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Interpersonal Attraction as a Function of Belief Similarity and Caste

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INTERPERSONAL ATTRACTION $_{3\partial 9}$

AS A FUNCTION OF BELIEF SIMILARITY AND CASTE

by

Pramod Raikar

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PREFACE

My interests in social psychology have led me to study
intergroup relationships, and especially attitudes, preju-
dice and discrimination. Certainly, one can understand that
prejudice need not be thought of as a negative concept of an
"attitude against," but also as an "attitude in favor of"
some person or group. In this context, my interest in exam-
ining intergroup relationships is an effort to emphasize the
positive aspects of prejudice reduction. I have made the
study of the dynamics of prejudice reduction my primary
goal. With this in view, I planned to study attraction and
basic openness of three caste groups to one another in and
around Poona, India.

The caste system is foreign to the American way of life,
and hence this brief preface is not only to introduce my
American friends to the background and development of the
caste system, but also to put this study in the proper per-
spective. To the Indian cultural context, the caste system
is as traditional as motherhood and apple pie is to America.
The caste system is part and parcel of our way of life and
without understanding it, one could not claim to have had an

inkling of what it means to be an Indian. First, the

primary reason for doing this dissertation is to go back to

my roots, my cultural heritage, in an attempt to unravel the

dynamics at work within the caste system, which for centur-

ies has held sway among the naive and simple-minded people

in a predominantly agrarian society. To be an Indian and

have only superfical and hearsay information about the caste

system would be tantamount to an American being unlettered

in the development and history of the democratic principles

on which his country is founded. Second, this study will

attempt to examine attraction and openness to social inter-

actions as they touch upon the caste system, and to do this

in a systematic way, with all the tools that have been made

available to the modern social researcher.

The word "caste" comes from the Portuguese _casta_ which

means race, breed or type (Kolenda, 1978). Thus, any group

of people who claim a common ancestral heritage could be

called a caste. In a way, the different ethnic groups in

the U.S.A. are a relatively simple parallel to the caste

system. However, the caste system unlike ethnicity, is

anchored in a specific religious tradition. In India, the

caste system has been the bastion of Hindu religion (Tarka-

teertha Laxmanshastri Joshi, 1978). Woven into religious

ritual, it has forged a hierarchical structure determined by

religious scriptures and traditions held sacred by the Hin-

dus. The religious basis of this hierarchical structure
permeates the social and economic aspects of Indian life
making it impossible to ignore ramifications of the caste
system in one's day to day life.

India has been the cradle of Hinduism, a great religious
tradition which has taken root and blossomed on its fertile
soil. Hinduism with its diverse philosophies and practices
has been one of the major forces with which other religions,
whether they be indigenous like Buddhism and Jainism, or
foreign like Islam and Christianity, have had to contend.
For the present, our interest lies in Hinduism, which has
cradled and nourished the caste system, in its hierarchical
structure of the high and the low, the in and the out. The
caste system as we know it today is the product of the
religious heritage of Hinduism, with tremendous social and
economic implications for the quality of life in India.

The caste system in its pristine form consisted of four
Varnas (colored groups) which gradually stratified into the
four caste groups (Ghurye, 1957): Brahmins, Kshatriyas,
Vaishayas, and Shudras. The first three groups, which often
vied for power and status, were probably descendents of con-
quering peoples, while the last group, often called Dasyas
or Dasyus, was the enslaved one or had the status of ser-
vants thrust on it (Betielle, 1969). The Brahmins, the

priestly class, occupied a supreme rank with respect to the whole set of castes, and maintained a monopoly over the right to study and interpret the sacred scriptures. Thus, the Brahmins not only were the priestly class, who were constantly needed for the furtherance of the religious rituals that encompassed Hindu life from birth to death, but they were also the only class well-versed in the scriptural traditions of their religion. Learning was a monopoly, to which other caste groups could aspire only with difficulty. The Kshatriyas came second in the caste hierarchy, and were a warrior group whose primary duty was to protect the citizens, but for the most part formed the bulk of the fighting forces who protected the rights and privileges of kings and local chieftains. Often enough, the leaders in this caste were themselves the kings and rulers. The third in this hierarchy were the Vaishyas, who although not highly respected, were basically businessmen, looking after the trade and commerce in an otherwise agrarian economy. The last in this hierarchy were the Shudras, whose task was to serve the superior castes and do the chores which were below the dignity of the higher castes.

One must remember that, although there were only four Varnas, there were many castes and sub-castes which sprang up as a result of inter-marriage between these four groups. There were also the "untouchables" who were ostracized from

this caste hierarchy and relegated to a state of being "out-castes." Any caste person who did not live up to his _Jati-dharma_ (caste-duty) could be ex-communicated from his position in the caste hiearchy. This state of being an outcaste was equivalent to being "beyond redemption." These groups of outcastes were lower than the lowest in the caste hierarchy, and had to do the dirty menial tasks (Leach, 1969). They were to live outside the village boundary, and always do any task the higher castes would impose upon them.

Religious Background

For the religiously orthodox, the caste system was a way of distinguishing who was close to salvation and who was not. The higher one's caste status, the closer one was in his ability to pursue his salvific goal - one of complete identity with the _Paramatman_ (Supreme Being). The Brahmins, Kshatriyas and the Vaishyas are the _Dvija_ (twice-born) and have an exclusive right to study the _Vedas_. No Shudras may study the _Vedas_, although he may read the elementary works like the _Puranas_ and the _Tantras_. A _Dvija_ is a person who is reborn as a result of the _Upanayan_ (thread) ceremony. A Shudra cannot take part in such a ceremony and hence cannot be reborn. Revankar (1971) refering to a text from the _Manu Samhita_ (III, 151, VIII, 1.2) points to the traditional belief that when God created the castes he made the Brahmins

from his head, the Kshatriyas from his arms, the Vaishyas from his thighs, and the Shudras from his feet. The high and the low in the caste hierarchy is the natural consequence of the inherent distinction between the castes since God created them from different parts of his body.

The innumerable castes and sub-castes within the fold of Hindu religion are not divided merely into these four groups. Any mixture of these four groups or of the already formed sub-castes leads to the formation of new sub-castes. Inter-marriage with persons outside one's caste lowered the high caste person's position in the caste hierarchy. Marrying outside one's caste group was sufficient reason to ostracize one from the caste group and force one to accept a lower caste. Thus, lowering of caste in this life was punitive action taken by society against those who did not abide by the norms and practices that maintained the "status quo." A caste was normally determined by birth, and neither wealth nor poverty, success nor disaster would help to change one's caste, unless the standards of behavior laid down by the caste system had been violated (Hutton, 1963). One could, of course, hope that by the scrupulous observance of the religious practices of one's caste, one would be reborn into a higher caste. One had to live a good life in order to secure a desirable existence in the next birth. No one whose Karma (collection of merits and demerits) was bad

could hope to be re-born in a higher caste (Basham, 1966).

The hierarchical division of the castes is also founded on a philosophical tradition of the Guna (quality) theory, which provided the basis for the idea and practice of ritual pollution. All reality (including living beings), is composed of a combination of three qualities: The Satvic, which generates goodness and inspires virtue; the Rajasic, which produces egoism, selfishness etc.; and the Tamasic, which engenders all sorts of base and evil behavior (Revankar, 1971). The higher castes considered themselves as possessing mainly Satvic qualities; the lower castes possessed mostly Tamasic qualities; and the middle castes more of the Rajasic. Thus, though every caste possessed all the qualities, the higher castes possessed more of the Satvic, and the lower castes possessed more of the Tamasic. This philosophical tradition provided the basis for discriminatory religious and social practices, which helped to perpetuate the hierarchical structure, not only keeping the Brahmins at the top, but also preventing the lower castes and outcastes from changing their caste.

Social Implications

The religious traditions encouraged and maintained a separation of communities which was a logical consequence of the hierarchical structure and the Guna theory: the purity

of the higher castes would get contaminated by any mixing
with the lower castes. If one had to maintain one's posi-
tion in the caste hierarchy, one could not be negligent
about what one ate, where one went, and with whom one asso-
ciated. Social interactions transmitted degrees of pollu-
tion: most serious were transfering of boiled food, touch-
ing a water vessel, coming into the cooking area, or
touching one's earthenware vessel; least serious were trans-
fering of dry food, and touching one's children (Kolenda,
1978). The seriousness of contamination varied depending on
the caste of the contaminator. A person belonging to a
higher level in the caste hierarchy was, of course, less
polluting than one who was an outcaste. Thus, it came to be
that the outcastes were "Untouchables." Any contamination
by the outcastes required a Shuddhikaran (purification).
Exclusiveness in matters of marriage became the prerogative
of the upper castes.

The consequences of this selective association wrought
havoc on the untouchables. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar, a leader
and pioneer in the untouchables' struggle for respectability
and acceptance, in a scathing critique of the caste system
called it a a veritable chamber of horrors (Lynch, 1969):

> The sanctity and infallibility of the Vedas, Smritis and
> the Shastras, the iron law of caste, the heartless Karma
> and the senseless law of status by birth are to the
> Untouchable veritable instruments of torture which Hin-
> duism has forged against the Untouchables (p. 133).

This remark was made in 1946 in a speech expressing his strong opposition to Gandhism, which pleaded for a tolerant acceptance of the caste system without its logical consequence of untouchability.

Not all scholars will agree that the iron law of the caste system was as rigid as it is made out to be. Srinivas (1956) for instance, holds that there always was a process of sanskritization at work, by which a lower Hindu caste raises itself by changing its customs, ritual ideology and way of life in the direction of a higher, frequently, Dvija caste. This was only possible when a whole caste group became politically and economically powerful to exert pressure on the rest of society to make itself more reputable and acceptable. It often took two or more generations before such a claim to a higher position would be accepted by other caste groups. However, by and large, such changes were the exception rather than the rule.

Economic Implications

From the economic point of view, the caste system has prevented mobility. The upper castes maintained their monopoly over the different professions and prevented the lower castes from moving up higher by making these occupations hereditary. The dirty work had to be done only by certain groups in perpetuity. The Brahmins with all their

training in the religious traditions provided for the cultic
and ritual aspects, the Kshatriyas supported them in return
for their offical sanctioning and acceptance of their poli-
tical sovereignty. The Vaishyas by their trading and the
Shudras by their work as laborers, "kept their place" in
society, pleasing both their priests and rulers, assuring
themselves of their spiritual and their material well-being.

In ancient India there were a variety of occupations but,
intially, these had no stigmas attached to them. However,
they did anticipate specializations and division of labor
that ultimately led to the formation of the caste system.
As tribal society started to settle down and develop into a
regular agrarian economy, the need to enforce discipline and
order among various people of different occupations hardened
the social relationships among different groups. Thus,
occupations became hereditary and the caste system in its
embryonic stage began to take shape. De jure, the Brahmins
became the highest caste, but de facto, the Kshatriyas
wielded more political power. The Brahmins supported those
in power in return for status, patronage, and sustenance.
The distinctions between the Vaishyas and the Shudras were
not always very clear. The status of the Vaishyas fluctu-
ated, and from time to time many rich Shudras took their
place as traders and merchants. The other castes outside
these four classical groups also proliferated due to the

assimilation of new tribes and the creation of new occupations in an expanding economy.

The growth of castes and sub-castes, which today number many thousands, had gradually made change in occupational status increasingly difficult. The occupation-bound castes may be likened to guilds of Europe with added restrictions on commensality and endogamy. Each caste group provided goods and services which they and they alone could best provide. O'Malley (1932), quoting Meredith Townsend, writes:

> I firmly believe caste to be a marvellous discovery, a form of socialism, which through the ages protected Hindu society fron anarchy and from the worst evils of industrial and competitive life - it is an automatic poor-law to begin with and the strongest form of trade union (pp. vii-viii).

Thus, the caste system did have some redeeming features in that it provided a framework within which the social and economic interactions were regulated for the good of society. Most impartial observers, however, will disagree that the caste systen provided this framework for economic interactions which redounded to the "good of society." According to them, that "good of society" was only the good of the upper castes, and for many, many simple folk it spelled a lifetime of hard labor only to be terminated by the peace of the grave (Leach, 1969). The caste system was a gigantic mechanism for cold-blooded repression from which the lower castes had no respite or hope of termination.

Conclusion

During the latter part of the 19th century, Hindu reform-
ers denounced the caste system from both political and
social points of view. The caste system obstructed the
growth of nationalism, because the British skillfully used
it to strengthen their grip on India through a policy of
divide and rule. It also prevented any concerted political
action, because caste feelings were strongly tied to reli-
gious traditions which could not easily be shaken. From the
social point of view, it perpetuated an hierarchy with its
intrinsic denial of the rights of every man and woman to
liberty and the pursuit of happiness. The new reformist
movement fostered a spirit of service especially among the
educated, who challenged the traditions of their ancestors,
and did not hesitate to do things which formerly would have
been regarded with horror. Refering to one of the bastions
of orthodoxy, Poona, where priests and pundits frequently
excommunicated men who had been to England, or had married
widows, or drunk tea with Englishmen, Ketkar (1911) writes
that the "excommunication by the assemblies of priests and
pundits has become a joke," because no one takes notice of
their _fiat_ outside their own circle.

However, one must make a distinction between the city and
the villages. The village community, although exposed to

many modern ideas, has not been modernized like the cities.
In rural India, where over 80% of the people still live and
work, the situation has not changed very much. To the vast
majority of people, the village is their world, and village
opinion is far from liberal. In social matters, women would
hold on to old ways and cherish family honor, which depends
on adherence to the caste system. Quite a few of the men
folk go to the cities in search of jobs, and there they
throw off the restraints which rural life imposes on them
(Singer, 1972). Hence, in the big industrial cities like
Bombay and Calcutta, one finds a steady erosion of caste
values. The lower castes are steadily endeavoring to
enhance their social prestige by abandoning their own cus-
toms and adopting those of the higher castes. This process
of sanskritization is too slow to bring about any dramatic
changes (Srinivas, 1956). If the caste system is to com-
pletely disappear, a substantial shift in population from
the rural to the city might have to take place.

Before I end this preface, I would like to make two con-
cluding comments. First, although this presentation of the
caste system seems to imply that the religious traditions
were prior to the social and economic implications of the
caste system, the actual chronological ordering was probably
exactly the opposite. It seems much more realistic to hold
that the social and economic exigencies brought about the

hierarchical structure, which was later sanctioned and
rationalized by Hindu priests and pundits. Second, it must
be stated that, in the attempt to clarify and explain the
complexity of the caste system, this presentation suffers
from the common error of over-simplification. I do not
expect this to be a detailed treatise on the caste system,
and hence, I would have to be satisfied with this brief, but
hopefully adequate, presentation.

VITA

The author, Pramod Raikar, is the son of Paul Piedade
Viegas and Emma (Faria) Viegas. He was born April 7, 1946,
in Sholapur, India.

His elementary and secondary education was obtained at
Saint Joseph's High School, Sholapur, where he graduated in
June 1963.

In 1965-66, he completed a year in Humanities at the Jes-
uit Training College in Bombay. In 1966, he entered Jnana
Deepa University, Poona, and received the Baccalaureate in
Philosophy in June 1968.

He also received his Licentiate in Philosophy at Jnana
Deepa University in 1969. In June 1969, he entered Karna-
taka University, Dharwar, and received the degree of Master
of Arts in Marathi (local vernacular) in May 1971. In June
1973, he started his theological studies and completed his
Baccalaureate in Theology from Jnana Deepa University in May
1976. In September 1977, he was granted a research assis-
tantship and was admitted to the doctoral program in Psy-
chology at Loyola University of Chicago. In May 1981, he
received the degree of Master of Arts in Psychology.

