friends and other social agencies. This unmistakably indicates that there is very little communication between the students and their fathers in regard to socio-political and cultural affairs of the country. The generation gap seems to be complete in this important area of social life.

It may be interesting to make a comparative analysis of the attitude scores of the students and their fathers to indicate the difference in the attitudinal trend in respect of the various political and socio-cultural issues. In regard to the influence of the foreign powers, the students seem to be consistently more favourable for the American and Russian influence in India compared to their elders. But larger number of students seem to have more aggressive attitude leading to war against Pakistan and China. When sixty-five and sixty-three per cent of the students favour war against Pakistan and China respectively, the corresponding percentages of the elders come to thirty-five and thirty-three.

As large as seventy-four per cent of the elders think that democracy is functioning well in India compared to fifty per cent of the students. More of the students are in favour of Marxism, communism, communists, bank nationalization, classless society and Gandhian principles, whereas more of the elders support the Congress party and the Socialists in general. The elders are extremely conservative in regard to women's emancipation and co-education. Only twenty-six per cent of them support women's emancipation and twenty-four per cent favour co-education where as seventy-three and sixty-nine per cent of the students are in favour of these two social issues respectively. More of the students consistently show favourable attitudes towards the other linguistic groups, viz. the Bengalees, the Biharis, the Telugus, the Muslims and the Harijans compared to their elders. When the percentages of the latter group vary from twenty-one to fifty-six, the percentages of the students vary from fifty to sixty-eight in this respect.

From the above analysis it is quite apparent that the students are more liberal and progressive in their approach to socio-cultural problems than their fathers. This is another evidence indicating

generation gap. The older generation prefers stability and *status quo* by favouring the working of democracy in India, the Congress party and the Socialists; whereas the college-going sons and daughters look forward to greater change by preferring Marxism, Communism, etc. The former group also conforms to the social norm by being less progressive towards the out-groups and social minorities but more of the latter group are less prone to conformity.

(c) ATTITUDE TOWARDS SCIENCE AND RELIGION

TABLE 10
ATTITUDE SCORES FOR SCIENCE AND RELIGION
OF THE STUDENTS AND THEIR FATHERS

Sample	N	Mean Scores for Science		r	Mean Scores for Religion		r
			t			t	
All Students	150	2.49	9.75**	-0.19*	2.82	9.20**	-0.36**
Fathers	150	2.88			2.36		
Male Students	100	2.45	9.40**	-0.09	2.81	6.29**	-0.41**
Fathers	100	2.92			2.37		
Female Students	50	2.59	2.44*	-0.36**	2.85	5.56**	-0.24
Fathers	50	2.81			2.35		

* Significant at 0.05 level.

** Significant at 0.01 level.

Table 10 presents attitude scores for science and religion of the same subjects discussed above. Two sets of Thurstonian attitude scales having twenty-five questions in each of the scales for science and religion were administered to the same sample of students and their fathers. Lower the score more favourable is the attitude and as the score increases in size it indicates more of unfavourable attitude towards the issue. From Table 10 it is noticeable that the students, both boys and girls, seem to have more favourable attitudes towards science and less favourable attitudes towards religion. The fathers seem to have the opposite trend of attitudes both in regard to science and religion. The differences between the mean scores of attitudes of students and their fathers are statistically

significant; so they differ from each other significantly in holding such attitudes.

The coefficient of correlations among the scores obtained by the three samples of students and their fathers are negative but not all are significant. There are negative and significant correlations between the fathers and the total sample of students in regard to science and religion. But when the student sample is split between boys and girls some correlations fail to be significant. Boys and their fathers do not seem to project significantly negative correlation in regard to science whereas girls and their fathers do not have significant negative correlation in respect of religion. The former group has a significant and negative correlation in regard to religion and the latter has the similar trend in respect of science. Why it is so, it is difficult to answer without further investigation.

In conclusion it can be said that the boys and girls taken together and their fathers have negative and significant correlations in regard to attitudes towards science and religion. The students and their fathers also significantly differ in having favourable and unfavourable attitudes in these two important areas of socio-cultural issues. The generation gap between them is quite complete in this field of psycho-social interaction. This phenomenon might be responsible, at least indirectly, for family as well as social tension. In a country like India where the family is conservative and traditional the younger generation is likely to revolt against it, having more modern and progressive outlook.

2. Age and Attitudes and Personality Factors

(a) **PROBLEM AND PROCEDURE.** Rath and Misra undertook a study to find out the differences that might exist among the different age groups in regard to their attitudes towards science and religion and some other personality dimensions. For this investigation four groups of male subjects with the same educational qualifications (above Matriculation and below Intermediate) but belonging to four age levels were selected. The first group consisted of college students of the pre-university and first year classes below the age level of twenty years. The second group consisted of individuals between the age level of twenty to thirty-four years. They were mostly the office assistants belonging to different offices at Bhubaneswar. The third group belonging to the age level of thirty-five to

forty-nine years were also office assistants. The fourth group consisted of subjects above fifty years old. These people were either retired persons or on the verge of retirement. The age information in respect of the samples is presented in Table 11.

TABLE 11
MEANS, MEDIANS AND SD'S OF AGE OF THE FOUR GROUPS

<i>Group</i>	<i>Mean age</i>	<i>Median age</i>	<i>SD</i>
I	18.20	18.33	0.71
II	23.74	22.12	6.10
III	39.06	37.50	17.80
IV	59.54	60.50	16.62

The subjects were administered attitude scales on science and religion, constructed and standardized on the Thurstonian model. They were also given four personality tests, namely, the tests of neuroticism, extraversion-introversion, security-insecurity and rigidity. It was hypothesized that the subjects belonging to different age groups are likely to differ in some of these tests. As the people grow older they might develop more religious attitudes, and may also become more rigid and feel more insecure. The younger generation is likely to be more scientific-minded and less rigid and may feel less insecure. The greater the difference among the age groups, particularly between the youngest and the oldest, the wider will be the socio-cultural gap between the two generations.

(b) RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In Table 12 the means and the standard deviations of all the scores in respect of the six tests are presented. In regard to the mean scores in science and religion the lower the scores the more favourable is the attitude towards the issue. It is found that the younger people have more favourable attitudes towards science and less favourable attitudes towards religion. But the older group has shown the opposite trend. The mean scores in religion steadily decrease as the age level increases. The opposite trend is noticed in regard to the mean scores in science.

The older people appear to be more religious, more neurotic, more rigid, less scientific in their approach and feel more insecure compared to the younger generation.

TABLE 12
MEANS, MEDIANS AND SD'S OF TESTS OF ATTITUDE AND
PERSONALITY

	GROUPS										Total Group
Tests of attitudes and personality	I N = 50		II N = 50		III N = 50		IV N = 50		N = 200		
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD	
Religion	2.85	2.61	2.71	0.70	2.57	1.20	2.21	0.80	2.57	0.99	
Science	2.60	1.40	2.65	0.53	2.90	0.78	3.24	1.20	2.85	0.98	
Neuroticism	27.70	12.80	25.00	11.14	32.88	14.25	31.98	9.60	29.40	11.95	
Extraversion } Introversion }	28.28	2.50	27.24	2.35	25.59	2.15	20.61	2.06	25.42	2.53	
Security											
Insecurity	-78.36	98.6	-60.7	88.2	-76.08	100.2	-96.04	89.5	-77.8	94.13	
Rigidity	24.16	11.4	23.14	13.36	29.5	10.4	31.48	10.6	27.07	11.44	

NOTE: (i) Lower the scores in science and religion more favourable is the attitude.
(ii) Security-Insecurity range 297 to -476.

TABLE 13
DIFFERENCES AND THEIR LEVEL OF SIGNIFICANCE

	<i>Religion Differ- ences</i>	<i>Science Differ- ences</i>	<i>Neuroti- cism Differ- ences</i>	<i>Extraver- sion and Introver- sion Dif- ferences</i>	<i>Security- Insecurity Differ- ences</i>	<i>Rigidity Differ- ences</i>
I & II	0.14	0.55	2.70	1.04	-17.66*	1.02
I & III	0.28	0.30	5.18	2.69	-2.28	5.32*
I & IV	0.64**	0.64**	4.28	7.64**	-17.68*	7.32**
II & III	0.14	0.25	7.88	1.65	-15.38*	6.34*
II & IV	0.50**	0.49*	6.98	6.63**	-35.34**	8.34**
III & IV	0.36**	0.34	0.90	4.98**	-19.96*	2.00

* Significant at 0.05 level

** Significant at 0.01 level

Table 13 presents the differences in the mean scores of the six tests for the different groups of subjects and their level of signi-

fificance. The significance of the differences was measured by Duncan's New Multiple Range Tests.