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INTRODUCTION

The most consequential attitudes are those defining how individuals and groups relate to one another. Whether we are aware of it or not, the past history among us or between us intrudes into the give and take of the moment through our attitudes. The "we" and "they" distinction is basic to our way of thinking (Tajfel, 1967): the "we-ness" gives us a sense of belonging, a feeling that we are wanted and liked; and the "they-ness" separates us from others. The basis for this sense of belonging or liking could be almost anything: same sex, race, language, place of residence, common culture, beliefs or ideology. It makes a great deal of difference whether other persons are described as "my kind of people" or "that other kind of people" (Sherif and Sherif, 1969). Interpersonal relations between those who belong to the "we" group are often close and intimate: there is positive fellow feeling and acceptance. The opposite is true between persons who do not belong to the "we" group: one finds negative attitudes and often rejection.

In India, as in any part of the world, people have been divided and subdivided into smaller and smaller groups.

Based on religion, ethnicity, class or caste barriers, these
divisions have made it difficult for the country to function
effectively as one unit. Moreover, when these divisions
emphasize a hierarchical structure - with some groups claim-
ing superiority and higher status - then it strikes at the
very roots of all democratic nation-building processes. The
caste system as it is found in India, does exactly this: it
pigeon-holes people into high and low, great and small.

The traditional understanding of Hindu religion (Tarka-
teertha Laxmanshastri Joshi, 1978) and even the erroneous
interpretation of their scriptural texts (D'Sa, 1980) have
supported and stratified functional groups into the rigid
hierarchical caste groups. Regardless of the history of the
caste system, India can make progress in its democratic
ideals only if the equality of all is accepted both in prin-
ciple and practice. De jure the Indian constitution assures
equal status to all its citizens: no one can claim to be
better or greater, and all are equal before the law. But de
facto, the vested interests of those in power make it diffi-
cult to make this assurance a reality. The spectre of reli-
gious and caste rivalries often raises its ugly head to
destroy efforts at making democracy truly functional. Indi-
ans need to feel that they belong to the same "we" group in
spite of our diverse religious and ethnic heritage. Since
the Hindus form the largest single religious group (82% of

the total population), the hierarchical caste system, which has flourished within Hinduism, is an important factor to be closely studied in the search for a more egalitarian India.

In the search for commonalities, which make for a better society, in which the sense of belonging, liking and acceptance flourish, emphasis on common attitudes/beliefs and group membership seems to be specially important. In India, with all it diversity, efforts must be made to increase common attitudes/beliefs and make people more aware of their common nationality (Hunt and Walker, 1974). The vastness of the Indian sub-continent is a barrier to giving everyone a common group identity, primarily because past history and religious tradition have kept small groups separated from one another. Rather than merely look at what separates and keeps apart, this study will mainly examine some of the factors that attract and unify. Hence, it will explore what leads to attraction, and also look at some of the barriers that keep people apart.

Literature Review

This dissertation is concerned with some of the roots of caste prejudice in India. Prejudice literally means to "pre-judge" a person on the basis of minimal information, i.e., knowledge of the caste to which the target of prejudice belongs. As such, prejudice can be either positive or

negative, that is, liking or disliking a person. In the
vocabulary of social psychologists, prejudice can be refer-
red to as the direction and degree of attraction toward a
target, a topic that has been studied rather extensively by
Byrne and his colleagues.

Similarity is one of the important factors which has been
repeatedly researched in an effort to find out what kind of
similarities lead to attraction. Considerable research has
been done to investigate the relationship between belief
similarity and interpersonal attraction. The procedure uti-
lized consisted of presenting a subject with beliefs of a
stranger, such that, attitude similarity was manipulated by
either increasing or decreasing the number of agreements
between the two. First, Byrne (1961) found the mean attrac-
tion response to the similar attitude group significantly
higher than the mean attraction response to the dissimilar
attitude group. Later, Byrne (1962) found support for a
linear relationship between the two variables, such that the
level of attraction toward a stimulus person with a set of
attitudes could be predicted if the subject's own response
to these attitude items were known. Still later, the stimu-
lus was identified as a person with a specific proportion of
similar attitudes and attraction was measured by the Byrne
Interpersonal Judgment Scale (IJS). Byrne (1961) developed
the IJS, the last items of which ("Do you feel that you

would probably like this person?" and "Would you like to
work with this person on the same job?") were found to be a
reliable measure of attraction toward a stranger. This
measure of attraction, which yielded a split-half reliabil-
ity of .85 (Byrne and Nelson, 1965), has been widely used by
Byrne and his colleagues. The Byrne and Nelson (1965) study
was used as the basis for stating the relationship between
attitudinal similarity-dissimilarity and attraction as:
"Attraction toward a stranger is a positive linear function
of the proportion of similar attitudes." This "empirical
law" was found to hold its ground using a variety of stimu-
lus modes (Byrne and Clore, 1966; McWhirter and Jecker,
1967) and among different types of subjects (Krauss, 1966;
Byrne and Griffitt, 1966; Byrne, Young, and Griffitt, 1966).
Several other studies support this relationship (Byrne, Nel-
son and Reeves, 1965; Clore and Baldridge, 1968; Byrne,
1971; Griffitt, 1971; Batchelor and Tesser, 1971).

This well-documented relationship - often called the
"Law of Attraction" - is said to begin with a drive to
interact with the environment. When faced with an ambiguous
situation or issue, individuals will look to others for con-
firmation of their opinions (Byrne and Nelson, 1965, Fes-
tinger, 1954). As Byrne, et al. (1966) suggest, a consen-
sual validation of a person's attitudes, opinions and
beliefs is a major source of reward associated with the

drive to be logical, consistent and accurate in interpreting the stimulus world. Stimulus persons who provide proportionately greater rewards in the form of similar beliefs are liked more. Thus, it has been quite consistently established that similar beliefs do indeed help in increasing attraction toward a stranger due to the fact that a stranger with similar beliefs is a source of reward.

Several studies have gone beyond the "Law of Attraction," and have coupled belief similarity with group membership to determine their relative influence on attraction. Byrne and Wong (1962), for instance, compared race with belief similarity to learn which had the greater impact on attraction, and found that belief similarity dominated. This was consistent with Newcomb (1956), who had earlier found that similarity of attitudes accounted for more variance than any other single factor. Rokeach, Smith and Evans (1960), reported results that led to the same conclusion as Newcomb. Basically the prejudiced person does not reject a person of another race, religion or nationality because of his ethnic membership per se but rather because he perceives the other as being different from himself in important beliefs and values. Thus, low ratings of attraction toward another race may be due to the assumption that one's beliefs will be different from those of members belonging to this race (Stein, Hardyck and Smith, 1965).

Triandis and Davis (1965), however, found that race did have an impact on attraction, when behaviors used to measure attraction were more demanding in terms of intimacy than those employed by Byrne. Byrne (1961) had utilized liking and working with a stimulus person as an operational definition of attraction. Triandis (1964) included acceptance into the neighborhood, acceptance as a close kin in marriage, and acceptance for dating as typical intimate behaviors. Although the behaviors utilized by both are along a common dimension of friendship and openness, the two items used by Byrne are not as intimate or close to home as the behaviors used by Triandis. One could like someone in general, but that one would also want to develop and maintain a close intimate friendship with everybody one likes is not necessary implied in the idea of liking. Norms of behavior are more clearly specified in the direction of rejecting persons who are racially different when it comes to intimate behaviors.

Triandis and Davis (1965) and Insko and Robinson (1967), in a series of cross-cultural replications, found belief similarity to be the significant determinant of attraction in North India, Mexico and Japan. Triandis and Davis (1965) found occupation in Germany, and race and occupation in Japan to be significant determinants of attraction. Bergeron and Zanna (1973) found that group membership accounted

for a significant amount of the variance in interpersonal attraction in Peru. Bergeron and Zanna also found strong group norms in their study. Banfield (1958) and Pye (1968) explain how families and social groups in pre-industrial societies have explicit norms that are very well definded across attitudes and behaviors. All behaviors take place in a web of social relations in which expectations are clearly stated so as to serve as reliable guides (Simon, 1965). Many of the above studies which compared belief similarity and group memberships did not yield consistent results about the strength of one over the other. Hence, one conclusion that can be drawn from studies done in the past is that both belief and race affect attraction and that the abstract question of the relative power of the two variables is contingent on the way attraction is operationalized or the situational differences specific to each study.

Despite the extensive research on belief and group membership similarity using the Byrne paradigm, no study examining belief and caste similarity effects on attraction has been done in India. While most studies have examined "race" as a valid operationalization of group membership, in India, "caste" membership seems to be the logical choice. Although race and caste may be somewhat analogous (Berraman, 1960), the effect of caste on attraction may not be the same as that of race. The specific and different situational con-

texts must be taken into account. As Byrne (1966) himself
pointed out:

> It seems that the relative influence of belief and race
> is a function of the specific operations used in defin-
> ing race and belief, and the specific way in which the
> dependent variable is measured, and the specific popula-
> tion from which the subjects are drawn (p. 65).

The caste system with its long and rigid history has a
completely different context than race, because it is not
only embedded in a very strong religious tradition, but also
subscribes to an inherent inequality among the various
castes. Hence, the exploration of caste together with
belief similarity is all the more exciting. Moreover, it
also affords new avenues to explore the existence of caste
prejudice, its strength and factors associated with it.

As suggested above, the Byrne IJS is not the only way in
which attraction has been measured. Attraction or liking
has also been examined in terms of willingness to engage in
a variety of behaviors with other racial or ethnic groups.
Park (1924) found that status and role expectation influ-
enced the kind of behaviors engaged in by persons of differ-
ent ethnic groups. Bogardus (1925) developed a scale of
seven behaviors ranging from the most intimate to the very
public to examine the social distance that various ethnic
groups maintain between themselves. Mahar (1958) also exam-
ined similar social distance behaviors among different caste
groups, assuming that they maintained these distances on

religious grounds. Vaughan (1962) studied social distance attitudes of New Zealand students towards Maoris and 15 other national groups. Triandis and Triandis (1960, 1962) studied social distance between Greek and American students in a study which was later extended by Triandis, Davis and Takezawa (1965) to German and Japanese students as well. They concluded that subjects would or would not undertake particular behaviors owing to insecurity they felt toward others not like themselves. In another study, Triandis (1964) utilized items similar to the Bogardus Social Distance Scale and added several other behaviors ranging from formal social acceptance to close intimate friendship and marriage to demonstrate the multi-dimentiality of social distance measures. Stein, et al. (1965) examined several other behaviors that would be applicable within a school context. Sherif (1966) in his robbers cave study found the type of behaviors engaged in by young campers was a function of their group membership and the group membership of the stimulus person. The above studies basically point to: (a) a continuum of behaviors ranging from the very public and formal to the private and intimate, and (b) that group membership is a critical factor in the type of behaviors one is willing to engage in with some stimulus person.

In summary, the literature reviewed here shows that the degree of liking or disliking depends on many factors, par-

ticularly similarity of beliefs and group membership, and
that this degree of attraction is manifested differently
according to the way it is measured in terms of some dimen-
sion of distance/intimacy. The following section explains
how these conclusions pertain to the present study on
attraction in the Indian context.

Main Goals of the Study

This study was aimed at examining the effects of belief
and caste similarity on interpersonal attraction. Attrac-
tion was operationalized both by the Byrne IJS and by social
distance (SD) ratings, and studied in the Indian context by
using the Byrne paradigm. Thus this study was carried out
by asking subjects of various castes to indicate their
degree of attraction toward a stranger described to them as
belonging to a certain caste and holding certain beliefs.
Since some belief dimensions are relevant to caste, they are
likely to be confounded with the caste of the subjects par-
ticipating in the study. Therefore, the belief factor was
broken down into two sub-factors: beliefs relevant to caste
and more general beliefs, each taking on two different lev-
els. This was intended to help the experimenter to look at
the relative effects of both kinds of belief similarity.

Subjects in this study belonged to one of three castes as
did the stranger whom they judged. The inclusion of the

three castes chosen for this study was considered necessary because, besides looking at one of the highest castes (Brahmins) and one of the lowest castes (Mahars), the inclusion of a fairly numerous and politically powerful caste (Marathas) would make the study more interesting. The Brahmins are the highest of the three castes in social status and belong to the priestly class. They have dominated the field of learning for several centuries. The Marathas are also a relatively high caste, but lower than the Brahmins in their hierarchical status. They have been the warrior class and presently dominate the political scene. The Mahars, who had been ostracized from the caste system, are the "outcastes" and currently hold the lowest status of the three castes. Moreover, each of these three castes are found in relatively high numbers (10%, 50%, and 8%, respectively) in and around Poona, India, which has been one of the strongholds of the Hindu casteist tradition (Ketkar, 1911).

Another goal was to examine the city-rural differences with regard to interpersonal attraction and social distance ratings. The inclusion of the city and rural groups was considered important because the rural Sitz im Leben, as opposed to that of the city, not only has a very rigid caste structure which is not easily open to outside influences (Srinivas, 1962), but also tends to keep its people more prejudiced than the urban (Simon, 1965). The impact of edu-

cation, science, industry, mechanization and mass media have
not made any noticeable in-roads into the caste system in
the rural areas. Both Srinivas and Simon, in speaking about
rural environments, have emphasized the strong ingroup-out-
group mentality, close kinship ties, and the ways in which
these factors distort the ability of rural people to learn
about or associate with those outside their social group.
This ingroup mentality often excludes open dialogue with the
modern literate world and prevents people from taking any
steps toward a more egalitarian and democratic way of life.

The city-rural differences might be summarized by saying
that the former are more "modern" than the latter. Moder-
nity has been examined by several authors (Doob, 1967; Guth-
rie, 1970; Kahl, 1968; Smith and Inkeles, 1966), who have
developed scales to measure this phenomenon. These scales
have been tested in several developing countries: Doob's
scale in Africa, Guthrie's in the Philippines, Kahl's in
Brazil and Mexico, and Smith and Inkeles' in Argentina, Ban-
gladesh, Chile, India, Israel, and Nigeria.

The problems with developing a good modernity scale
revolve around how to understand modernity. According to
Amer and Schnaiberg (1978), Berry (1980), and Jones (1977),
tradition-modernity is not a unidimensional concept as
assumed by Smith and Inkeles (1966). Godwin (1974, 1976)
would like to include personality variables, assuming at the

same time, that there are multiple individual modernities.
Delacroix and Ragin (1978) would much prefer to include mod-
ernizing institutions and economic development of the people
in their idea of modernity, while Smith and Inkeles (1966)
would rather measure the individual's attitudes toward mod-
ernity. Of all these scales, the Overall Modernity Scale
(Smith and Inkeles, 1966; Inkeles and Smith 1974; Inkeles,
1977) is one of the simplest and has been abbreviated after
several tests in developing countries. More than the sim-
plicity and brevity, the advantage it has over other scales
is that it has been tested and validated in India (Inkeles,
1973; Inkeles, 1977; Smith and Inkeles, 1974). Hence, the
Overall Modernity Scale (OM-12) was selected to examine
city-rural differences in the present research.