Groups one and two having the mean age of 18.20 and 23.74 years respectively do not seem to differ in regard to five of the six tests. Only in respect of security-insecurity, the mean difference is significant at 0.05 level. But groups one and four having the mean age of 18.20 and 59.54 respectively are significantly different from each other in five out of six tests. Only in respect of neuroticism the groups are not significantly different. In fact in this test there is no significant difference between any two groups. Groups two and four having mean ages of 23.74 and 59.64 respectively are also significantly different from each other in the same five tests. Groups three and four are different significantly in regard to religion, extraversion-introversion and rigidity. Groups two and three are different in regard to security-insecurity and rigidity at 0.05 level.

One important trend clearly emerges that the oldest group is consistently different from the two younger groups. It is also evident that groups one and two are not very much different from one another. Groups three and four are similar to some extent.

TABLE 14

't' FOR THE MEAN SCORES OF SUBJECTS BELOW AND ABOVE 35 YEARS OF AGE IN TESTS OF ATTITUDE AND PERSONALITY

<i>Below 35 years</i>	<i>N = 100</i>
<i>35 years and above</i>	<i>N = 100</i>
<i>Tests of attitude and personality</i>	<i>'t' ratio</i>
Religion	2.41*
Science	2.63**
Neuroticism	3.56**
Extraversion — Introversion	13.03**
Security — Insecurity	0.90
Rigidity	4.38**

** Significant at 0.01 level

* Significant at 0.05 level

Table 14 presents data in regard to the significant differences found between two broad age groups of thirty-five years, and below and above that age. In all the tests except for security-insecurity the two groups are significantly different. In other words, the older

people are more neurotic, more rigid, more religious and less scientific-minded. This indicates clear generation gap between the two groups.

The older group of people beyond the age range of thirty-five or so, being more religious and rigid and having less favourable attitude towards science, are likely to create difficulties in the growth of science and technology, which are the two most powerful agents of rapid social change. In the last two decades of modern India the rate of social change has been painfully slow because in all the spheres of life the leadership is confined to this age group. The older generation being what it is, no rapid change is expected in the society. They are rather likely to create areas of resistance to change. But as the younger group is more interested in science and social change it is showing its annoyance against the older generation in all possible ways of social protest. This explains the social chaos and tension which is on the increase. By analyzing this trend it may be possible to predict that unless the leadership is transferred to the younger generation the social chaos is not likely to be arrested with any measurable success.

TABLE 15
INTER-CORRELATIONS BETWEEN ATTITUDE TOWARDS SCIENCE
AND ATTITUDE TOWARDS RELIGION

<i>Years</i>	1971		1970		1969	1963	1962
	<i>M.L.A.'s</i>	<i>Lecturers</i>	<i>Admin-istrators</i>	<i>College Male Students</i>	<i>College Their fathers</i>	<i>College Male Students</i>	<i>College Male Students</i>
	<i>N=77</i>	<i>N=100</i>	<i>N=100</i>	<i>N=100</i>	<i>N=100</i>	<i>N=303</i>	<i>N=100</i>
							<i>N=200</i>
Correlation between science and religion	-.12	-.29**	.09	-.26**	-.05	-.30**	-.43**
							-.37**

** Significant at 0.01 level.

Table 15 presents inter-correlations between the attitude scores of science and religion of eight samples of subjects studied in different years (Kar and Rath, 1962; Misra and Rath, 1963; Mohanty and Rath, 1969; Mohanty and Rath, 1970; Mohanty and Rath, 1971).

Out of eight samples, four are College student groups and the remaining four samples consist of the Members of the Legislative Assembly of the State, the lecturers, the administrative officers and a mixed sample of fathers of college students studied in some other context. These four non-student samples may be compared with the student samples in regard to attitudes towards religion and science.

It is interesting to note that the correlations between the attitudes towards science and religion of all the four student samples are negative and significant at 0.01 level. In other words, the attitudes for science and religion are inversely related in these subjects. From among the four non-student groups only the lecturers project similar trend of attitudes like the students, but the three other samples do not project any significant relationship between science and religion. Here the question of attitudinal consonance arises. The students and lecturers seem to have developed a consonance in regard to attitudes towards science and religion. In India those who are very religious seem to have some kind of antagonism towards science and those who develop scientific attitudes are showing intolerance towards religion. This appears to be a natural attitudinal approach towards the science-religion problems in India. The present day religious practices seem to involve many kinds of superstitions and irreconcilable contradictions. A modern man with scientific attitude of mind is not likely to accept them uncritically. Hence the polarization in attitude in regard to science and religion seems to be the logical end-product.

Those who have favourable religious attitudes would tend to develop negative attitudes towards science. As the latter is considered more materialistic and antagonistic to religious beliefs and practices in this country the attitudinal consonance will be expected in having inverse attitudinal trend.

This hypothesis is amply supported by the evidences presented in Table 15. The students and lecturers who are exposed to modern education and scientific approach constantly seem to have developed this polarization between science and religion. Whereas the other three non-student groups do not show any polarization in this respect. They seem to have reconciled to the apparent contradictions between the two. They reflect the contradictions found in the real social situation of this country. The politicians and other leading people of the country have to advocate the cause of science very vehemently as that is the social need of the day.

But at the same time they indulge in all kinds of religious practices which are superstitious and irrational. This apparent contradiction found in the older generation has created socio-cultural tension. This is one of the reasons why the younger generation has lost confidence in the older generation. This phenomenon has been discussed in the earlier chapters.

The generation gap in this socio-cultural areas is quite evident. The older generation which is incharge of leadership appears to have a confused thinking in this regard due to attitudinal dissonance. Attitudinal dissonance in this case may cause a split mind and contradictory social behaviour. Such people will say one thing and will do just the opposite in some other situation. As the socio-political leadership is in the hands of the older generation, and the younger generation having greater consonance in attitudes and greater dynamism for faster social change does not share any power with them, the process of change is so slow and the society is so stagnant. This becomes the single major impediment to social change.

LEADERS: THE WAY THEY ARE PERCEIVED

1. *Mental Images for the Leading Professions*

(a) PROBLEM. In a changing society the different professions hold different charms for the people. Some jobs may be more preferable than others for the educated sections of the population. Normally, people prefer that profession which has a high social and economic status, accompanied by high social prestige. So it is expected that the preferred professions will be described with favourable adjectives than the non-preferred ones. Indirectly, highly preferable professions eliciting larger number of favourable trait names may be associated with more prestigious and socially desirable role playing.

In a developing society the people belonging to the various professional groups may be taken as leaders in a wider sense. The politicians, are no doubt in strict sense, serve as leaders in various fields but in real social situations the educated people working in different spheres as professionals take the leadership in implementing the various socio-economic, cultural and political programmes. So leadership should not be understood strictly in political sense.

The attitudes towards the various kinds of professions will serve as useful indicators in locating the psycho-social status, the professions are supposed to be enjoying in the estimation of people. The attitudes in this regard may be studied in many ways. By analyzing the mental pictures the people have for the various leading professions, and also by estimating their preferences the attitudes of the subjects towards them can be indirectly studied. A great deal of information has been gathered through various investigations as to how the professional groups are perceived and preferred. This would indirectly assess the social desirability and prestige the different professional groups are projecting in the minds of the people.