Another way of approaching the problem of tradition and
modernity was to measure how much the subjects endorse and
support the caste system as an index of their adherence to
traditional values (Dumont, 1970; Simon, 1965; Srinivas,
1965). Since some caste-related beliefs included in this
study were indicators of the degree of accepting caste-en-
dorsing beliefs, this measure (called casteism) would also
be indicative of the extent to which participants were mod-
ernized. Casteism, founded on and maintained by the relig-
ious tradition of Hinduism, was expected to covary with
religious "orthodoxy." Hence, together with casteism, the

religious beliefs of the subjects were considered an important factor which would influence attraction. Therefore, a scale to measure the religious beliefs of the subjects was also included in the study. Since Delacroix and Ragin (1978) held economic development as one of the final goals of modernization, the socio-economic status of the persons was also measured as an indirect way of getting to know how modernized they were.

The three measures of modernity, casteism, and the socio-economic status of the subjects were used as covariates to tease out any variance which may be due to them. If after controlling for the effects of these covariates, one still found sizable effects of the main factors, i.e., belief similarity, caste of subject, caste of the stranger, and the city-rural dimension, then this would indicate the presence of strong cause-effect relationships between these factors and the measure of attraction. Unfortunately, the religious beliefs scale could not be included as a fourth covariate, since it was administered only after the interviewing for the study had already begun.

The Byrne IJS was utilized as one of the dependent measures, since two of the items from it have been widely used indicators of interpersonal attraction between individuals. In addition to the Byrne IJS, attraction was also studied in terms of willingness to enagage in various behaviors indica-

tive of openness to other caste groups. First, the Bogardus
Social Distance Scale was utilized because the behaviors
included in it were not only relevant to the caste system,
but also dealt with both public and intimate behaviors.
Moreover, Dumont (1970), Kolenda (1978) and Mahar (1958)
have consistently made references to the social distance
kept between various caste groups, and have suggested that
this is not due merely to social barriers, but rather due to
deep religious convictions. Traditional Hindu religion aims
at preventing the ritual pollution of its higher castes by
less "holy" matter (including of course, other caste
groups). Second, Mahar (1958) developed a thirteen item
pollution scale which was also used as an alternative way of
measuring social distance. This scale - especially prepared
by Mahar to study relationships in a caste-ridden North
India - combined with the Bogardus Social Distance Scale was
expected to provide a more thorough way to study interper-
sonal distance. Hence, the aims of this study were to exam-
ine how attraction, as measured by the Byrne IJS and the SD
ratings, was influenced by: (a) belief similarity (general
and caste-related belief similarity), (b) caste of the par-
ticipants and caste of the stranger (yielding similarity or
dissimilarity), and (c) the the city-rural dimension. The
effect of the above mentioned factors on attraction was
examined with and without the presence of the covariates of
modernity, casteism and socio-economic status. Given the

foregoing reviews of past findings, and the goals and vari-
ables involved in this study, the following hypotheses are
proposed.

Main Hypotheses

First, according to Byrne's "Law of Attraction," attrac-
tion as measured by the last two items of the Byrne's IJS is
a positive linear function of the proportion of beliefs pur-
portedly held by the stimulus person that are similar to
those of the subject. The several studies done by Byrne and
his colleagues, and several other authors, all show that
belief similarity influences attraction.

Second, caste similarity, like belief similarity, also
influences interpersonal attraction. Several studies have
shown group membership to be more important than belief sim-
ilarity, while other studies have shown belief similarity to
be more important. In keeping with the Byrne's findings
belief similarity is expected to exert a generally greater
influence on attraction than caste similarity.

Third, in the rural areas, however, caste similarity is
expected to have a greater impact on attraction than belief
similarity. This is because the rural context with its rel-
ative lack of exposure to modernization and modern ideas
will still be under the influence of traditional structures
and ways of thinking.

Fourth, caste similarity is expected to be more important for intimate behaviors than for public behaviors. The research done by Triandis and his colleagues lends ample support to this expectation. Hence, one will find a lower level of openness to members of "other" stimulus castes, especially on the question of intimate behaviors.

Fifth, in rural areas, caste belief similarity is expected to be more important than general belief similarity in influencing attraction and social distance (SD) ratings; but in urban areas, caste belief similarity and general belief similarity are expected to be equally important. This again ties in with the third hypothesis which predicted caste similarity to be more important than belief similarity. Here for the same reasons mentioned above, of the two kinds of beliefs one would expect caste belief similarity to be more important than general belief similarity in the rural areas. In the urban areas, however, rather than finding both to be equally important, one may find that caste belief similarity is more important for intimate behaviors, while general belief similarity is more important for public behaviors.

Sixth, the rural sample is expected to be more traditional in holding to the caste system and "orthodox" religious beliefs; it is also expected to be less modern and more prejudiced in terms of the SD ratings.

Related Goals and Hypothesis

Since this study deals primarily with factors influencing attraction and touches on different levels of prejudice, and consequently utilizes various measures of attitudes between the caste groups, it was considered convenient to examine some issues related to the principal goals of this study. Some of the related issues examined here were: (a) attitude-behavior consistency, (b) the contact theory of prejudice reduction, and (c) the nature of attributions consequent to "blameworthy" or "praiseworthy" behavior.

First, many studies point to a lack of consistency in the attitude-behavior relationship. Wicker's (1969, 1971) review of literature relating to attitude-behavior consistency found that attitudes are often only slightly related to overt behaviors. According to Wicker, little evidence was found to support the postulated existence of stable, underlying attitudes within the individual which influence both his verbal expressions and his actions. Kelman (1974) on the other hand, points out that there is evidence (mainly through survey studies) to demonstrate the existence of a strong relationship between attitudes and behavior. Thus, there is conflicting evidence for and against the existence of this relationship. According to Ajzen and Fishbein, (1977, 1980), there are many reasons for this lack of consistency in the findings. One important reason is the lack

of correspondence of attitudes with behavioral measurements. Studies have also dealt with different kinds of attitudes, overt behaviors, methodology and subjects. Hence, it is not quite reasonable to expect a consistent pattern in the attitude-behavior relationship from all these studies.

To examine the attitude-behavior relationship in the Indian context, self-report measures of actual contact (AC) were taken and correlated with interpersonal attraction and SD ratings. Thus, if the above researched attitude-behavior consistency were supported, one would expect the reported measure of AC to covary with the degree of interpersonal attraction and SD ratings.

Second, this study also investigated the conditions of self-reported AC to learn if these conditions covaried with self-reported AC and with interpersonal attraction. Amir (1969) in a review of the literature on the contact hypothesis, found that contact did help to reduce prejudice and increase acceptance, but only under certain conditions. However, these conditions such as superordinate goals (Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood and Sherif, 1961; Sherif, 1966), equal status (Mann, 1959; Yarrow, Campbell and Yarrow, 1958), proximity (Hamilton and Bishop, 1976; Segal, 1974; Wilner, Walkley and Cook, 1955) prolonged intimate acquaintance (Saenger, 1953), and positive feelings associated with outgroup contact (Clore, Bray, Itkin and Murphy,

1978) are not so easily found in real life situations.
These conditions are also very difficult to maintain over a
long period of time. Since this study dealt with caste
groups strongly imbued with an ingroup/outgroup mentality,
it was considered worthwhile to focus on both the degree of
contact and the conditions under which it actually took
place. This focus will also be useful in order to find ways
of establishing the optimum conditions for increasing accep-
tance among the various stimulus castes. Measures of self-
reported AC were taken to give the experimenter an indica-
tion of the degree of contact the subjects thought they
maintained with the stimulus caste. The subjects were also
presented with the different conditions of AC, and were
asked to recollect and report to what extent these condi-
tions were present in the situations where self-reported AC
occurred. In the context of this study, conditions of
reported AC are expected to covary with self-reported AC and
interpersonal attraction.

Finally, this study also explored the kind of attribu-
tions made by subjects regarding their attraction scores on
the SD ratings. Man, being the intuitive psychologist that
he is, likes to infer the causes of his behavior (Heider,
1958). Several new approaches have been developed (Jones
and Davis, 1965; Jones, Kanouse, Kelley, Nisbett, Valins and
Weiner, 1971; Jones and Nisbett, 1971; Kelley, 1967; and

Weiner, 1974), since Heider first brought attribution theory
to light. One such development deals with the nature of
attributions made by actors and observers (Jones and Nis-
bett, 1971). The latter have tried to show that actors' and
observers' perceptions lead them to divergent causes of
behavior:

> There is a pervasive tendency for actors to attribute
> the same actions to situational requirements, whereas
> observers tend to attribute the same actions to stable
> personal dispositions (p. 80).

This tendency stems from the actor's need to justify blame-
worthy action, or it may reflect the need to maintain self-
esteem. When the actor behaves in a socially desirable way
he takes credit for his "good" actions; and when he acts in
an undesirable way he tends to escape responsibility for his
"blameworthy" behavior by making situational attributions.
Actors normally defend their "ego" by attributing "failure"
(blameworthy behavior) to external situations, and boost
their "ego" by attributing "success" (praiseworthy behavior)
to their own internal traits (Jones and Davis, 1965; Kelley,
1967). Subjects who accept the hierarchical caste system
were expected to consider their behavior as socially undesi-
rable, and consequently "blameworthy." On the other hand,
those who rejected the caste system would consider their
actions as "praiseworthy," because it would imply their
acceptance of the equality of all, irrespective of caste
membership. Hence, it was predicted that those more open on

the SD ratings would make internal attributions about greater openness, while those who are less open would make external attributions about their lack of openness. The subjects' perceptions about the social desirability of their Byrne IJS and SD ratings were examined by asking them: (a) whether society would approve of their responses (social desirability), and (b) if an "average" person from their caste would feel threatened (normative threat) by the questions in this study (Bradburn, Sudman, Blair and Stocking, 1978). These questions were expected to help the experimenter identify what was considered socially desirable or undesirable by the subjects. This was utilized to analyse the attributions made by subjects. In addition, it was felt that some information about these attributions will be useful to attempt change in attitude or behavior.

In summary, this study will utilize the Byrne paradigm of presenting subjects with stimuli "low" or "high" in belief similarity, and either "same" or "other" group membership, and examine: (a) attraction as measured by the last two items of the Byrne IJS, and (b)the level of openness to various stimulus castes as measured by the Bogardus Social Distance Scale and the Mahar Ritual Pollution Scale. These dependent variables will be studied for the three caste groups: Brahmins, Marathas, and Mahars in both rural and urban settings.

CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

Overview

The main study consisted of having subjects from three
different castes (Brahmin, Maratha, and Mahar) fill out a
questionnaire. The first part of this questionnaire, pre-
pared from a pilot study, consisted of a belief scale with
two sets of beliefs: general beliefs and caste beliefs. On
the basis of their responses to this belief scale, a similar
scale purportedly filled out by another person was prepared
in such a way that the subject and the "hypothetical
stranger" were: (a) similar to each other on both sets of
beliefs, or (b) similar on general beliefs and dissimilar on
the caste beliefs, or (c) dissimilar on general beliefs and
similar on caste beliefs, or (d) dissimilar on both sets of
beliefs. This hypothetical stranger was described as a mem-
ber of one of the three subject castes, and thus was also
similar or dissimilar in that respect. After reviewing the
beliefs and caste of the hypothetical stranger, the subjects
rated their reactions to the stimulus to register their
degree of liking and willingness to interact with the hypo-
thetical person in a whole array of varied behaviors. This

Byrne paradigm was utilized to examine the influence of
belief (general and caste) similarity and caste similarity
in leading to interpersonal attraction for subjects from
both rural and urban areas. The rural and urban experiments
of this study each employed a 2x2x3x3 factorial design with
two levels of general belief similarity, two levels of caste
belief similarity, three levels of subject caste and three
levels of stimulus caste. Questions on other related
aspects responded to by the subjects were: (a) nature of
attributions, (b) normative threat, (c) self-reported actual
contact (AC), (d) conditions of self-reported AC (e) OM-12
(Overall Modernity Scale), and (f) manipulation checks.

Subjects

First, 199 volunteers were asked to fill out a pilot
study questionnaire (Appendix A), in order to obtain mean
ratings of controversiality and relevance to Indian context
of the belief statements to be utilized in the study. The
three subject castes included in this study had at least 30
subjects each from the rural and urban areas.

Second, 432 subjects were interviewed for the main study.
They were volunteers solicited through: (a) contacts of
personal friends or gate-keepers, and (b) special meetings
arranged for the explicit purpose of explaining this study.
Some doubts about the proper manipulations led to dropping

69 subjects, who were subsequently replaced. One-half of
the subjects were from the rural areas, while the other
one-half were from the city of Poona, India. Each subgroup
contained 72 subjects of either sex from each of the follow-
ing three castes: Brahmins, Marathas, and Mahars. All sub-
jects were asked to respond to a questionnaire (Appendix B)
using the interview method. The interview method was
selected because many of the subjects from the rural areas
were not able to read or write.

Finally, 702 subjects were asked to fill out a religious
beliefs scale, which was prepared from a content analysis of
responses to the pilot study questionnaire. These subjects
were also volunteers. Almost 90% of the 432 subjects uti-
lized in the principal study formed part of this sample.

Materials

Prescaling Questionnaire

First, from a careful review of the various opinion
scales in Robinson and Shaver (1973) and personal consulta-
tion with some experts in sociology, fifty belief statements
were selected (Appendix A, I A.), and translated into the
local vernacular (Marathi). These statements were to be
rated by the first group of 199 subjects for both their con-
troversiality and relevance to Indian society. They were
also asked to circle those belief statements which according

to them were relevant to caste (Appendix A, I B.). Second,
the Bogardus Social Distance Scale (Bogardus, 1925) was com-
bined with Mahar's Ritual Pollution Scale (Mahar, 1958) and
prescaled by the same set of 199 judges representing all the
three subject castes (Appendix A, II.). A new item about
"allowing a stimulus caste person to be one's boss" was
included in the scale for its topical applicability to the
Indian context. The mean ratings of the items were to serve
as weights for scoring the SD ratings filled out by the sub-
jects in the study. Thus, the questionnaire contained not
only the belief statements which were to be used in the
manipulation of belief similarity in the main study, but
also the Bogardus Social Distance Scale combined with the
Mahar Ritual Pollution Scale, the latter being shortened and
standardized for the Indian context. Last of all, the pres-
caling questionnaire contained a set of demographic ques-
tions combined with three open-ended questions about: (a)
Hindu religious beliefs, (b) reasons for the existence of
the caste system, and (c) reasons for doing away with the
caste system (Appendix A, III.). The responses to (a) were
content analysed to prepare the religious beliefs scale.

Final Questionnaire

The final questionnaire which was administered to 432
subjects, contained several different scales and subscales.
First, on the basis of the ratings given by the pilot study

subjects, twenty of the most controversial statements were chosen: ten relevant to caste, and ten of a more general nature (Appendix B, I.). This set of belief statements was utilized to obtain the subjects' own ratings, which were later used to manipulate belief similarity of the stimulus person. Second, some demographic questions relevant to the study were included (Appendix B, II.).

Third, the above set of beliefs were presented again with the necessary variations for each of the belief similarity and caste similarity conditions (Appendix B, III.). Then, the Byrne Interpersonal Judgment Scale (Byrne IJS) was utilized, since two of those items have been extensively used as a measure of interpersonal attraction (Appendix B, III A.). The next section of the questionnaire consisted of the combined SD scale (Bogardus, 1925; Mahar, 1958) which was modified according to the ratings of the pilot study subjects. After the prescaling, some of the items (items 7, 18, 19 and 20 from Appendix A, II.) from the combined SD scale were dropped, since they were either not relevant to the Indian context or were too repugnant from the point of view of personal hygiene. Furthermore, a small set of questions (Appendix B, III C.) was included to investigate the nature of the attributions made by the subjects for the type of choices they made in III A and III B of the questionnaire. Toward the end of this section, the subjects were

also presented with two questions (Appendix B, III D), which assessed: (a) the normative threat these questions posed to the average person of the subject's caste (Bradburn, et al., 1978), and (b) the social approval the subject's responses would get from his own caste group. The responses to these items were utilized to estimate the degree of bias due to social desirability. This was intended to assist not only in determining whether the person considered his responses "blameworthy" but also in relating them to the nature of attributions made by the subject.