Three important investigations were (Mitra, A. K., Das, B. K. and Mohanty, A. K. and Rath, R.) conducted under the supervision and guidance of the author with different samples of subjects in

regard to occupational preferences and stereotypes. The salient features and results of these investigations are reported here. The main objective of these studies have been to get an estimate for the ten important professions by studying the preferences and the mental pictures of the different samples of subjects. This will indirectly project their attitudes towards the leadership associated with different white collar professions which play dominant roles in maintaining the existing social order and shaping the future policies in the various fields of life of this country. If the subjects have very poor opinion of those who wield greater power and hold higher status in the socio-political life, then to that extent they may be said to have expressed their lack of confidence in them. It may also so happen that the groups which exert very little influence on the national life may be highly preferable groups in the eyes of the people. Those who hold the top positions and wield tremendous political power may be held in low esteem. This would indicate a conflicting mental state of mind of the subjects and ultimately it may lead to total disruption of the existing social order unless the social changes follow the desirable direction of change.

(b) SAMPLES AND PROCEDURE

TABLE 16
DESCRIPTION OF THE SAMPLES

<i>Sample</i>	<i>Year of study</i>	<i>Nature of the samples</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Professional groups studied</i>
<i>A</i>	1962	(a) School teachers	50	1. College teacher
		(b) College teachers	50	2. Doctor
<i>B</i>	1962	(a) Service holders	100	3. Engineer
		(b) Students		4. Administrative officer
		(1) Rural		5. School teacher
		final year		
		high school		
		students 50		
		(2) Urban		
		final year		
		high school		
		students 50		
		College students		
		(a) Male		9. Police officer
		(b) Female		10. Clerk
<i>C</i>	1969		255	
			65	

Two investigations were conducted in 1962 (Mitra and Rath, Das and Rath) and another was undertaken in 1969 (Mohanty and Rath). Table 16 gives information regarding the nature of the samples. Sample *A* consisted of fifty school teachers and fifty college teachers who were selected from a larger number of school and college teachers of Cuttack and Bhubaneswar.*

The minimum qualification of school teachers was matriculation and of the college teachers was M.A. or M.Sc. The age range of school teachers was twenty to thirty-five with a mean age of thirty-two and a median age of thirty-four. The college teachers fall in the range of twenty-one to thirty-eight with a mean age of 26.3 and a median age of 25.8.

Sample *B* consisted of three samples. There were two groups of school students belonging to the top classes of the high schools. A group of fifty such high school students were taken from a rural high school (village-Alaka) and another group of fifty from a city high school of Cuttack. These subjects were selected randomly from among the students of these schools which had very large enrolments. Then another sample of 100 service holders having matriculation as minimum qualification was drawn randomly according to quota sampling technique from the offices located at Cuttack. The age range of these samples is not available.

The third sample (*C*) consisted of 255 male and 65 female college students of the post-graduate departments of the Utkal University. They were selected randomly from among the eight hundred and odd students of the University campus. The age of the male students ranged from twenty to twenty-eight years and the age range of the female students was nineteen to twenty-five years.

All the samples were presented with a list of sixty adjectives out of which thirty were favourable and thirty were unfavourable trait names. Ten categories of common white collar professions were presented to the subjects with a request to select the trait names, which according to them correctly described the members of the professions. The subjects were also asked to arrange the professions in order of preference. The profession which was most preferred should be given the first position and that which was least preferred should be allotted the last position. Accordingly, subjects were asked to arrange all the ten professional groups in order of preference.

*They are two adjacent cities in the State of Orissa (India).

(c) RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

TABLE 17

TRAIT RATIOS AND THEIR RANK CORRELATIONS

Professional groups	STUDY (A)					STUDY (B)					STUDY (C)					RANK CORRELATIONS		
	No. of fav. traits	No. of unfav. traits	Total traits	Trait ratio of fav. T.R.	Position of T.R.	No. of fav. traits	No. of unfav. traits	Total traits	Trait ratio of fav. T.R.	Position of T.R.	No. of fav. traits	No. of unfav. traits	Total traits	Trait ratio of fav. T.R.	Position of T.R.	A.B.	A.C.	B.C.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)
1. College teacher	20	6	26	3.33	2	21	6	27	3.50	1	20	0	20	20.0	1			
2. Doctor	12	10	22	1.20	3	19	9	28	2.11	3	15	1	16	15.0	2			
3. Engineer	10	9	19	1.11	4	10	11	21	0.91	4	6	4	10	1.50	4			
4. Administrative officer	5	17	22	0.30	7	14	16	30	0.88	5.5	5	7	12	0.71	5	0.67*	0.93**	0.77**
5. School teacher	17	2	19	8.50	1	18	6	24	3.00	2	8	2	10	4.00	3			
6. Lawyer	7	17	24	0.41	5	7	18	25	0.37	10	4	6	10	0.66	6			
7. Politician	4	21	25	0.19	10	11	19	30	0.58	7	2	18	20	0.11	10			
8. Businessman	5	15	20	0.33	6	7	16	23	0.44	8	5	10	15	0.50	7			
9. Police officer	6	21	27	0.29	8	9	22	31	0.41	9	5	12	17	0.42	8			
10. Clerk	5	19	24	0.26	9	14	16	30	0.88	5.5	2	6	8	0.33	9			

NOTE: Trait Ratio (T.R.) = $\frac{\text{No. of Favourable Traits}}{\text{No. of Unfavourable Traits}}$

* Significant at 0.05 level

** Significant at 0.01 level

Trait names selected by twenty per cent or more of the subjects were retained for consideration and the rest were rejected. All these trait names arranged in order of preference are presented in Appendix A for the sake of easy comparison.

Table 17 presents the number of favourable and unfavourable traits found for the professional groups in the three investigations. In order to make meaningful comparison the trait ratios have been calculated for the professional groups. The number of favourable traits has been divided by the number of unfavourable traits in order to find out the trait ratio. So any trait ratio beyond one would indicate that more favourable traits have been selected by the sample. But if the trait ratio falls below one it would show the dominance of unfavourable traits for that group. In the investigation *A* the number of trait names selected by the samples ranges from nineteen to twenty-seven. Out of nineteen traits attributed to the school teacher only two are unfavourable ones. Similarly out of twenty-six traits selected for the college teacher only six are unfavourable traits. Whereas out of twenty-five traits selected for the politician there are only four good traits in the list. Similarly out of twenty-seven traits for the police officer only six are favourable ones. Others fall in between these two extreme ends. The school teacher holds the highest trait ratio of 8.5 and the second highest is held by the college teacher having a ratio of 3.33. Except for the doctor and the engineer who have got trait ratios around one all other groups fall below one. The politician occupies the lowest position having the ratio of 0.19. As this sample includes school and college teachers the bias might have worked in favour of the school and college teachers.

In addition to two teaching professions, the doctor occupies the third and the engineer the fourth position from the most preferable end. From the least favourable end the politician holds the last position and the clerk and the police officer occupy the next two least preferable occupations. It is rather surprising that the politician is held in such low esteem.

The second investigation (*B*) includes 100 school students and 100 service holders who are very much different from one another in age, experience and wisdom. Here also the trait ratio values for the school and college teachers are the highest two in the list. The college teacher stands first having a ratio value of 3.5 and the school teacher stands second having the ratio value of 3.0. The doctor and engineer stand third and fourth respectively.

The lawyer holds the lowest position scoring only 0.37 trait ratio, followed by the police officer (0.41), businessman (0.44) and the politician (0.58). Here the politician occupies the seventh position.

The number of traits selected for the professional groups in this investigation ranges from twenty-one to thirty-one. The college teacher has been attributed the highest number of favourable traits, namely, twenty-one out of twenty-seven. The school teacher has scored eighteen good traits out of twenty-four, whereas the police officer, the lawyer, the politician and the businessman have scored only nine out of thirty-one, seven out of twenty-five, eleven out of thirty and seven out of twenty-three good traits respectively. All these four groups belong to the lowest category of estimation.

The third investigation (C) which includes only the post-graduate students of the university indicates almost a similar trend. The college teacher stands first having the ratio value of twenty, the highest score in all the studies, and the politician is the last with a score of 0.11. Here the doctor stands second and the school teacher third. The engineer scoring 1.5 occupies the fourth position. The least preferable four professions are the politician, the clerk, the police officer and the businessman arranged in order from the least preferable end.

In this investigation the number of traits selected for the groups ranges from eight to twenty. The college teacher gets twenty good traits against none of the bad ones whereas the politician gets only two good traits out of the total twenty selected for him. The next largest number of good traits are scored by the doctor. They get fifteen good traits out of sixteen. Others fall in between these two extreme ends.