The fourth part of the questionnaire was a seven-item scale to estimate the degree of actual contact the subject has had with a person of the stimulus caste (Appendix B, IV A). These items covered a few normal behaviors which one would expect to take place in rural or city settings. The likelihood of these behaviors in an urban setting was intended to be equal if not higher than in the rural. Together with this measure of Actual Contact (AC), some of the conditions under which these actual contacts took place were also explored (Appendix C, IV B).

Fifth, in order to examine whether the rural and urban populations are really different, the OM-12 (Inkeles, 1977; Smith and Inkeles, 1974), which is the abbreviated and modified form of the Overall Modernity Scale, was utilized (Appendix B, V.). Although not all authors agree as to its

value as a measure of modernization (Kahl, 1968; Jones,
1977), this scale even in its abbreviated form had been val-
idated across six developing countries. The OM-12 served as
a manipulation check to determine whether the urban and
rural groups were in fact different from one another, as
assumed for the purposes of this study.

Last of all, manipulation checks were included immedi-
ately after the SD ratings to find out if the subjects had
really noticed: (a) the degree of belief similarity along
the caste-relevant and the more general belief dimensions,
and (b) the caste of the stimulus person (Appendix B, VI.).
At the end of the questionnaire two items were included to
gauge the truthfulness and degree of fear or nervousness of
the subject. These questions were filled out by the inter-
viewer after the completion of each interview (See end of
Appendix B).

Religious Beliefs Scale

Based on question III 6 from the prescaling question-
naire, a content analysis was conducted, and the most fre-
quently mentioned ideas were put together to produce a
religious beliefs scale (Appendix C). If one were to ask
some experts in Hinduism, they would probably suggest
another set of beliefs which are vital to the religious
thought and practice of the Hindus. Although the beliefs

actually utilized in this scale may not form the core of Hindu religious beliefs according to the Priests and Pundits of Hinduism, they did come from the 702 subjects, among whom were about 90% of those who took part in the principal study, and therefore definitely represent their perceptions of Hindu beliefs. This scale was used to examine the subjects' religious "orthodoxy," and was used as an indicator of the traditional mentality prevalent in the city/rural area, or among the various subject groups.

Procedure

Pilot Study

The pilot study consisted of administering the prescaling questionnaire to a minumum of 30 subjects from each of the three caste groups, both in the urban and rural areas. The first task was to get the prescaling questionnaire translated into the vernacular Marathi. Three independent translations were made by three different Marathi scholars, and the simplest version of each item was used to make it comprehensible to the rural subjects. Translations of item 9 seemed ambiguous, hence two versions of that item were included in the pilot study. The questionnaire was professionally typed and mimeographed. Getting the prescaling questionnaire translated, mimeographed, and administered took about three months.

There were five different hired interviewers. They were carefully selected for their known honesty and hard work. Two of the five interviewers were unwilling to approach subjects from the Mahar caste, and so interviewed only Brahmins and Marathas. Two of the interviewers were graduate students from Poona University, and although reliable, were slow in getting the questionnaires filled out. The last interviewer was a school teacher from a rural area who was most effective in getting the prescaling questionnaire filled out by all three subject castes, because of the respect and acceptance he had as a teacher. They were orally instructed: (a) to keep to the format of the questionnaire, (b) to be polite yet persuasive, and (c) never to create opinions if none existed. The interviewers were paid 6 Rupees per completed questionnaire, and were asked to get volunteers belonging to each of the three subject castes from both urban and rural areas. Initially, the interviewers were free to get as many people as they could from each subject caste, but after a couple of weeks, they were directed to look for subjects of a specific caste either from the rural or urban area.

The question of paying the interviewees was discussed with several others, especially those involved in education and research. Almost everyone advised against it, for they felt that subjects should donate their time to a student who

is pursuing his educational objectives. Those involved in doing educational research were not in favor of setting a precedent by paying subjects and making it more difficult for other research scholars. Hence, no monies were paid to any of the interviewees.

After the pilot study questionnaires were collected, the means and standard deviations were calculated for both the degree of controversiality and the relevance to Indian context of each of the belief statements. Those belief statements judged to be caste relevant by the subjects were also noted. With this information, 20 of the most controversial beliefs were chosen: 10 relevant to caste, and 10 of a more general nature. Any belief similar to one which had already been chosen was replaced by the next most controversial belief. Similarly, when two beliefs were rated to be more or less equally controversial, the more relevant of the two was selected.

It was hoped that this prescaling would help to pin-point the cultural variation due to the local context in the Bogardus Social Distance Scale and the Mahar Ritual Pollution Scale. However, the items (except for marriage) were not rated significantly different from each other by the pilot judges of the three subject castes. Hence, the yes response was coded as 1, and the sum of the yeses on the various items was used as an indicator of "openness" to the

stimulus caste person. Thus, although the combined SD rat-
ings were collected, the means of these ratings were not
utilized in the analysis. The collection of this informa-
tion was useful in eliminating some of the items which were
either not relevant to the Indian context or were not
reponded to by the subjects for reasons of hygiene. The
items excluded after this stage were 7, 18, 19 and 20
(Appendix A, II.).

Unfortunately, the content analysis of the question
related to Hindu beliefs required more time than was ini-
tially expected, and hence, the final questionnaire was pre-
pared without the religious beliefs scale. This is why the
religious beliefs scale was administered after the inter-
viewing for the principal study had already begun.

Main Study

The main study consisted of administering the final ques-
tionnaire to 72 subjects from each of the three subject
castes, in both rural and urban areas. A total of 432 sub-
jects were interviewed: 216 from the rural and 216 from the
urban area. The interviews were conducted by only two
interviewers: the experimenter and one of the graduate stu-
dents, who was not only quite reliable, but also very enthu-
siastic about helping in the study. Since the graduate stu-
dent was unable to go to the rural areas because of the

limitations his student life implied, the experimenter did all the rural interviews, and the urban interviews were left to the graduate student. The graduate student was paid 10 Rupees for every completed interview and was paid all travel expenses.

The final questionnaire was prepared based on the information collected in the prescaling questionnaire. Several parts of the questionnaire had already been translated before. The rest was translated by one of the three earlier translators, who had the ability to make the translation as simple as possible for the rural population. The final questionnaire was then typed and mimeographed for use. A total of 700 copies were prepared - many more than the required 432 - to compensate for copies lost due to incomplete questionnaires and rejected subjects.

a) Pilot Tests

Although efforts were made to make the vernacular version as simple as possible, nineteen of the first rural interviews were used as pilot-tests to examine how well the subjects understood the questionnaire and whether the manipulations did take place as planned. This was done because it was hypothesized that if the rural subjects found the questionnaire intelligible, a fortiori, it would also be understood by the urban subjects. The rural subjects did find it

easy to understand, and the manipulations were 100 percent
effective. In order to keep the flow of the interview unin-
terrupted, the manipulation checks were moved to the end of
the questionnaire. However, special effort had to be made
to make the manipulations more salient, since the subjects
sometimes missed identifying the stimulus caste, and often
misreported general or caste belief similarity. Hence the
interviewers were asked to remind the subjects again and
again about both the caste of the stimulus person as well as
the degree of belief similarity between them and the stimu-
lus person.

The pilot testing also indicated that subjects were
reluctant to respond to a "real" person, either because they
did not want to evalute others negatively, or because they
were afraid that the persons they evaluated may be too close
for comfort. This difficulty was found to be greater among
the rural subjects than among the city subjects. Hence, the
subjects were subsequently asked to evaluate an "imaginary
person" so as to relieve them of any feeling of guilt or
responsibility for being negative in their evaluations of
the stimulus person.

Since some of the rural subjects would find it difficult
to understand the rating scales, it had been decided to
explain agreement and disagreement using the familiar mone-
tary units. This was possible because the local vernacular

idiom lends itself to speaking of agreement and disagreement as fractions of the Indian Rupee. Thus a value of "0" on the rating scale was used to indicate no agreement, and a value of "5" to indicate complete agreement. It was also considered important to keep this "0" to "5" rating method for most of the questionnaire.

These 19 interviews also served as training for the experimenter, while six of the first urban interviews were used as training sessions for the graduate student. At the end of this session the graduate student interviewed the experimenter himself to demonstrate his skills.

b) Finding Subjects

A total of 17 different villages from a rural area approximately two hours drive from Poona city were visited and volunteers were interviewed until the required number of rural subjects were reached. The experimenter made several visits to these villages, often living there for three to four days, explaining the purpose of the study and persuading them to agree to be interviewed. Only those villages where all three subject castes under study lived, were selected. As far as possible, efforts were made to meet the Sarpanch (the village headman), and live in the office of the Sarpanch rather than in somebody's house. Living in the house of any specific caste person made the other caste per-

sons wary and unwilling to be interviewed. However, when

for the lack of adequate facilities it was not possible to

live in the office of the Sarpanch, care was taken to inter-

view as far as possible only those who belonged to the caste

of the host. Toward the end this latter technique was found

to be most effective in getting both ready subjects and

unbiased information. Initially it was difficult to get the

rural interviewees, since most of the village folk were

involved in looking after and harvesting their crops and

were available only before 9 a.m. and after 5 p.m. But as

the harvest season came to an end, it was relatively easy to

get them.

The urban subjects were also volunteers contacted through

some friends and acquaintances. The urban contacts did not

prove as productive as the rural ones, primarily because

most of the urban subjects were employed and not so easily

available to be interviewed. Often they would readily agree

to be interviewed, and later find that some family or other

business would prevent them from keeping their appointments.

Because of this, the graduate student was almost despairing

of getting the required subjects. The experimenter had to

make a couple of visits to an English medium high school;

the good offices of the Principal of the school were instru-

mental in getting the graduate student to meet students,

whose parents were requested to volunteer as subjects and

help to complete the study.

Of the 432 subjects who were interviewed for this study,
a total of 69 cases were eliminated either because the
manipulations did not work or because the responses were
incomplete and did not contain some of the critical data.
New interviews were conducted to make up for subject mortal-
ity. The main part of this study took approximately eight
months until all the subjects were interviewed, two months
more than anticipated, because of the delay in interviewing
urban subjects.

c) Interview

The interview was conducted in the following way. The
set of twenty belief statements was read to the subject for
his/her ratings. As mentioned earlier, 10 of these state-
ments were general beliefs and 10 were caste-relevant
beliefs. The caste-relevant beliefs were chosen on the
basis of the ratings given by subjects in the prescaling
stage. These two sets of belief statements were presented
in two different orders "A" and "B": the first sequence of
the 10 beliefs within each group was called order "A"; and
this was reverse ordered to create order "B." Moreover, for
one-half of the subjects, the general beliefs were followed
by the caste-relevant beliefs and for the other one-half the
caste-relevant beliefs were followed by the general beliefs.

The subjects were randomly assigned to receive the questionnaire in one of the four possible orders. After the subject's ratings were collected, he/she was asked to provide some demographic data relevant to the study.

Immediately after this, a questionnaire was filled out as if by a "hypothetical" subject whose belief similarity (both general and caste-related) varied in one of four ways: (i) general beliefs were 80% similar and caste beliefs were 80% similar, (ii) general beliefs were 20% similar and caste beliefs were 80% similar, (iii) general beliefs were 80% similar and caste beliefs were 20% similar, and (iv) general beliefs were 20% similar and caste beliefs were 20% similar (Illustration 1). Thus, both general belief similarity (GBS) and caste belief similarity (CBS) were manipulated with "low" and "high" levels of similarity for each factor. This manipulation was considered important not only to look into the effect of Overall belief similarity, but also to examine the relative strength of general vs. caste belief similarity. The caste of these "hypothetical" subjects was also manipulated by entering one of the three stimulus castes above the belief ratings. Each subject rated only one other person and within each subject group, 24 stimulus persons of each caste were rated. The beliefs of the stimulus caste person were read out to the subject, after which the subject was interviewed on the relevent dependent

	Caste Relevant Belief Similarity	
General Belief Similarity	Low (Agreement on only 2 items)	High (Agreement on 8 items)
Low (Agreement on only 2 items)	4 20% Similarity	10 50% Similarity
High (Agreement on 8 items)	10 50% Similarity	16 80% Similarity

ILLUSTRATION 1: A 2x2 Design for the Manipulation of
                Belief Similarity. Each Cell contains
                Total Number and Percentage of Belief
                Statements on which Subject and Stimulus
                are Similar.

measures. The manipulation checks were recorded at the end of every interview.

Thus, the independent variables were: (a) location (City-rural), (b) belief similarity along a general (unrelated to caste) dimension, (c) belief similarity along a caste relevant dimension, (d) subject caste, and (e) stimulus caste. The dependent measures were: (a) a modified Byrne IJS, (b) the combined SD scale, (c) attributions, and (d) measure of actual contact with persons from the stimulus caste. The covariates included in the study were: (a) the OM-12, (b) casteism scale, and (c) socio-economic status.

Religious Beliefs Study

The religious beliefs scale consisted of 10 items prepared after the content analysis was completed on the prescaling questionnaire. Since the preparation of this scale took place only after the interviewing had already begun, about 10% of the subjects from the main study did not fill it out. In order to make up for this loss of subjects, two undergraduate students were employed to distribute the scale and have it filled out by persons of the three subject castes. Since these students were unaware of the number of the main study subjects who had filled out this scale, they managed to get as many subjects as they could. The students were also paid some remuneration for every completed ques-

tionnaire. As a result, each caste group had more than 200 subjects with at least 100 from the rural or city areas. The total number of subjects in this "post-study" questionnaire was 702, including 90% of the 432 subjects from the main study.

CHAPTER III

PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS

Since this study utilized several different scales and
subscales, it was considered appropriate to first report how
the scales were contructed and what their reliabilities
were, before proceeding with the analysis proper. All the
variables of interest in this study are grouped into four
subsections: (a) independent variables, (b) dependent vari-
ables, (c) covariates, and (d) other scales.

Independent Variables

The interviews were conducted in the urban and rural
areas with the city-rural dimension serving as one factor.
The two principal independent variables which were manipu-
lated for the purpose of this study were: (a) belief simi-
larity, and (b) caste similarity.

City-rural Dimension

A total of 216 subjects were interviewed from both the
rural and urban samples. The rural sample was chosen from
17 different villages near Poona, while the city interview-
ees were all from within the city of Poona and its adjacent

suburbs. The city-rural difference is not merely geographic or demographic, but carries with it many psychological differences, e.g., modernity. The discriminant analysis on the OM-12 showed that the city and rural populations were indeed different. The discriminant function yielded a Wilks lambda (df = 11) = .544 (p < .001). With the aid of this discriminant function one could predict accurately in 83.10% of the cases whether a person belonged to the city or rural sample. Only one of the OM-12 items (i.e., item 9: "Do you think that the progress made by science in industry and medicine has been beneficial to society?") failed to discriminate between the two samples. A discriminant analysis done on the OM-12 items together with the variables indicative of the socio-economic status of the subjects yielded a Wilks lambda (df = 13) = .386 (p < .001). This latter discriminant function improved predictability up to 90.97%. The city and rural means for OM-12 were 42.42 and 36.92, respectively. However, the reader should recall the possible confound that the two samples were interviewed by two different interviewers.

Belief Similarity

In order to make the manipulation of belief similarity highly plausible, some 51 belief statements (belief statement 9 was introduced in two versions) from the pilot study were rated both for their controversiality and relevance to

the Indian context. Those belief statements which were con-
troversial were often considered to be "Not at all relevant"
(in the sense of foreign) to the Indian cultural context.
Thus, it was not possible to select belief statements which
were both controversial and relevant to the Indian context.
Hence, the relevant/irrelevant dimension was set aside for
the most part; the controversiality dimension was given
prominence to make the manipulations of belief dissimilarity
more plausible. The belief statements which were most con-
troversial were selected first. If a belief similar in con-
tent had already been selected, it was dropped in favor of
the next most controversial belief. However, if two belief
statements were more or less equally controversial, the more
relevant one was selected.

Special care was also taken to see that one-half of the
beliefs chosen were caste-related as rated by the pilot test
subjects. The other one-half of the beliefs selected were
grouped together as general beliefs. Thus, the overall
belief factor (OBS) was further broken down into two sub-
factors: caste related beliefs (CBS) and general beliefs
(GBS). Each of these sub-factors had been manipulated in
such a way as to make the stimulus person similar to the
subject on either 20% (low) or 80% (high) of the beliefs.
These two sub-factors when combined give three levels of
OBS: 20% similarity with both CBS and GBS = low, 50% simi-

larity with CBS = low and GBS = high or CBS = high and GBS = low, and finally 80% similarity with both CBS and GBS = high. For the purpose of analysis, a five-factor ANOVA was performed consisting of city-rural, GBS, CBS, subject caste, and stimulus caste. A variety of contrasts were planned to examine the effect of OBS and the relative strength of the two sub-factors of GBS and CBS.

Caste Similarity.

Caste similarity was manipulated: (a) by interviewing an equal number of subjects from each of the three predominant castes (Brahmins, Marathas, and Mahars), and (b) by presenting each of these caste groups with an equal number of stimuli from each of the three castes. The subjects of any given caste who were presented with a stimulus from their own caste were in the "same" caste similarity condition, and those who were presented with a stimulus from a caste other than their own were in the "other" caste similarity condition. Thus, 72 subjects from each of the three castes were interviewed, and each subject caste group was presented with 24 stimuli from each of the three castes. However, each subject was presented with one and only one stimulus caste person, so that their responses to only one stimulus caste were measured. The idea that the subject's responses to one stimulus caste would be compared with other subjects' responses to other stimulus castes was not allowed to become

salient. The five-factor ANOVA performed had a variety of contrasts planned to examine the effects of caste similarity by combining the two factors of subject caste and stimulus caste. The differential ratings given by all the subjects and by each subject caste to those who were in the "same" caste and "other" caste conditions were also examined. This provided the "main effect" of caste similarity for attraction and the SD ratings.

Manipulation Checks

An initial perusal of the manipulation checks showed that 69 subjects either did not remember the caste of the stimulus person or proportion of GBS/CBS. These subjects were rejected and new interviews conducted to replace them. After a closer look at these rejected cases, it was found that only two of these subjects missed recalling the identity of the stimulus caste, 17 (nine from the 20% belief similarity and eight from the 80% belief similarity) were wrong in identifying the proportion of belief similarity, and the remaining 50 cases belonged to the medium similarity condition. This suggests that most of the problem arose from confusion in assigning the correct proportion of similarity to the GBS/CBS stimuli.

Moreover, there is reason to believe that the manipulations were understood by the subjects as they were origi-

nally intended, because 19 subjects who were used as pilot

interviews to see if the manipulations worked as intended

did yield 100 percent accuracy. However, one must note that

in these pilot interviews, the manipulation checks were

introduced immediately after the responses of the subject to

the stimulus person, and before the measures of actual con-

tact and OM-12. A comparison of the mean scores between the

rejected cases and the good data showed that the differences

were too small to be significant. Table 1 reports the t

values for the test of differences between the means.

Hence, one could conclude that even among the 69 rejected

cases the manipulations must have been effective when sub-

jects reported their judgments of attraction but had been

forgotten by the time the manipulation check questions were

asked. However, the experimenter felt more confident using

only those cases where the subjects reported perceiving the

manipulations of caste and belief similarity.

A 2x2x2x3x3 ANOVA for perceived OBS (See Manipulation

Checks in Appendix B, VI, 2), with two levels of city-rural,

GBS and CBS, and three levels of subject caste and caste of

stimulus yielded a 3-way interaction of city-rural by CBS by

GBS ($F (1,360) = 19.16$, $p < .001$). This interaction showed

that the pattern of the GBS by CBS interaction was slightly

different for the urban and rural sample. The ANOVA also

yielded a significant 2-way interaction of CBS by GBS (F

TABLE 1

Comparison of Means of Rejected and Good Data, and their
t Values.

Variable Name	Means for the Entire Population	
	Rejected Cases (N = 69)	All Good Cases (N = 432)
Social Distance (SD) Home	10.23	10.04
	t = .650 df = 499 NS	
Social Distance (SD) Public	3.55	3.45
	t = .816 df = 499 NS	
Social Distance (SD) Marriage	.493	.486
	t = .107 df = 499 NS	
Attraction (items 5 and 6 from the Byrne IJS).	6.67	6.33
	t = .800 df = 499 NS	

Note: Non-significant will be abbreviated as NS. See
page 51 for an explanation of the three social
distance (SD) subscales.

(1,360) = 55.99, p < .001), and two extremely strong main effects of CBS (F (1,360) = 2003.15, p < .001), and GBS (F (1,360) = 1977.96, p < .001).

Similarly, a five-factor ANOVA for CBS (See Manipulation Checks in Appendix B, VI, 3), yielded a main effect of CBS (F (1,360) = 933.39, p < .001), without yielding a main effect of GBS. The five factor ANOVA for GBS (See Manipulation Checks in Appendix B, VI, 4), yielded a main effect of GBS (F (1,360) = 895.56, p < .001), without yielding a main effect of CBS. This demonstrated that the manipulation of CBS had a greater impact on perceived caste belief similarity, but had no influence on perceived GBS, and vice versa. This reassured the experimeter that the manipulations did work as planned for all the subjects used in the analysis.

Dependent Variables

Measure of Attraction

One of the principal scales used in this study was the Byrne Interpersonal Judgment Scale (Byrne IJS). The last two items on this scale provided the basis for the assessment of attraction. A reliability test on these two items gave a relatively high alpha value = .796. The inclusion of all the other items on the Byrne IJS in an overall evaluation scale did not increase the alpha considerably. All six items yielded an alpha value = .835. Thus, although the

overall evaluation of the stimulus person could have been utilized for the analysis, it was not done for two reasons: first, it would have meant a departure from an already tested measure of attraction, and second, the overall evaluation did not provide a substantially higher alpha from the one given by the measure of attraction. Hence, the last two items of the Byrne IJS were utilized to measure the principal dependent variable, attraction.

Combined Social Distance Scale

The combined social distance (SD) scale (this scale was a combination of the Mahar Ritual Pollution Scale and the Bogardus Social Distance Scale), which yielded an alpha = .892, was considered too general, and was broken up into several scales. However, in order to see if any of the Byrne IJS items could be combined with the items on the combined SD scale, a factor analysis was done on these two sets of items. The Byrne IJS items clustered together and so were not included with the social distance ratings (SD ratings). Using the factor loadings, the combined SD scale was broken down into three different subscales: (a) The near home factor (SD home), which included behaviors in and around the home; (b) the far from home factor (SD public), which consisted of public behaviors, normally engaged in far from home; and (c) the marriage item (SD marriage) which loaded more or less equally on the two previous factors and

was considered not to belong to either. Hence, it was left alone. The alpha value for the SD home was a very high .910, and the alpha value for the SD public was an acceptable .676. Since the SD marriage item was alone, no alpha value could be calculated. Thus, the analyses of SD ratings included three dependent measures: SD home, SD public, and SD marriage.

Covariates

Overall Modernity Scale

The Overall Modernity Scale (OM-12) used by Smith and Inkeles (1966) was used as a manipulation check to confirm differences between the urban and rural samples. This scale was somewhat simplified and reduced to 12 items from the original 14 items. The two deleted items related to their knowledge of the capital of the U.S.S.R., and their acceptance of the research done by doctors in efforts to pre-determine the sex of unborn babies. This scale was scored to give the experimenter an idea of how open the subjects were to modern ideas. This shortened and modified scale yielded a Cronbach's alpha value = .680 indicating an acceptable level of reliability. This value improved somewhat to .716 by dropping item 5 ("Do you think man can be really good without having any religion at all?"). The possible range of the OM-12 as used in the analyses was 0 to 55, since it

finally contained only 11 items.

A 2x3 ANOVA for OM-12 (without item 5) with two levels of city-rural and three levels of subject caste yielded a 2-way interaction of city-rural by subject caste: F (2,426) = 4.30 (p < . 012). This interaction showed no differences between the urban castes, but did yield some slight differences between the rural castes. The same ANOVA also yielded a main effect of the city-rural factor for OM-12 (without item 5): F (1,426) = 164.53 (p < .001). The OM-12 mean for the city was 42.42, and the mean for rural was 36.92, showing only a modest difference between the two groups. The ANOVA also yielded a main effect of subject caste: F (2,426) = 5.03 (p < .001). The means for the Brahmins, Marathas, and Mahars were 40.59, 38.97, and 39.44, respectively.

Socio-economic Status

The four items included in the socio-economic status scale consisted of education, income, value of land possessed and occupation. This socio-economic status scale yielded an acceptable Cronbach's alpha value = .632. The possible range for socio-economic status was 0 to 20.

The 2x3 ANOVA for socio-economic status with two levels of city-rural and three levels of subject caste yielded a 2-way interaction of city-rural by subject caste: F (2,426)

= 8.42 (p < . 001). This interaction showed that for the rural sample, the Brahmins enjoyed a higher socio-economic status than the Marathas, and these two castes together were relatively higher than the Mahars. The urban pattern was similar except that the Marthas enjoyed a higher socio-economic status than the Brahmins. The same ANOVA also yielded two main effects of the city-rural and the subject caste factors: F (1,426) = 263.94 (p < .001) and F (2,426) = 46.30 (p < .001), respectively. The socio-economic status mean for the city was 10.76, and the mean for the rural was 6.09. The means for the Brahmins, Marathas, and Mahars were 9.09, 9.71, and 6.51, respectively.

Casteism Scale

The casteism scale consisted of the sum of the responses of the subjects to the 10 caste-relevant beliefs which were used to manipulate caste belief similarity. These items were all scored to show how much the subjects supported and accepted the caste system. The casteism scale yielded an acceptable reliability value = .608, and was considerably raised to a very good .738 by dropping item 7 ("It is useless to raise the expectations of schedule castes/tribes and leave them disappointed and unhappy"). Hence, the casteism scale without item 7 was utilized for the analysis. The possible range for the casteism scale (without item 7) was 0 to 45.

A 2x3 ANOVA for the casteism scale with two levels of city-rural and three levels of subject caste yielded a main effect of the city-rural factor: $F (1,426) = 179.97$ (p < .001). The casteism scale mean for the city = 11.94, and the mean for the rural = 20.07. The ANOVA also yielded a main effect of subject caste: $F (2,426) = 164.18$ (p < .001). The means for the Brahmins, Marathas, and Mahars were 21.07, 18.57, and 8.38, respectively. The ANOVA did not yield a 2-way interaction.

Why Covariates?

In this study, the OM-12, the socio-economic status, and the casteism scale were used as covariates in the above mentioned analyses of variance for the dependent measures of attraction and SD ratings.

The OM-12 and the socio-economic status scale were introduced in these analyses because it was considered plausible that the difference in the dependent measures could be a function of the subjects' lack of modern ideas, or inability to avail himself/herself of modern means. Here, if the effects of the independent variables are unaffected by the inclusion of these covariates, it may indicate the presence of possible robust cause-effect relationships. Moreover, it was also expected that the subjects' casteism scores would be somehow confounded with the caste of the subject and

stimulus, and with the caste beliefs of the stimulus. If
the effects of caste similarity were still strong after
removing the variance explained by casteism, it would imply
a possible stronger influence of caste similarity on the
dependent measures. Casteism, in itself, would inherently
involve a negative attitude toward other castes. Effects
that remain after controlling for casteism could then be
labelled as real unfounded prejudice toward the other
castes. Since all the covariates are somehow linked to the
study, their inclusion as covariates might either diminish
or even completely remove some of the effects of the inde-
pendent variables. Hence, it was decided to do the analyses
of variance with and without the covariates in order to
examine the robustness of these relationships.

Other Scales

Measure of Actual Contact

Included in the study were ratings of seven behaviors
relatively common to urban and rural _Sitz im Leben_ which
were utilized as a measure of overall actual contact (over-
all AC). Subjects were asked to report how often during the
"past month" they had engaged in the specified behavior.
The range of possible scores for the overall AC scale was 0
to 210. On the basis of a factor analysis, the overall AC
scale was broken down into two subscales: actual contact

near home (near home AC) and actual contact far from home
(far from home AC). The alpha reliability values for the
near home AC = .654, and for the far from home AC = .629;
while the overall AC yielded a .672 alpha value. Although
these values were not very high, they were acceptable for a
meaningful analysis.

<u>Attributions</u>

A set of attributional questions were asked to examine
the basis of the attributions made by the subjects regarding
their ratings on the Byrne IJS and their willingness to
engage in the behaviors from the combined SD scale. A fac-
tor analysis done on these attributional questions yielded a
cluster for external attributions (EA), while no such clus-
tering was seen for the items intended as internal attribu-
tions (IA). The external attributions scale (EA scale)
yielded a rather low alpha value = .497, while the internal
attributions (IA scale) yielded a very low alpha = .215.
This is probably because many of the attribution items were
understood differently by different subjects. However, only
attribution items 5 and 6 seem to have been understood as
items of external and internal attribution, respectively.
Besides, one must not forget that these attributions were
not only somewhat ambiguous in their wording, but also
responses to a very global set of varied situations, which
included all the subjects' ratings on the Byrne IJS as well

as their willingness to engage in behaviors from the com-
bined SD scale. The ambiguity of the attributions and the
application of responses to a global set of varied situ-
ations are probable explanations for the lack of consistency
and hence low reliability especially on the IA scale.

Social Desirability

A factor analysis done on the items which were used to
gauge normative threat and the manipulation checks used to
measure social desirablity yielded a social desirability
factor composed of the second normative threat item (within
caste social desirability) and the first social desirability
item (outside caste social desirability). The reliability
value for the social desirability scale was a relatively low
.535. The range of possible values for social desirability
scale was 0 to 10.

A 2x3 ANOVA for the social desirability scale with two
levels of city-rural and three levels of subject caste,
yielded a main effect of city-rural factor: $F (1,426) =$
9.21, ($p < .003$), and a main effect of subject caste: F
$(2,426) = 16.22$ ($p < .001$). The mean of social desirability
for the city sample was 6.67, and for the rural sample was
7.81, and the means for the Brahmins, Marathas, and Mahars
were 6.53, 6.64, and 7.61, respectively. The rural sample
was more confident that its responses would be acceptable to

society; and of the three subject castes, the Brahmins and Marathas rated their reponses as being less desirable than the Mahars.

Normative Threat

Normative threat was measured by two questions included in the main questionnaire (See Procedure). These were aimed at measuring how threatened the subjects felt by the type of questions posed to them. The reliability value for this normative threat scale was a relatively low .387. The range of possible values for normative threat scale was 0 to 10.