This Table also includes the rank correlations calculated in regard to the trait ratios of the three broad samples. As the trait ratios indicate the favourable unfavourable trend of the subjects for the professional groups, it would be useful to arrange the trait ratios in order of size and compute the rank correlations among the three broad samples. If there would be a general agreement among the samples in projecting the trend of their mental images regarding the professional groups, the rank correlations would be significant. But as the samples widely vary in age, experience, maturity, etc. they might as well vary in attributing traits to the professional groups. But the most astounding fact is that in spite of all the differences in the samples all the three rank correlations are positive

TABLE 18
MEAN SCORES AND RANK CORRELATIONS OF THE SAMPLES

<i>Occupational groups</i>	(A) MEAN SCORE				(B) MEAN SCORE					(C) MEAN SCORE			
	<i>School teacher</i> <i>a</i>	<i>College teacher</i> <i>b</i>	<i>Rho</i> <i>a-b</i>	<i>Significance level</i>	<i>Rural students</i> <i>a</i>	<i>Urban students</i> <i>b</i>	<i>Service holders</i> <i>c</i>	<i>Rho</i> <i>ab-c</i>	<i>Significance level</i>	<i>Male students</i> <i>a</i>	<i>Female students</i> <i>b</i>	<i>Rho</i> <i>a-b</i>	<i>Significance level</i>
1. College teacher	42.00	42.00	0.77	0.01	34.72	45.04	45.74	0.69	0.01	34.49	37.15	0.87	0.01
2. Doctor	34.82	29.09	0.37	0.05	31.60	40.06	32.85	0.56	0.01	28.09	31.54	0.70	0.01
3. Engineer	34.53	27.89	0.50	0.05	34.17	37.39	30.61	0.49	0.05	27.84	30.31	0.62	0.05
4. Administrative officer	34.09	37.09	0.41	0.05	31.86	34.40	32.50	0.39	0.05	30.49	30.26	0.65	0.05
5. School teacher	51.58	28.63	0.78	0.01	36.35	38.89	33.12	0.23	N.S.	31.26	31.38	0.93	0.01
6. Lawyer	33.75	30.00	0.73	0.01	31.93	38.77	33.40	0.56	0.01	30.47	32.58	0.54	N.S.
7. Politician	34.56	38.72	0.77	0.01	31.29	35.93	36.33	0.42	0.05	30.41	27.00	0.93	0.01
8. Businessman	47.70	44.90	0.80	0.01	33.37	39.86	41.30	0.87	0.01	31.79	32.51	0.82	0.01
9. Police officer	41.63	40.89	0.88	0.01	32.55	38.89	40.71	0.46	0.01	31.02	28.59	0.36	N.S.
10. Clerk	29.92	28.67	0.17	N.S.	30.62	35.03	31.56	0.49	0.01	33.68	36.15	0.89	0.01

NOTE: Rural and urban students have been taken together for the calculation of Rho.

and significant. The rank correlation between *A* and *B* is significant at 0.05 level but the other two correlations between *A* and *C* and *B* and *C* are significant at 0.01 level. In other words, if the dissimilar samples would so much agree in having the same type of stereotypes for the professional groups, it may be reasonably assumed that the results do reflect the mental images of the whole educated population of this region.

Table 18 corroborates this fact in a different way. It presents the mean scores of all the samples of the three investigations. It also presents the rank correlations between the lists of trait names selected by the samples in each investigation.

Only in regard to the school teachers, the mean scores of the sample of school teachers are quite large compared to others. Otherwise even the mean scores found for the samples in each investigation do not vary so widely. This gives another evidence of stability and consistency of responses of the samples studied in all the three investigations. In addition to this remarkable consistency in the mean scores, the samples taken in each investigation seem to agree in having very close relationship in the selection of trait names. In Appendix A the trait names are presented in order of preference. If the samples agree in preferring the trait names in the same order then the rank correlation between any two sets of trait names would be significant. In other words, each investigation has two or three different samples. Each sample's frequencies of selected traits are arranged in order of size and then the rank correlation is computed between the two series of traits to indicate the similarity in trend in selecting the trait names for the different professional groups. If the samples select the trait names randomly and there is no specific trend in this selection, the choice of trait names is likely to be haphazard and there will be no significant rank correlation between the series. But if the samples agree in selecting not only the same trait names, but also have the same order of frequencies, then the rank correlation will be positive and significant.

In Table 18 rank correlations and their level of significance have been presented for each of the professional groups under each of the investigations. In investigation *A* six rank correlations are significant at 0.01 level and three at 0.05 level. Only one does not reach the level of significance. In other words, for the group of clerks the samples have very close mean scores but they do not agree in the order of selection of trait names. Whereas in regard to other

nine professional groups the school and college teachers have selected the trait names almost in the same order.

In the investigation *B* both the samples of school students have been taken together to form one sample, and this group has been compared with the sample of service holders. Here also six rank correlations are significant at 0.01 level and three at 0.05 level and only one rank correlation for the school teacher does not reach the level of significance. In other words, not only the sample means do not vary widely from each other but nine out of ten professions elicit the trait names from the two samples almost in the same order. It is remarkable that even though these two samples are totally different from each other in all respects, still they are so close in attributing the stereotypes to the nine professional groups.

The investigation *C* also projects a similar trend in this respect. Here also the mean scores of the college male and female groups of students do not vary from each another to any large extent. Six out of ten rank correlations are significant at 0.01 level, two at 0.05 level and only two results are not significant. The male and female students agree in attributing the trait names to eight professional groups almost in the same order. They, however, do not agree in regard to the lawyer and the police officer.

TABLE 19
AVERAGE RANK ASSIGNED TO DIFFERENT PROFESSIONAL GROUPS
BY THE SAMPLES AND RHO BETWEEN THE 3 SAMPLES

Sl. No.	Professional groups	Ranks Assigned			Mean rank	Rho		
		A	B	C		AB	AC	BC
1.	College teacher	1	1	1	1			
2.	Doctor	2	2	2	2			
3.	Engineer	3	3	4	3.3	0.96**	0.95**	0.90**
4.	Administrative officer	4	4	3	3.6			
5.	School teacher	5	5	5	5			
6.	Lawyer	6	7	6	6.3			
7.	Politician	8	6	9	7.7			
8.	Businessman	7	8	8	7.7			
9.	Police officer	9	9	7	8.3			
10.	Clerk	10	10	10	10			

** Significant at .01 level.

Table 19 presents the data regarding the average ranks allotted to the different professional groups by the samples. The subjects were asked to arrange the professions in order of preference from one to ten. The mean rank position is calculated by taking into consideration all the rank positions attributed by the subjects. It is again very remarkable that all the three groups under three investigations, almost agree in allotting the same ranks to the professional groups. All the three rank correlations are 0.90 and above, and they are all significant at 0.01 level. It sounds too good to be true but still it is a fact. There is absolute agreement among the groups in regard to the college teacher, doctor, school teacher, and clerk and about the other six groups there are slight differences here and there.

By taking the average rank position of the three samples, the relative rank position is assessed to determine the order from the most preferred to least preferred professions. The college teacher stands first in the order followed by the doctor. Then comes the engineer. The administrative officer occupies the fourth position. At the other end of least favoured professions the clerk occupies the last position followed by the police officer, the politician and the businessman. The school teacher and lawyer fall in the middle. In the days of the British, the police officer was very much looked down upon and this attitude seems to continue even now. But the most disturbing factor about the whole situation is the politician. One who is supposed to be the leader of the society has gone down so low in the estimation of the people. Again the businessman on whom the economic prosperity of the country depends to a great extent is disliked so much. It is rather significant that the politician and the businessman have been ranked close to one another. This appears to be a bad sign for the all-round development of the country.

From the point of view of social change, the most powerful agents of social change, namely, the politician and the businessman are disliked most. These two groups of people are not only very powerful and influential in most of the socio-cultural and politico-economic spheres of our life but they shape the destiny of the developing country in a big way. Yet they occupy such a low position in the estimation of the educated people of this country. This indirectly indicates a big gap between the leaders and the people.