A 2x3 ANOVA with two for the normative threat scale with two levels of city-rural and three levels of subject caste, yielded a main effect of city-rural factor: $F (1,426) = 6.86$, ($p < .009$), and a main effect of subject caste: $F (2,426) = 8.59$ ($p < .001$). The mean of normative threat for the city sample = 4.21, and for the rural sample = 4.63, and the means for the Brahmins, Marathas, and Mahars were 4.93, 4.71, and 3.63, respectively. The rural sample felt more threatened by the questions than the urban sample; and of the three subject castes, the Brahmins and Marathas felt more threatened by the questions than the Mahars.

Interviewer Evaluation

The last two items of the questionnaire were evaluations

of the interviewee on scales of honesty and fear or

nervousness, made by the interviewer (See end of Appendix

B). These two items loaded very heavily on a common factor.

The reliability value for interviewer evaluation scale

yielded an acceptable alpha = .671. The range of possible

score for interviewer evaluation scale was 0 to 10.

The 2x3 ANOVA for interviewer evaluation with two levels

of city-rural and three levels of subject caste yielded a

main effect of city-rural factor: $F (1,426) = 287.04$ (p <

.001), and a main effect of subject caste: $F (2,426) =$

13.34 (p < .001). The mean of interviewer evaluation for

the city sample was 9.80, and for the rural sample it was

8.23. The means for the Brahmins, Marathas, and Mahars were

8.74, 8.97, and 9.33, respectively. The interviewers rated

the rural sample as being less honest than the city sample;

while of the three subject castes, the Brahmins and Marathas

were rated as being less honest in the overall impression

given to the interviewer.

Since all the interviews were conducted by two different

interviewers, one must be careful in interpreting the city-

rural differences on all the measures. This caution is

important, since many of the subjects were illiterate or

only minimally educated and often the interviewers had to

explain the meaning of the questions to them, and later

estimate a number value for the response given. This led to

possible bias not only because explanations given may not have been perfectly identical, but also because some bias could arise from their subjective estimates of the responses of illiterate subjects. Such caution would also be critical in the case of interviewer evaluation because this would be biased by the interviewer.

RESULTS: PART I   "MAIN HYPOTHESES"

Hypothesis 1.1:   Law of Attraction

According to the Byrne's "Law of Attraction," attraction between two people is a positive linear function of the proportion of similar beliefs.

Attraction was measured by the last two items of the Byrne IJS, and belief similarity was based on the manipulation of overall belief similarity (OBS).   OBS had three levels: low, medium, and high with 20%, 50%, and 80% similarity, respectively (See Illustration 1).   A 2x2x2x3x3 ANOVA was done for attraction, with two levels of city-rural, general belief similarity (GBS) and caste belief similarity (CBS), and three levels of subject caste and stimulus caste yielded support for the hypothesis that attraction between two persons is a positive linear relationship of the proportion of similar beliefs (See $\underline{F}$ values in Table 2).   Taking into account the 2x2 belief similarity design, two contrasts were planned to examine: (a) the difference in the level of attraction between the low level of OBS (GBS = low and CBS = low) and high level of OBS (GBS = high and CBS = high); and (b) the difference between medium OBS (GBS = high and CBS =

TABLE 2

Five-factor ANOVA Summary for Attraction with and without Covariates.

Kind of Effect	Attraction (Byrne IJS 5+6)	Attraction (Byrne IJS 5+6)
Main Effects:	(No Covariates)	(3 Covariates)
City-rural (CR)	14.10 (p<.001) (df = 1,360)	7.92 (p<.005) (df = 1,357)
General Belief Similarity (GBS)	16.91 (p<.001) (df = 1,360)	16.53 (p<.001) (df = 1,357)
Caste Belief Similarity (CBS)	8.39 (p<.001) (df = 1,360)	8.59 (p<.004) (df = 1,357)
2-Way Interactions:		
CR x Subject (SS)	11.03 (.001) (df = 2,360)	10.93 (p<.001) (df = 2,357)
Stimulus (ST) x SS	3.23 (p<.013) (df = 4,360)	3.09 (p<.016) (df = 4,357)
ST x CBS	5.44 (p<.005) (df = 2,360)	5.43 (p<.005) (df = 2,357)
3-Way Interactions:		
SS x ST x CBS	3.71 (p<.006) (df = 4,360)	3.73 (p<.005) (df = 4,357)
SS x GBS x CBS	3.21 (p<.042) (df = 2,360)	3.16 (p<.044) (df = 2,357)
4-Way Interactions:		
CR x GBS x SS x ST	3.15 (p<.014) (df = 4,360)	3.19 (p<.013) (df = 4,357)

Note: There was no significant 5-way interaction nor any significant main effect of the covariates (Socio-economic Status, Overall Modernity or Casteism.

low or GBS = low and CBS = high) and the low and high levels
of OBS taken together. The t values for each of these con-
trasts were 4.97, (p < .001), and 1.37 (NS), respectively.
These two contrasts: (a) lend support to the prediction
that "high" OBS leads to higher attraction ratings than
"low" OBS, and (b) show that attraction is an approximately
linear function of the proportion of similar beliefs. The
means for the different levels of OBS are reported in Table
3. The Byrne IJS with a range of 0 to 10 has a mid-point of
5. It should be noted that all the means are above this
theoretical mid-point. On the average the subjects were
neutral toward a stranger who was low in similarity and mod-
erately positive toward the medium and high similarity stim-
ulus.

In keeping with the Byrne-type analysis, a straight line
function was fitted to the data by the least squares method,
yielding the formula: $Y' = 3.02X + 4.82$. Illustration 2
shows this relationship, and lends support for the "empiri-
cal law of attraction" which permits the prediction of spe-
cific attraction responses within this type of experimenta-
tion (Byrne, 1969). When a similar straight line function
was fitted by the least squares method using perceived simi-
larity (See Manipulation Checks, in Appendix B, VI, 2)
rather than actual manipulated belief similarity, it yield
the following formula: $Y' = 2.88X + 4.81$. The standarized

TABLE 3

Means for Different Levels of Belief Similarity.

	Belief Similarity	Attraction Means
1.	Overall Belief Similarity	
	Low Similarity	5.33 (108)
	Medium Similarity	6.63 (216)
	High Similarity	7.15 (108)
2.	General Belief Similarity	
	Low Similarity	5.70 (216)
	High Similarity	6.87 (216)
3.	Caste Belief Similarity	
	Low Similarity	5.96 (216)
	High Similarity	6.71 (216)

Note: Range of Attraction scores = 0 to 10.
Values in parentheses = N of subjects.
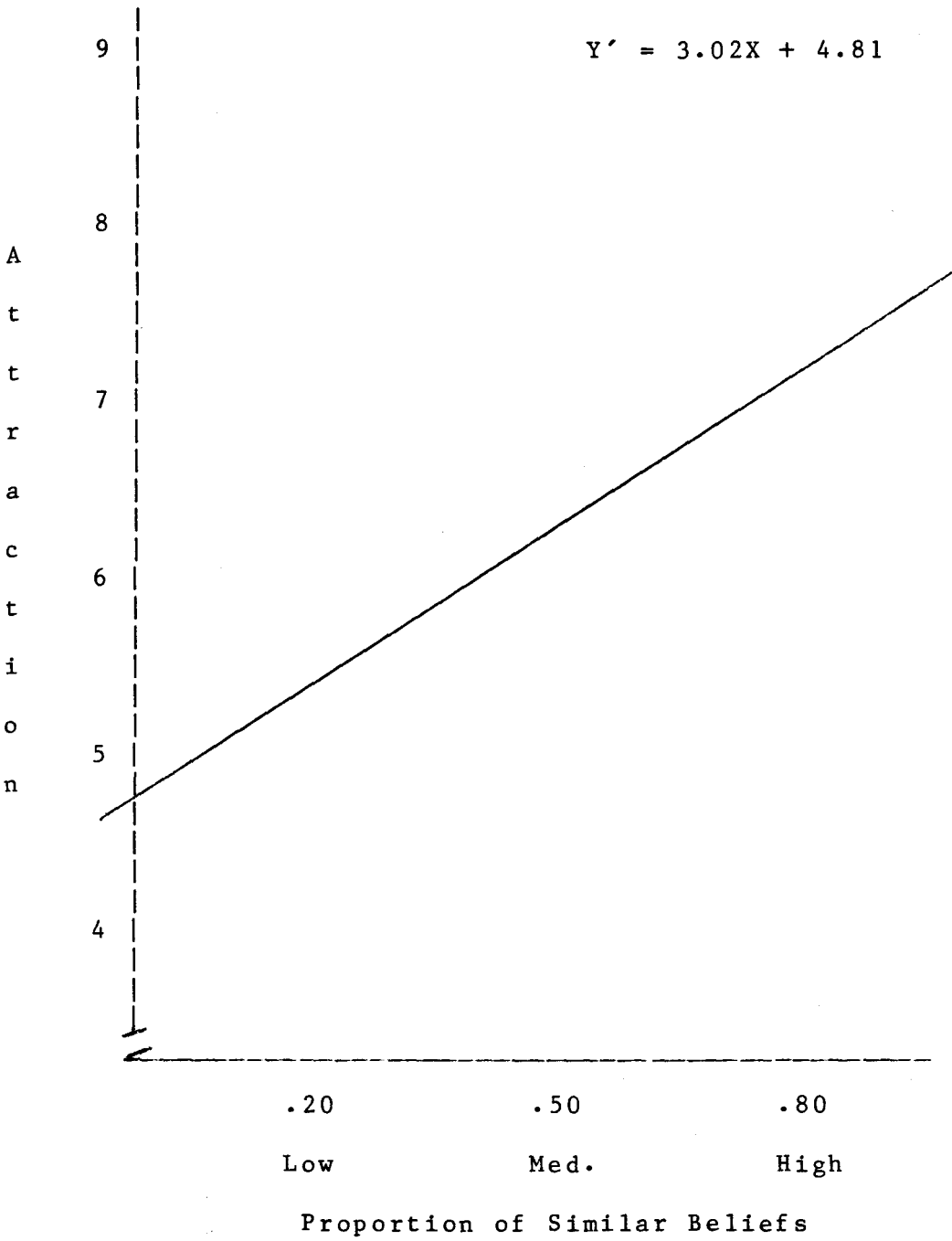
ILLUSTRATION 2: Attraction toward a Stranger as a Linear Function of the Proportion of Similar Beliefs.

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Beta values for manipulated belief similarity and perceived belief similarity were .214 and .212, respectively.

Following the 2x2x2x3x3 ANOVA, a third contrast was planned to test the relative influence of GBS vs. CBS on attraction. This contrast yielded a t value of 2.38 (p < .05). This t value, small though it be, shows that across all subjects variation in GBS had a greater impact on attraction than variation in CBS. The means for the different levels of GBS and CBS are presented in Table 3. It should be noted that these means are also above the theoretical mid-point of the Byrne IJS.

The above mentioned ANOVA (See Table 2) for attraction, besides aiding in the calculation of planned contrasts, yielded a 3-way interaction of subject caste by stimulus caste by CBS: $F_{(4,360)} = 3.71$, (p < .001). This interaction is demonstrated in Illustrations 3 and 4. In the CBS "low" condition, Illustration 3 shows that each caste group likes its own group more that the other two caste groups; and in the CBS "high" condition, Illustration 4 shows a similar pattern for the Marathas and Mahars, but not for the Brahmins. The Brahmins like other caste groups in the "high" CBS condition as much as or better than their own caste group. The ANOVA also yielded a main effect of GBS: F (df = 1,360) = 16.91 (p < .001); and a main effect of CBS: F (df = 1,360) = 8.39 (p < .001). Looking at the Omega
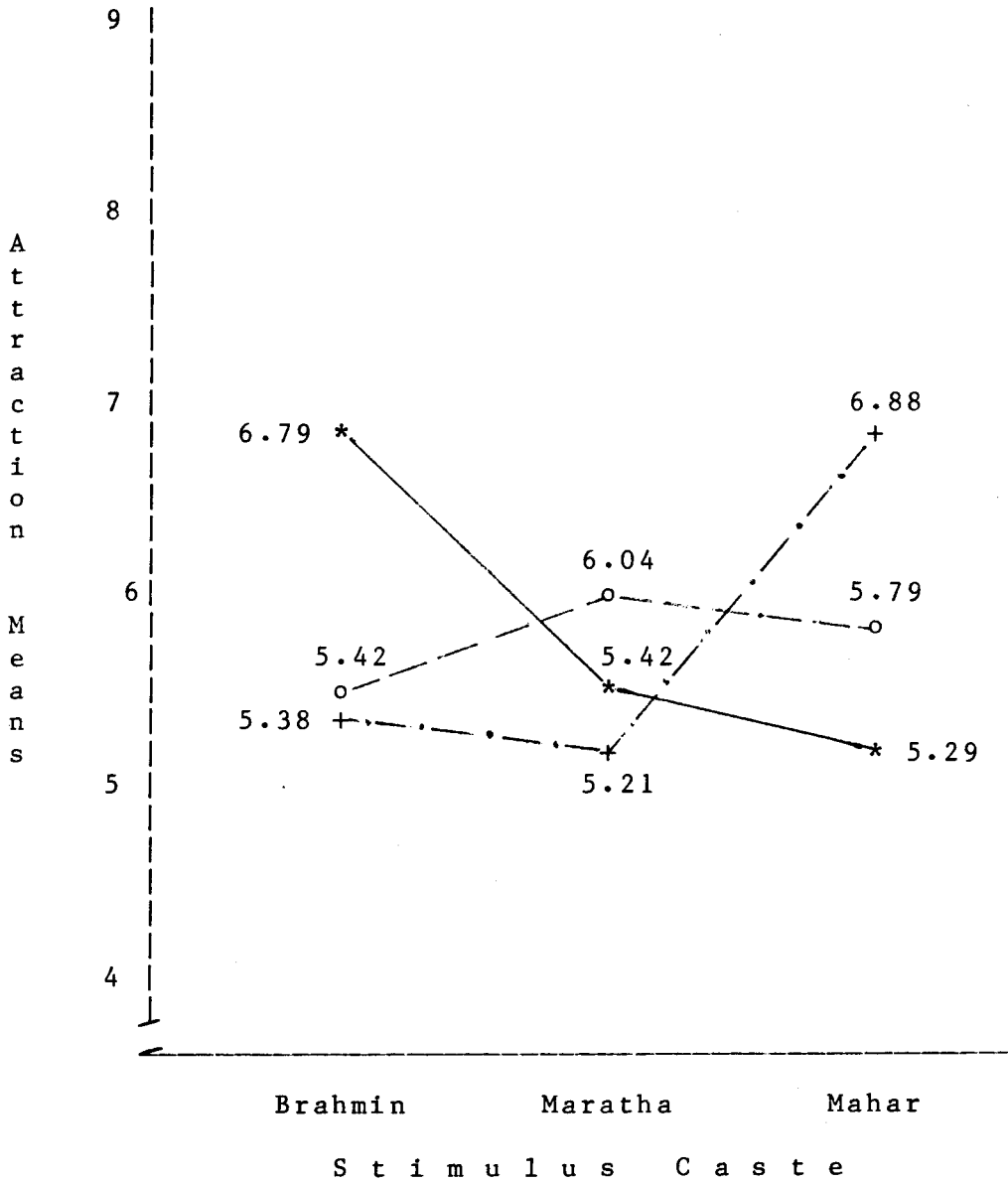
ILLUSTRATION 3: Graphic Presentation of CBS x SS x ST
Interaction for Attraction in the CBS
"Low" Condition.