In other words, the professional groups like the politician, busi-

nessman, police and administrative officers, who constitute the powerful groups in the society, do not seem to project good images in the minds of the educated people. They are less preferred compared to the professor, doctor and engineer. But the latter do not exert a very great influence in the Indian social life as it is the case in any advanced country. Those who are liked by the people are powerless, and the powerful groups are disliked by them. This phenomenon is likely to create greater tension in the society in course of time. This dissatisfaction may bring about disastrous social upheaval.

In a young democracy, the politicians should be in a position of demonstrating great leadership. In the pre-independent India the leaders did have very respectful position in the society. But in the course of the last two decades they seemed to have behaved in such a way that they have apparently lost their image. Educated people seem to dislike them and they do not prefer to be politicians. When the politician is perceived as crooked, selfish, traitor, bribe-taker, cheat, snobbish, egoistic, inefficient, swindler, greedy, proud, mean, etc. no wonder very few young educated people would like to join the rank of politicians. This indeed casts a gloomy picture for the future political life of the country.

2. *Attitudes Towards Political Leadership*

In the preceeding section it was noticed that there was an unmistakable judgement of the various samples of subjects against the politicians. The politicians who were so popular two decades ago have projected such damaging images in the minds of the public. It is rather unfortunate that in a new democratic country educated people have such great aversion for politicians. This finding is further corroborated by another study undertaken by the author. The investigation connected with *Sociology of Education* (Rath, R., 1968) included specific questions as to whether the politicians paid any attention to the opinions of the people, and whether the subjects had any contact with the politicians.

In order to assess the role of education in bringing about desired social change and locate the various social problems connected with the students, teachers and parents at various levels of education, a national research project was undertaken in eight states of India. It included primary, secondary and college teachers. Students

belonging to the final years of high schools, professional and non-professional colleges were also interviewed. The rural and urban parents were also contacted. The subjects were drawn by random sampling technique. There was an elaborate questionnaire containing various aspects of education. All the state reports have been separately prepared and they are being published by the National Council of Educational, Research and Training, New Delhi. The consolidated All India Report [Gore, M. S. and others] has already been published.

TABLE 20
ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE POLITICIANS
(Figures in percentages)

		<i>In your view how much attention do politicians (leaders of the country) pay to the opinions of people like yourself?</i>			<i>Have you ever talked to, written to, some Govt. officials or political leaders to tell him your opinion on some public issue, such as what the Govt. should do about education?</i>		
<i>Subjects</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>A great deal</i>	<i>Only a little</i>	<i>None at all</i>	<i>Many times</i>	<i>Some-times</i>	<i>Never</i>
<i>Final year secondary students</i>							
Urban male	370	16	18	64	8	18	74
Rural male	103	10	29	61	7	10	83
Female	241	28	21	51	2	10	88
<i>Non-professional college students</i>							
Male	242	15	50	25	6	39	54
Female	104	×	×	×	3	11	86
<i>Polytechnic students</i>							
Male	50	28	32	40	18	22	60
<i>Engineering college students</i>							
Male	38	5	50	45	0	18	82
<i>Medical college students</i>							
Male	63	13	46	51	2	32	65
Female	29	7	31	62	3	14	83

Table 20 (continued)

Secondary school teachers

Urban male	142	15	46	39	8	25	67
Rural male	49	6	49	45	4	16	80
Female	57	7	37	56	0	7	93

Primary school teachers

Urban male	23	31	0	69	9	22	69
Rural male	64	20	14	66	6	6	88
Female	8	0	12	88	0	0	100

Parents (father)

Rural	634	15	36	49	6	26	68
Urban	443	17	39	44	4	23	73

Only a couple of items directly relevant to the present discussion have been taken from the Orissa State Study. The data presented in Table 20 clearly indicate the fact that the vast majority of subjects—whether they are school or college students, professional or non-professional students, primary or secondary teachers, urban or rural parents, male or female subjects—all seem to agree that the politicians either pay a very little attention or no attention at all to the opinion of the people. The vast majority of the subjects have never talked to, or written to some government officials or political leaders, in regard to educational or any other public issues. The gulf between the leaders, and government officials and the people seems to be very wide with no media of communication in regard to public affairs. No wonder the people have such poor opinion of political leaders and administrators. Unfavourable mental images may be more due to lack of contact. It may also be a fact that due to very poor opinion about them the people do not consider it worth their while to discuss the problems with the political leaders and government administrators. If the politicians are taken as power-loving, flatterer, crooked, traitor, selfish, snobbish, inefficient, mean, cheat, swindler, greedy, bribetaker, partial, bossing, etc. (Appendix A) there would be no desire on the part of the people to mix with them or discuss problems with them with a view to solve major social or educational problems. This is rather a sad commentary on the political leadership of the country. This indicates an ever deepening crisis in the political leadership.

This is further corroborated by referring to the attitude study mentioned in Chapter V (Table 8) in relation to present-day administration. Only fourteen per cent of the college students and their fathers are strongly in favour, and twenty-eight per cent of the students and ten per cent of the fathers are moderately in favour of the Indian administration. As the politicians and administrators are not favourably looked upon the attitudes towards their administration are bound to be adversely affected.

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APPENDIX (A) (1)
 TRAIT NAMES SELECTED BY 20 PER CENT OR MORE OF THE SUBJECTS IN ORDER OF PREFERENCE
 COLLEGE TEACHER

<i>School teachers</i>	<i>College teachers</i>	<i>Service holders</i>	<i>Rural H.E. School final year students</i>	<i>Urban H.E. School final year students</i>	<i>Male college students</i>	<i>Female college students</i>
<i>N = 50</i>	<i>N = 50</i>	<i>N = 50</i>	<i>N = 50</i>	<i>N = 50</i>	<i>N = 255</i>	<i>N = 65</i>
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Cultured	Idealistic	Scholastic	Idealistic	Dutiful	Scholastic	Scholastic
Idealistic	Peace-loving	Cultured	Dutiful	Idealistic	Idealistic	Idealistic
Peace-loving	Scholastic	Peace-loving	Scholastic	Cultured	Cultured	Cultured
Humanitarian	Aspirant	Idealistic	Formal	Useful	Peace-loving	Aspirant
Dutiful	Cultured	Humanitarian	Cultured	Peace-loving	Dutiful	Peace-loving
Scholastic	Polished	Dutiful	Useful	Industrious	Sincere	Dutiful
Calm	Impartial	Aspirant	Aspirant	Aspirant	Useful	Sincere
Impartial	Dutiful	Sincere	Industrious	Kind-hearted	Friendly	Sociable
Aspirant	Sentimental	Impartial	Peace-loving	Scholastic	Industrious	Impartial
Sentimental	Innocent	Sentimental	Friendly	Calm	Progressive	Progressive
Useful	Kind-hearted	Useful	Impartial	Sincere	Aspirant	Broadminded
Industrious	Humanitarian	Kind-hearted	Kind-hearted	Humanitarian	Sociable	Industrious
Sincere	Sincere	Innocent	Humanitarian	Friendly	Polished	Useful (Helpful)
Polished	Friendly	Polished	Sincere	Formal	Impartial	Friendly
Idle	Useful	Friendly	Faithful	Innocent	Humanitarian	Polished

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Formal	Calm	Calm	Benevolent	Faithful	Kind-hearted	Kind-hearted
Innocent	Easily satisfied	Idle	Sentimental	Sentimental	Broadminded	Humanitarian
Kind-hearted	Apathetic	Industrious	Efficient	Smart	Co-operative	Faithful
Faithful	Idle	Faithful	Calm	Impartial	Trustworthy	
Apathetic	Egoistic	Formal	Smart	Apathetic	Faithful	
Friendly	Faithful	Egoistic	Painstaking	Benevolent		
Benevolent	Formal	Benevolent	Patient	Patient		
Egoistic	Industrious	Luxurious		Idle		
Luxurious	Luxurious	Efficient		Efficient		
Efficient	Efficient	Patient				
		Apathetic				

APPENDIX (A) (2)