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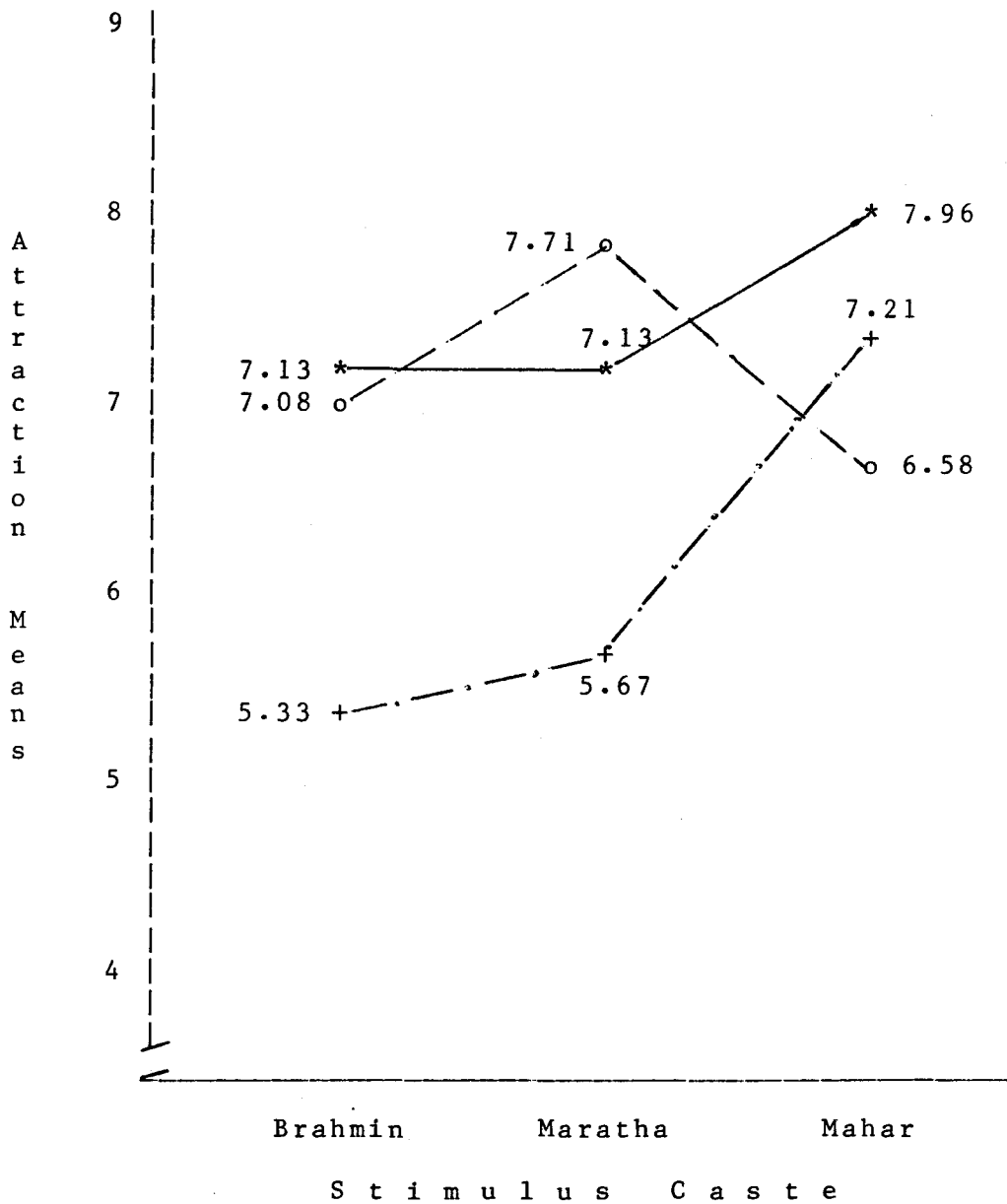
ILLUSTRATION 4: Graphic Presentation of CBS x SS x ST
Interaction for Attraction in the CBS
"High" Condition.

Square values for these two effects, GBS explained 4.73% of the variance in attraction, while CBS explained 2.54%. This again supports the earlier finding that GBS is somewhat more influential than CBS in leading to attraction.

Hypothesis 1.2:   Caste Similarity vs. Belief Similarity

Caste similarity, like belief similarity, influences interpersonal attraction as measured by the last two items of the Byrne IJS; and as for their relative importance (belief similarity vs. caste similarity), in keeping with the Byrne findings, belief similarity is expected to exert a greater influence on attraction than caste similarity.

Caste similarity had been manipulated by presenting subjects with stimuli either from their own caste or one of the other castes. Belief similarity was presented with the two factors of GBS and CBS, each with "low" and "high" levels of similarity between the subject and the stimulus person.

As shown in Table 2, the anlysis yielded a 2-way interaction of subject caste by stimulus caste ($F_{(4, 360)} = 3.23$, $p < .013$). Illustration 5 shows this interaction graphically. This 2-way interaction was broken down into four contrasts: (a) "same" stimulus caste vs. "other" stimulus caste across all subjects, (b) Brahmin vs. non-Brahmin stimulus for only Brahmin subjects, (c) Maratha vs. non-Maratha stimulus for
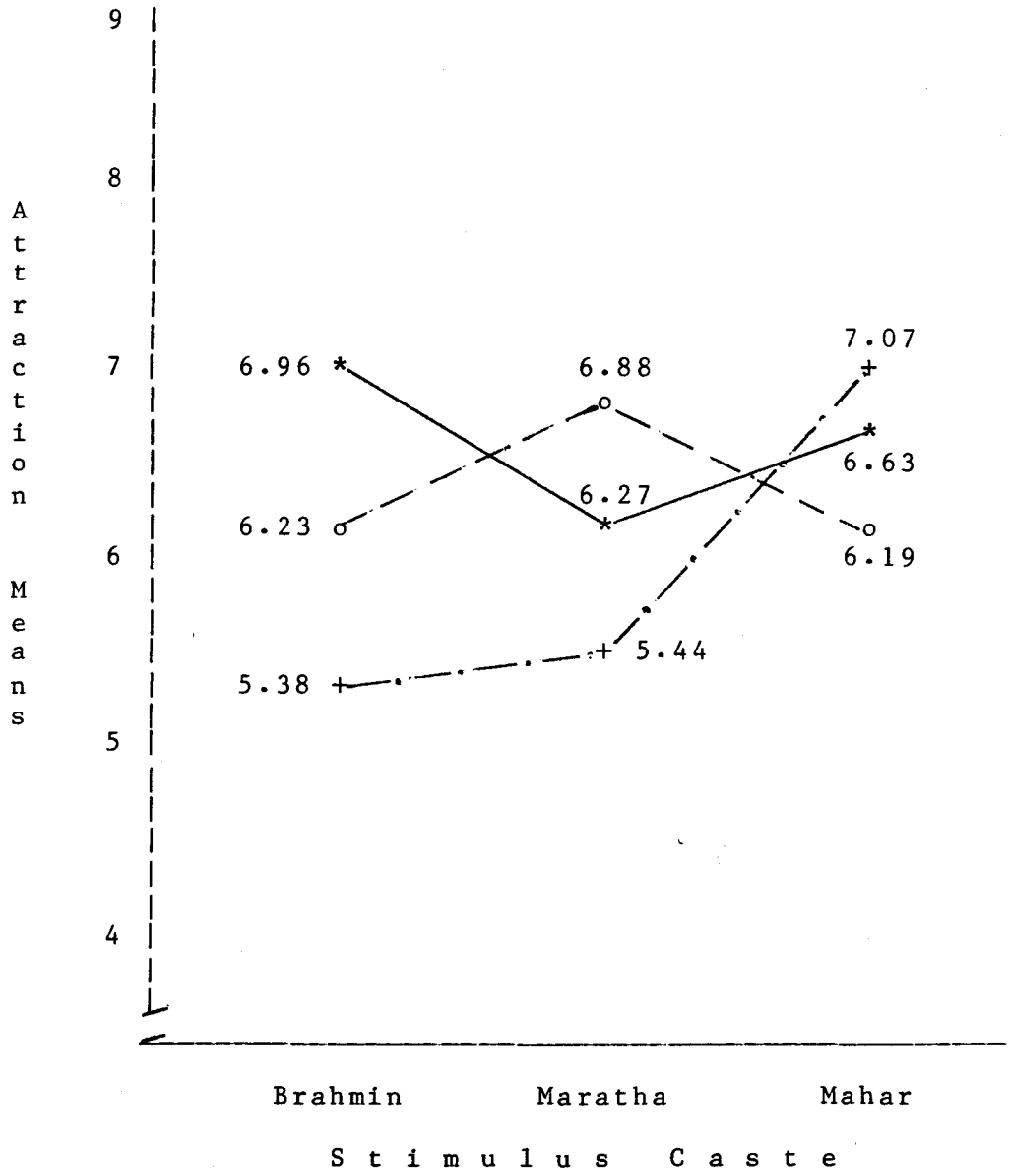
ILLUSTRATION 5: Graphic Presentation of SS x ST
                Interaction for Attraction.

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only Maratha subjects, and (d) Mahar vs. non-Mahar stimulus for only Mahar subjects. These yielded significant t values (one-tailed) equal to 3.39 (p < .001), 1.85 (p < .05), 2.44 (p < .01), and 6.45 (p < .001), respectively. Thus across all subjects, persons from the same caste are liked more than persons from other caste groups, that is, for each of the subject castes the ingroup liking was significantly higher than outgroup liking. Looking at the subject caste groups relative to each other on the attraction measure, the Mahars were more ingroupish than the Marathas, who in turn were more ingroupish than the Brahmins.

In order to examine if belief similarity was more important than caste similarity, Omega Square values for the respective F values were calculated. These Omega Square values for caste similarity and OBS explained 3.35% and 6.67% of the variance in attraction, respectively. This indicates that in terms of attraction, the influence of belief similarity is more important than caste similarity. In conclusion, support has been found to indicate that both caste similarity and belief similarity does influence attraction and that between these two OBS is relatively more important than caste similarity.

Doing the above analysis of variance even with the covariates did not significantly change the strength of the main effects of caste or belief similarity (See Table 2), but

they did however, considerably reduce the main effect of the city-rural factor. This shows that the main effects of caste and belief similarity are quite robust and unaffected by the presence of the covariates.

Hypothesis 1.3: Rural Area: Caste vs. Belief Similarity

In the rural areas, caste similarity will have a greater impact on attraction than belief similarity (GBS or CBS).

Caste similarity was expected to be more important for the rural sample, on the grounds that being less modernized, it would cling to its religion-based traditional caste preferences in manifesting its liking for stimulus persons. Therefore, a 4-way interaction of city-rural by subject caste by stimulus caste by caste/general belief similarity was expected. Table 2 shows that although no such interaction was found for city-rural by subject caste by stimulus caste by CBS, a 4-way interaction was found for city-rural by subject caste by stimulus caste by GBS: $F(4,360) = 3.15$ (p < .014). This interaction shows that in the rural area there is a greater tendency to rate "same" stimulus caste persons somewhat higher than in the urban area (See Table 4). The same Table shows that in the rural areas Brahmins and Mahars like their own caste persons more than they like other caste persons in the "low" GBS condition; and that

TABLE 4

Means of Attraction for the City-rural by Subject Caste
by Stimulus Caste by General Belief Similarity
Interaction.

	GBS (Low)			GBS (High)		
	Stimulus Caste			Stimulus Caste		
	Brahmin	Maratha	Mahar	Brahmin	Maratha	Mahar
Urban Subjects:						
Brahmins	6.50	5.50	6.67	6.58	7.75	8.08
Marathas	4.58	6.50	6.00	7.00	6.58	5.33
Mahars	4.08	4.75	4.75	4.25	3.75	6.58
Rural Subjects:						
Brahmins	7.08	5.33	3.92	7.67	6.50	7.83
Marathas	6.17	5.58	5.58	7.17	8.83	7.83
Mahars	6.75	5.67	9.00	6.42	7.58	7.83

Note: Range of Attraction scores = 0 to 10.
        GBS = General Belief Similarity.

Marathas and Mahars like their own groups more in the "high" GBS condition. For the urban sample however, this tendency is found only in the case of Maratha subjects in the "low" GBS condition, and only among Mahar subjects in the "high" GBS condition. The urban Mahars are the only group reporting liking (or "disliking") with means below the theoretical mid-point of the Byrne IJS. This interaction yielded only a small F value, and although there is a greater tendency to take caste similarity into account at the rural level, this could well be a spurious interaction owing to the very high rating given by the rural Mahars in the "low" GBS condition. A similar interaction of city-rural by caste similarity by GBS was not found when a 2x2x2 ANOVA was done by combining subject caste and stimulus caste into a caste similarity factor. Similarly, doing the 2x2x3 ANOVA by combining the two general and caste belief factors into an overall belief factor (OBS), did not yield a 3-way interaction of city-rural by caste similarity by OBS.

In conclusion, one would have to say that no strong support was found for the idea that caste similarity has a greater impact than belief similarity (GBS or CBS) on attraction in the rural rather than in the urban areas.

Hypothesis 1.4:   Intimate vs. Public Behaviors

Caste similarity is more important for intimate behaviors (SD home and SD marriage) than for public behaviors (SD public); and hence one will find a lower level of openness to "other" stmulus castes, especially on the question of intimate forms of behavior.

According to the above hypothesis, one should find subjects in the "same" stimulus caste condition more open than those subjects in the "other" stimulus caste condition. SD home consisted of the items which made up the near home factor; SD public consisted of the items included in the far from home factor; and SD marriage consisted of the single marriage item. Hence, one should find a lower level of openness to "other" stimulus castes on the SD home and SD marriage items, which deal with intimate behaviors, than on the SD public items, which concern the far from home public behaviors.

MANOVA for all SD Measures

Table 5 shows 2x2x2x3x3 MANOVA summary putting all the SD ratings into one analysis with two levels for each of city-rural, GBS and CBS, and three levels of subject caste and stimulus caste. This MANOVA yielded two 3-way interactions: one of city-rural by subject caste by stimulus caste: F (12,1080) = 3.35, (p < .001); and another of subject caste

TABLE 5

Five-factor MANOVA Summary for the 3 Social Distance
Measures with and without Covariates.

Kind of Effect	Variables entered in Manova SD Home, SD Public, & SD Marriage	
Main Effects:	(No Covariates)	(3 Covariates)
City-rural (CR)	16.75 (p<.001) (df = 3,358)	NS
Subject Caste (SS)	7.28 (p<.001) (df = 6,718)	3.51 (p<.002) (df = 6,712)
Stimulus Caste(ST)	4.46 (p<.001) (df = 6,718)	4.72 (p<.001) (df = 6,712)
2-Way Interactions:		
CR x SS	4.02 (p<.001) (df = 6,718)	4.49 (p<.001) (df = 6,712)
CR x ST	NS	2.29 (p<.033) (df = 6,712)
SS x ST	6.68 (p<.001) (df= 12,1080)	6.57 (p<.001) (df= 12,1071)
SS x CBS	2.45 (p<.024) (df = 6,718)	NS
SS x GBS	NS	2.45 (p<.024) (df = 6,712)
3-Way Interactions:		
CR x SS x ST	3.35 (p<.001) (df= 12,1080)	3.70 (p<.001) (df= 12,1071)
SS x ST x CBS	2.57 (p<.002) (df= 12,1080)	2.55 (p<.003) (df= 12,1071)
ST x GBS x CBS	2.16 (p<.045) (df = 6,718)	NS

Note: There were no significant 4/5-Way interactions.

by stimulus caste by CBS: $F (12,1080) = 2.57$, $(p < .001)$. The MANOVA also found 2-way interaction effects of subject caste by stimulus caste: $F (12,1080) = 6.68$, $(p < .001)$, and city-rural by subject caste: $F (6,718) = 4.02$, $(p < .001)$. The MANOVA also yielded three main effects of city-rural: $F (3,358) = 16.75$, $(p < .001)$, subject caste: $F (6,718) = 7.28$, $(p < .001)$ and stimulus caste: $F (6,718) = 4.46$, $(p < .001)$. The MANOVA did not show any main effects of the belief factors of CBS or CBS.