TRAIT NAMES SELECTED BY 20 PER CENT OR MORE OF THE SUBJECTS IN ORDER OF PREFERENCE

DOCTOR						
<i>School teachers</i>	<i>College teachers</i>	<i>Service holders</i>	<i>Rural H. E. school final year students</i>	<i>Urban H.E. school final year students</i>	<i>Male college students</i>	<i>Female college students</i>
<i>N = 50</i>	<i>N = 50</i>	<i>N = 100</i>	<i>N = 50</i>	<i>N = 50</i>	<i>N = 255</i>	<i>N = 65</i>
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Useful	Greedy	Useful	Useful	Useful	Useful (Helpful)	Useful (Helpful)
Dutiful	Useful	Dutiful	Brave	Dutiful	Dutiful	Dutiful
Patient	Dutiful	Greedy	Industrious	Industrious	Patient	Patient
Aspirant	Egoistic	Patient	Dutiful	Patient	Industrious	Sincere
Greedy	Industrious	Industrious	Flatterer	Greedy	Greedy	Industrious
Egoistic	Rude	Friendly	Kind-hearted	Sincere	Sincere	Friendly
Smart	Practical	Egoistic	Patient	Friendly	Friendly	Faithful
Brave	Proud	Faithful	Selfish	Aspirant	Faithful	Practical
Bribetaker	Cruel	Brave	Idealistic	Formal	Brave	Aspirant
Industrious	Patient	Bribetaker	Cruel	Flatterer	Kind-hearted	Smart
Sincere	Sincere	Aspirant	Greedy	Cruel	Aspirant	Greedy
Friendly	Faithful	Sincere	Aspirant	Bribetaker	Idealistic	Kind-hearted
Proud	Friendly	Proud	Faithful	Kind-hearted	Painstaking	Painstaking
Humanitarian	Bribetaker	Cruel	Sincere	Luxurious	Trustworthy	Idealistic
Faithful	Humanitarian	Smart	Bribetaker	Faithful		Trustworthy

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Formal	Smart	Practical	Friendly	Idealistic		
Cruel	Formal	Kind-hearted	Formal	Proud		
Selfish	Luxurious	Luxurious	Humanitarian	Brave		
Practical	Apathetic	Impartial	Impartial	Egoistic		
Apathetic	Brave	Humanitarian	Peace-loving	Selfish		
Rude		Selfish	Cheat	Humanitarian		
Luxurious		Formal	Proud	Peace-loving		
		Peace-loving	Scholastic	Calm		
		Idealistic	Smart	Opportunist		
		Cultured		Smart		
		Scholastic		Impartial		
				Cultured		
				Painstaking		
				Scholastic		

APPENDIX (A) (3)

TRAIT NAMES SELECTED BY 20 PER CENT OR MORE OF THE SUBJECTS IN ORDER OF PREFERENCE

ENGINEER

<i>School teachers</i>	<i>College teachers</i>	<i>Service holders</i>	<i>Rural H. E. school final year students</i>	<i>Urban H. E. school final year students</i>	<i>Male college students</i>	<i>Female college students</i>
<i>N = 50</i>	<i>N = 50</i>	<i>N = 100</i>	<i>N = 50</i>	<i>N = 50</i>	<i>N = 255</i>	<i>N = 65</i>
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Bribetaker	Bribetaker	Bribetaker	Aspirant	Bribetaker	Bribetaker	Aspirant
Industrious	Industrious	Industrious	Industrious	Industrious	Aspirant	Bribetaker
Smart	Practical	Aspirant	Flatterer	Dutiful	Industrious	Industrious
Aspirant	Aspirant	Smart	Selfish	Aspirant	Progressive	Progressive
Painstaking	Proud	Proud	Brave	Useful	Egoistic	Dutiful
Brave	Smart	Luxurious	Bribetaker	Luxurious	Smart	Smart
Practical	Painstaking	Greedy	Proud	Proud	Proud	Practical
Egoistic	Opportunist	Brave	Luxurious	Smart	Practical	Bossing
Scholastic	Egoistic	Painstaking	Dutiful	Painstaking	Bossing	
Greedy	Greedy	Egoistic	Patient	Patient		
Useful	Selfish	Dutiful	Useful	Egoistic		
Dutiful	Efficient	Scholastic	Greedy	Formal		
Proud	Luxurious	Useful	Painstaking	Opportunist		
Selfish	Power-loving	Selfish	Scholastic	Selfish		
Wirepuller		Efficient	Egoistic	Scholastic		

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Opportunist		Power-loving	Opportunist	Greedy		
Power-loving		Patient	Power-loving	Efficient		
Luxurious		Cheat	Efficient	Rude		
Efficient		Opportunist	Cheat	Cheat		
			Showy	Brave		
				Flatterer		
				Power-loving		
				Showy		

APPENDIX (A) (4)
 TRAIT NAMES SELECTED BY 20 PER CENT OR MORE OF THE SUBJECTS IN ORDER OF PREFERENCE
 ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICER

<i>School teachers</i>	<i>College teachers</i>	<i>Service holders</i>	<i>Rural H. E. school final year students</i>	<i>Urban H. E. school final year students</i>	<i>Male college students</i>	<i>Female college students</i>
<i>N = 50</i>	<i>N = 50</i>	<i>N = 100</i>	<i>N = 50</i>	<i>N = 50</i>	<i>N = 255</i>	<i>N = 65</i>
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Power-loving	Power-loving	Power-loving	Impartial	Power-loving	Power-loving	Bossing
Egoistic	Egoistic	Egoistic	Flatterer	Dutiful	Bossing	Aspirant
Aspirant	Proud	Aspirant	Bribetaker	Impartial	Egoistic	Snobbish
Proud	Flatterer	Proud	Aspirant	Egoistic	Snobbish	Power-loving
Showy	Showy	Luxurious	Proud	Cruel	Proud	Dutiful
Dutiful	Bribetaker	Impartial	Selfish	Bribetaker	Bribetaker	Proud
Luxurious	Aspirant	Dutiful	Luxurious	Rude	Showy	Smart
Impartial	Opportunist	Bribetaker	Crooked	Sincere	Smart	Cultured
Smart	Crooked	Cultured	Cruel	Peace-loving	Dutiful	Aspirant
Bribetaker	Wirepuller	Scholastic	Power-loving	Snobbish	Aspirant	Impartial
Sincere	Luxurious	Rude	Diplomat	Proud	Impartial	
Opportunist	Rude	Showy	Dutiful	Smart	Cultured	
Rude	Diplomat	Formal	Opportunist	Diplomat		
Formal	Jealous	Smart	Partial	Idealistic		
Flatterer	Formal	Opportunist	Humanitarian	Brave		

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Cruel	Partial	Sincere	Useful	Opportunist		
Partial	Selfish	Selfish	Rude	Partial		
Crooked	Smart	Humanitarian	Idealistic	Useful		
Wirepuller	Cruel	Patient	Patient	Crooked		
Diplomat		Flatterer	Apathetic	Flatterer		
		Partial	Scholastic	Luxurious		
		Crooked	Egoistic	Patient		
		Cruel	Formal	Aspirant		
		Efficient	Cultured	Greedy		
		Greedy	Greedy	Selfish		
		Useful	Peace-loving	Formal		
			Brave	Humanitarian		
			Efficient			

APPENDIX (A) (5)
 TRAIT NAMES SELECTED BY 20 PER CENT OR MORE OF THE SUBJECTS IN ORDER OF PREFERENCE
 SCHOOL TEACHER

<i>School teachers</i>	<i>College teachers</i>	<i>Service holders</i>	<i>Rural H.E. school final year students</i>	<i>Urban H.E. school final year students</i>	<i>Male college students</i>	<i>Female college students</i>
<i>N = 50</i>	<i>N = 50</i>	<i>N = 100</i>	<i>N = 50</i>	<i>N = 50</i>	<i>N = 255</i>	<i>N = 65</i>
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Peace-loving	Peace-loving	Peace-loving	Dutiful	Dutiful	Idealistic	Idealistic
Idealistic	Idealistic	Innocent	Useful	Useful	Dutiful	Peace-loving
Innocent	Innocent	Idealistic	Idealistic	Industrious	Idle	Idle
Sincere	Easily satisfied	Easily satisfied	Formal	Idealistic	Peace-loving	Dutiful
Dutiful			Peace-loving	Friendly	Sincere	Sincere
Easily satisfied	Dutiful	Dutiful	Industrious	Sincere	Industrious	Useful (Helpful)
Humanitarian	Calm	Useful	Friendly	Kind-hearted	Useful (Helpful)	Industrious
Kind-hearted	Useful	Humanitarian	Kind-hearted	Humanitarian	Cultured	Impartial
Cultured	Humanitarian	Idle	Cultured	Formal	Discontented	Cultured
Calm	Kind-hearted	Miserly	Calm	Peace-loving	Impartial	
Useful	Sincere	Friendly	Scholastic	Patient		
Impartial	Friendly	Calm	Patient	Easily satisfied		
Faithful	Impartial	Impartial	Easily satisfied	Cultured		
Industrious	Sentimental	Sincere	Sincere	Aggressive		
Friendly		Kind-hearted	Flatterer	Scholastic		

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Patient		Industrious	Faithful	Innocent		
Painstaking		Cultured	Humanitarian	Flatterer		
Idle		Sentimental	Greedy	Faithful		
Sentimental		Greedy	Innocent	Painstaking		
		Painstaking	Painstaking	Sentimental		
		Patient	Aspirant	Calm		
				Aspirant		

APPENDIX (A) (6)

TRAIT NAMES SELECTED BY 20 PER CENT OR MORE OF THE SUBJECTS IN ORDER OF PREFERENCE

LAWYER

<i>School teachers</i>	<i>College teachers</i>	<i>Service holders</i>	<i>Rural H. E. school final year students</i>	<i>Urban H. E. school final year students</i>	<i>Male college students</i>	<i>Female college students</i>
<i>N = 50</i>	<i>N = 50</i>	<i>N = 100</i>	<i>N = 50</i>	<i>N = 50</i>	<i>N = 255</i>	<i>N = 65</i>
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Crooked	Crooked	Crooked	Partial	Crooked	Crooked	Partial
Friendly	Greedy	Greedy	Bribe-taker	Flatterer	Partial	Crooked
Greedy	Diplomat	Egoist	Greedy	Cheat	Greedy	Smart
Diplomat	Opportunist	Friendly	Crooked	Greedy	Flatterer	Bribe-taker
Egoist	Partial	Selfish	Diplomat	Partial	Cheat	Resourceful
Showy	Wirepuller	Diplomat	Flatterer	Bribe-taker	Smart	(Wirepuller)
Selfish	Selfish	Cheat	Selfish	Diplomat	Quarrelsome	Quarrelsome
Opportunist	Industrious	Partial	Aspirant	Egoist	Resourceful	Flatterer
Bribe-taker	Friendly	Industrious	Proud	Swindler	(Wirepuller)	Cheat
Swindler	Showy	Bribe-taker	Traitor	Proud	Bribe-taker	Greedy
Partial	Egoist	Showy	Scholastic	Aspirant	Industrious	Industrious
Industrious	Bribe-taker	Opportunist	Dutiful	Traitor		
Smart	Flatterer	Aspirant	Luxurious	Opportunist		
Polished	Formal	Dutiful	Industrious	Showy		
Cheat	Dutiful	Rude	Cheat	Selfish		

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Patient	Aspirant	Proud	Brave	Luxurious		
Formal	Polished	Scholastic	Opportunist	Friendly		
Aspirant	Jealous	Formal	Cruel	Formal		
Flatterer		Luxurious	Efficient	Miserly		
Dutiful		Swindler	Patient	Idle		
Proud		Flatterer	Idle	Power-loving		
Wirepuller		Traitor	Useful	Useful		
Traitor		Efficient	Power-loving	Cruel		
Jealous			Egoist	Industrious		
			Friendly	Patient		
			Swindler	Dutiful		
			Rude	Scholastic		
				Rude		

APPENDIX (A) (7)
 TRAIT NAMES SELECTED BY 20 PER CENT OR MORE OF THE SUBJECTS IN ORDER OF PREFERENCE
 POLITICIAN

<i>School teachers</i>	<i>College teachers</i>	<i>Service holders</i>	<i>Rural H. E. school final year students</i>	<i>Urban H. E. school final year students</i>	<i>Male college students</i>	<i>Female college students</i>
<i>N = 50</i>	<i>N = 50</i>	<i>N = 100</i>	<i>N = 50</i>	<i>N = 50</i>	<i>N = 255</i>	<i>N = 65</i>
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Diplomat	Opportunist	Diplomat	Diplomat	Benevolent	Power-loving	Power-loving
Power-loving	Power-loving	Power-loving	Benevolent	Diplomat	Flatterer	Flatterer
Opportunist	Crooked	Opportunist	Idealistic	Useful	Crooked	Crooked
Aspirant	Diploma	Benevolent	Dutiful	Selfish	Selfish	Traitor
Crooked	Wirepuller	Crooked	Aspirant	Dutiful	Traitor	Resourceful
Egoistic	Flatterer	Flatterer	Flatterer	Aspirant	Bribetaker	Showy
Benevolent	Egoistic	Aspirant	Power-loving	Proud	Cheat	Selfish
Friendly	Selfish	Egoistic	Crooked	Power-loving	Snobbish	Snobbish
Flatterer	Idealistic	Idealistic	Useful	Idealistic	Showy	Cheat
Proud	Aspirant	Friendly	Bribetaker	Crooked	Resourceful	Egoistic
Showy	Friendly	Selfish	Sincere	Opportunist	Wirepuller	Bribetaker
Selfish	Traitor	Showy	Peace-loving	Formal	Egoistic	Swindler
Wirepuller	Showy	Formal	Cultured	Patient	Inefficient	Inefficient
Idealistic	Benevolent	Wirepuller	Egoistic	Bribetaker	Swindler	Aspirant
Traitor	Partial	Cheat	Friendly	Flatterer	Aspirant	

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Formal	Jealous	Bribe-taker	Opportunist	Industrious	Partial	
Partial	Inefficient	Patient	Partial	Swindler	Idle	
Swindler	Swindler	Partial	Selfish	Cultured	Greedy	
Bribe-taker	Idle	Luxurious	Formal	Friendly	Bossing	
Cheat	Sentimental	Proud	Cheat	Luxurious	Proud	
Sentimental	Bribe-taker	Greedy	Showy	Idealistic	Mean	
	Rowdy	Swindler	Patient	Humanitarian		
	Proud	Rowdy	Humanitarian	Apathetic		
	Cheat	Jealous	Impartial	Peace-loving		
	Formal	Useful	Industrious	Egoistic		
		Humanitarian	Luxurious	Cheat		
			Swindler	Showy		
			Calm			
			Idle			

APPENDIX (A) (8)

TRAIT NAMES SELECTED BY 20 PER CENT OR MORE OF THE SUBJECTS IN ORDER OF PREFERENCE

BUSINESSMAN

<i>School teachers</i>	<i>College teachers</i>	<i>Service holders</i>	<i>Rural H. E. school final year students</i>	<i>Urban H. E. school final year students</i>	<i>Male college students</i>	<i>Female college students</i>
<i>N = 50</i>	<i>N = 50</i>	<i>N = 100</i>	<i>N = 50</i>	<i>N = 50</i>	<i>N = 255</i>	<i>N = 65</i>
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Cheat	Industrious	Cheat	Cheat	Greedy	Cheat	Cheat
Greedy	Greedy	Industrious	Greedy	Cheat	Greedy	Resourceful
Miserly	Flatterer	Greedy	Miserly	Miserly	Industrious	Greedy
Industrious	Cheat	Selfish	Industrious	Industrious	Resourceful	Selfish
Opportunist	Miserly	Miserly	Shabby	Flatterer	Flatterer	Industrious
Selfish	Crooked	Friendly	Selfish	Swindler	Selfish	Flatterer
Shabby	Opportunist	Opportunist	Crooked	Flatterer	Miserly	Mean
Friendly	Selfish	Crooked	Friendly	Selfish	Crooked	Miserly
Flatterer	Wirepuller	Flatterer	Aspirant	Opportunist	Aspirant	Unpolished
Mean	Shabby	Painstaking	Swindler	Rowdy	Dutiful	Crooked
Crooked	Mean	Wirepuller	Painstaking	Crooked	Mean	Aspirant
Swindler	Swindler	Swindler	Dutiful	Friendly	Painstaking	Swindler
Painstaking	Painstaking	Aspirant	Jealous	Mean	Swindler	Traitor
Wirepuller	Unpolished	Shabby	Mean	Idle	Traitor	
Unpolished	Dutiful	Mean	Wirepuller	Egoistic		

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Traitor	Jealous	Jealous	Flatterer	Bribe­taker		
Jealous	Traitor	Traitor	Opportun­ist	Jealous		
Formal	Friendly	Dutiful	Brave	Wirepuller		
Aspirant	Aspirant	Unpolished	Proud	Ungentle		
Dutiful	Formal		Patient	Shabby		
			Bribe­taker	Proud		
			Ungentle	Unpolished		
				Dutiful		
				Aspirant		
				Traitor		
				Patient		
				Efficient		
				Painstaking		
				Showy		
				Brave		

APPENDIX (A) (9)
 TRAIT NAMES SELECTED BY 20 PER CENT OR MORE OF THE SUBJECTS IN ORDER OF PREFERENCE
 POLICE OFFICER

<i>School teachers</i>	<i>College teachers</i>	<i>Service holders</i>	<i>Rural H. E. school final year students</i>	<i>Urban H. E. school final year students</i>	<i>Male college students</i>	<i>Female college students</i>
<i>N = 50</i>	<i>N = 50</i>	<i>N = 100</i>	<i>N = 50</i>	<i>N = 50</i>	<i>N = 255</i>	<i>N = 65</i>
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Brave	Rude	Cruel	Rowdy	Brave	Bribetaker	Brave
Rude	Power-loving	Brave	Bribetaker	Dutiful	Rude	Rude
Bribetaker	Cruel	Rude	Brave	Bribetaker	Brave	Dutiful
Power-loving	Bribetaker	Bribetaker	Proud	Rude	Cruel	Smart
Dutiful	Rowdy	Egoistic	Flatterer	Flatterer	Bossing	Rowdy
Smart	Smart	Power-loving	Aggressive	Rowdy	Dutiful	Bossing
Crooked	Aggressive	Smart	Crooked	Industrious	Snobbish	Industrious
Cruel	Unpublished	Aggressive	Useful	Useful	Egoistic	Aggressive
Proud	Brave	Industrious	Rude	Smart	Smart	Painstaking
Aggressive	Egoistic	Proud	Partial	Proud	Crooked	Bribetaker
Painstaking	Crooked	Dutiful	Cheat	Cheat	Power-loving	Snobbish
Egoistic	Dutiful	Crooked	Greedy	Painstaking	Rowdy	
Industrious	Proud	Rowdy	Selfish	Cruel	Unpolished	
Rowdy	Ungentle	Painstaking	Cruel	Power-loving	Proud	
Flatterer	Painstaking	Ungentle	Dutiful	Aggressive	Painstaking	

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Greedy	Industrious	Traitor	Aspirant	Swindler	Industrious	
Ungentle	Opportunist	Partial	Industrious	Sincere	Aggressive	
Opportunist	Flatterer	Greedy	Patient	Crooked		
Unpolished	Greedy	Useful	Painstaking	Traitor		
Selfish	Mean	Opportunist	Traitor	Greedy		
Aspirant	Selfish	Unpolished	Opportunist	Patient		
Cheat	Partial	Selfish	Swindler	Opportunist		
Traitor	Cheat	Aspirant	Diplomat	Selfish		
Showy	Traitor	Flatterer	Smart	Partial		
Wirepuller	Showy	Mean		Aspirant		
	Wirepuller	Patient		Idle		
		Sincere		Diplomat		
		Diplomat		Showy		
		Cheat		Formal		

APPENDIX (A) (10)
 TRAIT NAMES SELECTED BY 20 PER CENT OR MORE OF THE SUBJECTS IN ORDER OF PREFERENCE
 CLERK

<i>School teachers</i>	<i>College teachers</i>	<i>Service holders</i>	<i>Rural H. E. school final year students</i>	<i>Urban H. E. school final year students</i>	<i>Male college students</i>	<i>Female college students</i>
<i>N = 50</i>	<i>N = 50</i>	<i>N = 100</i>	<i>N = 50</i>	<i>N = 50</i>	<i>N = 255</i>	<i>N = 65</i>
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Flatterer	Idle	Flatterer	Bribe-taker	Innocent	Bribe-taker	Bribe-taker
Bribe-taker	Flatterer	Innocent	Flatterer	Flatterer	Flatterer	Flatterer
Idle	Bribe-taker	Idle	Greedy	Industrious	Idle	Idle
Innocent	Unpolished	Industrious	Selfish	Dutiful	Discontent	Dutiful
Painstaking	Mean	Bribe-taker	Cheat	Bribe-taker	Inefficient	Discontent
Selfish	Jealous	Easily satisfied	Idle	Faithful	Industrious	Industrious
Industrious	Innocent	Dutiful	Swindler	Sincere	Unpolished	Unpolished
Dutiful	Apathetic	Jealous	Industrious	Shabby	Dutiful	
Greedy	Inefficient	Painstaking	Easily satisfied	Painstaking		
Mean	Wirepuller	Selfish	Mean	Impartial		
Coward	Coward	Sincere	Miserly	Formal		
Opportunist	Painstaking	Apathetic	Egoistic	Idle		
Rude	Miserly	Opportunist	Crooked	Friendly		
Partial	Shabby	Mean	Opportunist	Greedy		
Egoistic	Egoistic		Aspirant	Opportunist		

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Apathetic	Industrious	Wirepuller	Formal	Proud		
Crooked	Easily	Peace-loving	Innocent	Egoistic		
Jealous	satisfied	Patient	Proud	Apathetic		
Easily satisfied	Opportunist	Faithful	Traitor	Useful		
Wirepuller	Greedy	Miserly	Dutiful	Selfish		
	Selfish	Friendly	Painstaking	Miserly		
		Greedy		Mean		
		Formal		Aspirant		
		Calm		Cheat		
		Aspirant		Swindler		
		Shabby				
		Useful				
		Crooked				

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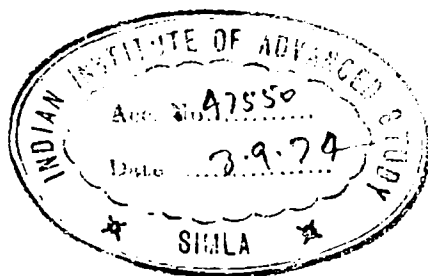
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ABOUT THE BOOK

ANALYSING the various problems of psycho-social change in the modern Indian context, this book has very forcefully brought out many pathological characteristics of leadership and other social aberrations which create all-round conflicts and tensions in the country. The leadership having deep roots in traditionalism would like to maintain the status quo. So, according to the author, they are unfit to bring about drastic changes leading to modernization.

The authoritarian father seems to abhor democratic permissibility at home and he does not change his attitudes when he comes to school as a teacher. Hence a great social tension ensues due to this deep generation gap.

The author has made various studies to demonstrate the fact that existing surrounding field forces of the low caste people determine their mental and personality make-up. So in order to change their social behaviour and the total syndrome of beliefs and attitudes the psycho-social conditions must be changed first. He has found out that the low caste people themselves do not wish to change and do not want higher education for their children. So nobody else can bring about such changes in them merely by external means.

Dr Rath's research findings about the personality factors of the caste groups, the generation gap between the fathers and their college-going sons and daughters, and the self-image of the various low caste groups are very informative and useful in the present context of social change. The politicians and social reformers will no doubt get an insight of their own personality if they care to go through this stimulating and thought-provoking book.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Dr Radhanath Rath (b. 1920), Professor and Head of the Department of Psychology, Utkal University, after obtaining his PH.D. Degree in Psychology from the London University in 1948, organized the Under-Graduate and Post-Graduate Departments of Psychology in the State of Orissa. He has published a large number of papers in the various National and International journals and directed many national and multidisciplinary research projects and summer courses. He has published nine books in the Oriya language on various psycho-social issues. One of his books dealing with socio-cultural affairs of the Soviet Union won for him the Nehru Award. He is a writer of popular articles in various regional and national newspapers and edited very successfully a monthly magazine dealing with popular sciences, national and international affairs, art and literature.

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