With the inclusion of the covariates (OM-12, socio-economic status, and casteism), (a) the 3-way and 2-way inter: actions retained their strength, (b) the strong main effect of city-rural disappeared completely, (c) the main effect of subject caste became weaker, and (d) the main effect of stimulus caste became a little stronger. There are other interaction effects, not mentioned above, which either disappeared or showed up only when the analysis was done with the covariates. These were relatively weak and hence have not been elaborated upon (See Table 5).

Although the central issue in this hypothesis is the relative influence of caste similarity on each of the SD ratings, it seems out of place just to refer to this aspect of each ANOVA without putting it in its context. Hence, the three SD ratings will be compared after the five-factor ANOVA for each of them has been examined.

ANOVA for SD Home

A 2x2x2x3x3 ANOVA summary for SD home, with two levels of city-rural, GBS and CBS, and three levels of subject caste and stimulus caste is presented in Table 6. First, this ANOVA yielded a 3-way interaction of city-rural by subject caste by stimulus caste: $F_{(4,360)} = 2.82$, $(p < .025)$. Illustrations 6 and 7 show the subject caste by stimulus caste pattern for the urban and rural areas, respectively. The ingroup vs. outgroup differences are larger for the rural sample than for the urban one. For the urban sample the Marathas and Mahars rate their own group higher, while the Brahmins rate Marathas a little higher than their own. The Mahars prefer to be more with the Brahmins than with the Marathas. Across all the subjects, the various stimulus groups are preferred more or less equally. The rural Brahmins maintain a greater distance between themselves and the Marathas and Mahars. The rural Marathas keep a greater distance between themselves and the Mahars, but rate the Brahmins a little higher than themselves. The rural Mahars rate their own group high, but do not rate Brahmins and Marathas very much lower than they rate their own groups. Looking at Illustration 7 from the point of view of stimulus caste, the Brahmins are the most prefered, and the Mahars are the least prefered for behaviors near the home. The means for SD home given in the above mentioned Illustrations are all above the

TABLE 6

Five-factor ANOVA Summary for the SD Home with and
without Covariates.

Main Effects:	SD Home (No Covariates)	SD Home (3 Covariates)
City-rural (CR)	21.62 (p<.001) (df = 1,360)	NS
Subject Caste (SS)	7.62 (p<.001) (df = 2,360)	NS
Stimulus Caste(ST)	NS	3.17 (p<.043) (df = 2,357)
2-Way Interactions:		
CR x SS	5.51 (p<.004) (df = 2,360)	6.13 (p<.001) (df = 2,357)
CR x ST	3.81 (p<.023) (df = 2,360)	5.13 (p<.006) (df = 2,357)
SS x ST	3.70 (p<.006) (df = 4,360)	3.38 (p<.010) (df = 4,357)
3-Way Interactions:		
CR x SS x ST	2.82 (p<.025) (df = 4,360)	3.54 (p<.008) (df = 4,357)
CR x GBS x CBS	5.14 (p<.024) (df = 1,360)	4.29 (p<.039) (df = 1,357)
Main Effects (Covar.):		
Overall Modernity	N/A	5.99 (p<.015) (df = 1,357)
Casteism	N/A	26.20 (p<.001) (df = 1,357)

Note: There were no significant 4/5-Way interactions.
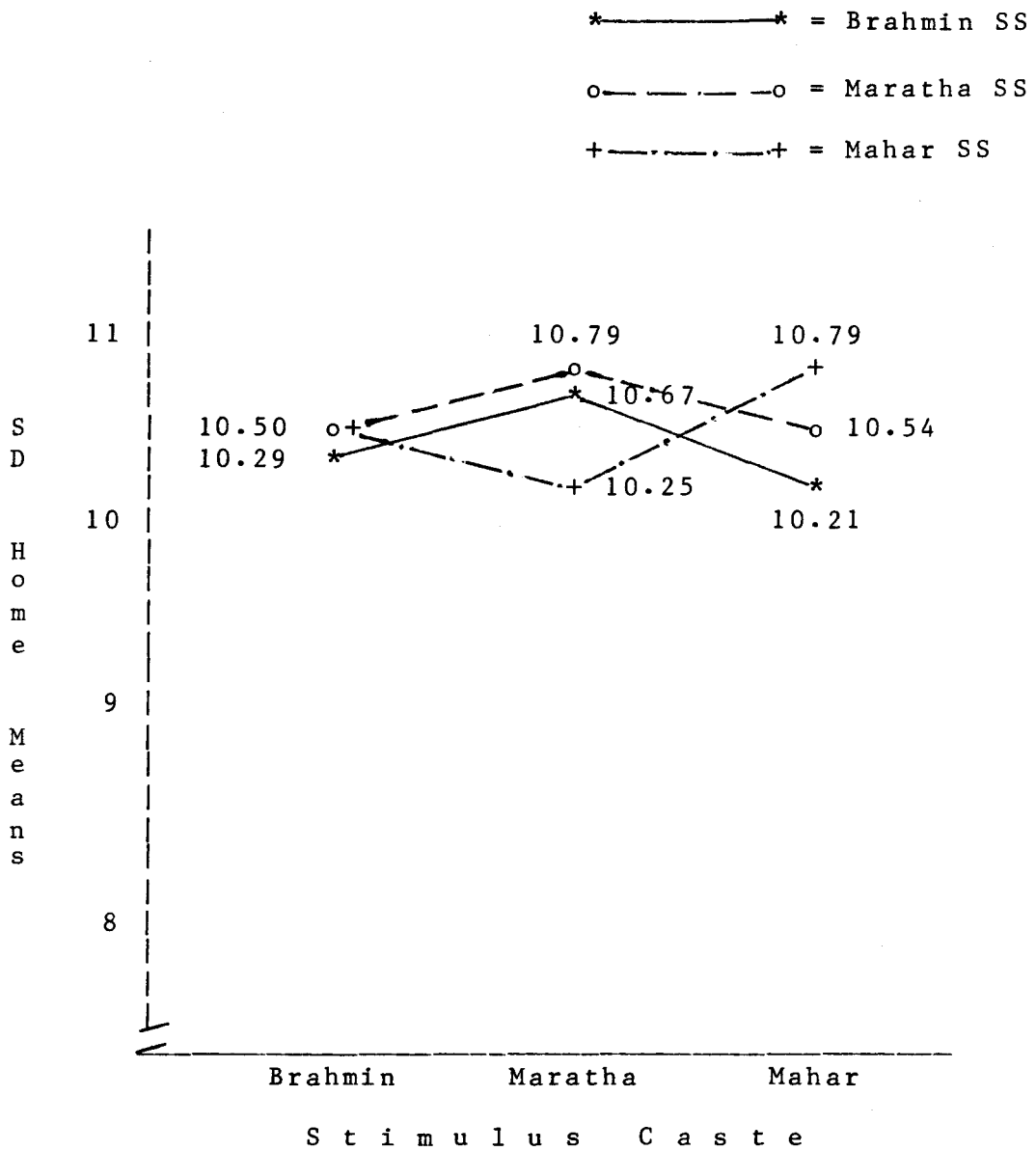
ILLUSTRATION 6: Graphic Presentation of CR x SS x ST
Interaction for SD Home in the Urban
Area.
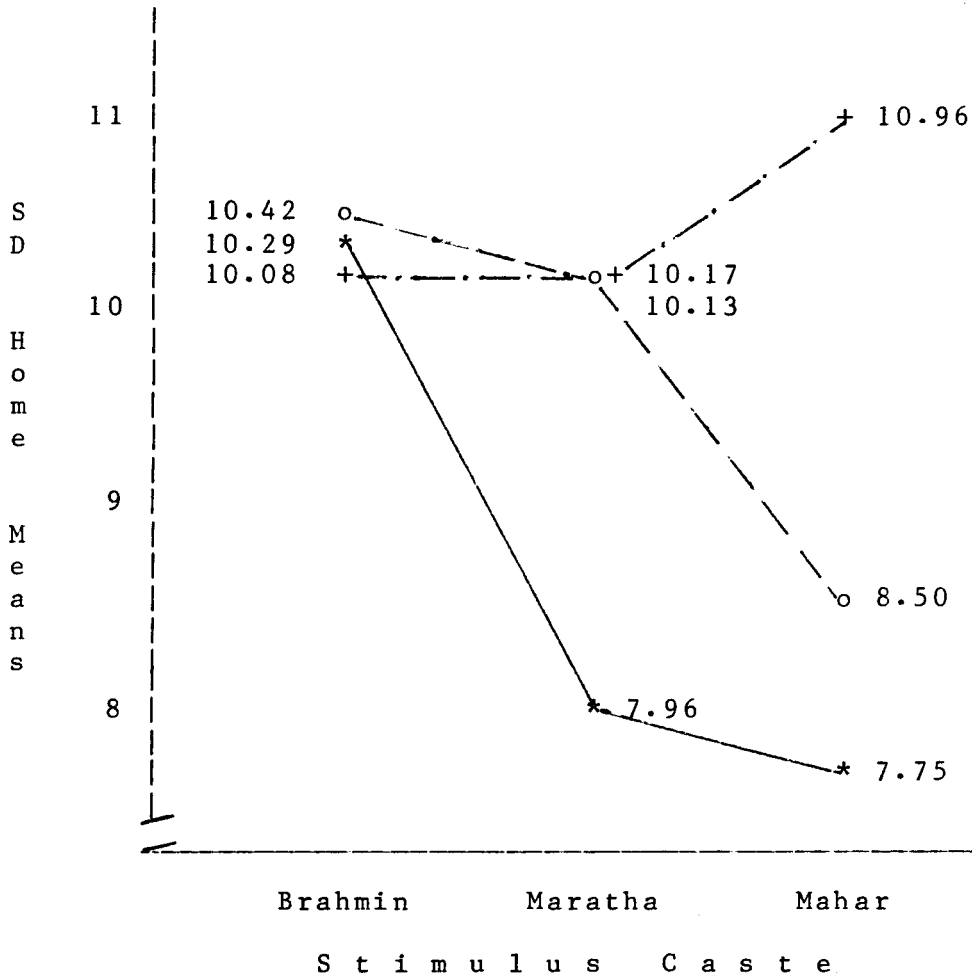
ILLUSTRATION 7: Graphic Presentation of CR x SS x ST
Interaction for SD Home in the Rural
Area.

mid-point of 5.5 (range for SD home = 0 to 11), and many are near the top indicating some ceiling effect.

The ANOVA for SD home also yielded a 2-way interaction of subject caste by stimulus caste ($F_{(4,360)} = 3.70$, $p < .006$). Illustration 8 shows that this interaction pattern is the same as the one for the rural sample with the differences between ingroup vs. outgroup means relatively weaker due to the impact of urban people. This interaction of subject caste by stimulus caste was broken down into four contrasts: (a) "same" stimulus caste vs. "other" stimulus caste across all subjects, (b) Brahmin vs. non-Brahmin stimulus for only Brahmin subjects, (c) Maratha vs. non-Maratha stimulus for only Maratha subjects, and (d) Mahar vs. non-Mahar stimulus for only Mahar subjects (See Table 7). These yielded significant t values (one-tailed) equal to 3.63 ($p < .001$), 5.67 ($p < .001$), 2.23 ($p < .05$), and 3.00 ($p < .001$), respectively. Thus across all subjects, persons from the "same" stimulus caste are prefered more than persons from "other" stimulus caste when it comes to SD home behaviors. Further, for each of the subject castes openness to the ingroup was significantly higher than openness to the outgroup. Looking at the subject caste groups relative to each other on the SD home measure, the Brahmins were more ingroupish than the Mahars, who in turn were more ingroupish than the Marathas.
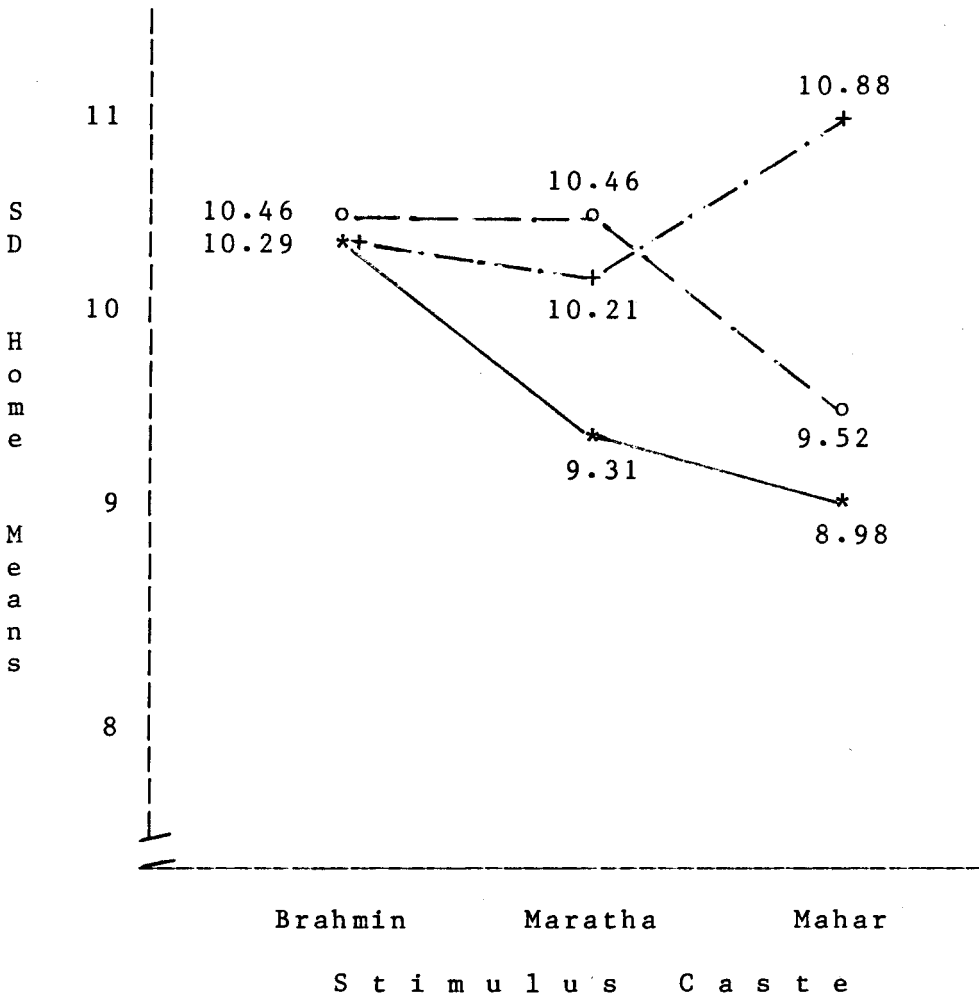
ILLUSTRATION 8: Graphic Presentation of SS x ST
Interaction for SD Home.

The ANOVA for SD home also yielded another 2-way interaction of city-rural by subject caste (F (2,360) = 5.51, p < .004). Illustration 9 shows that in the city sample the subject castes are not really different from one another in their openness to stimulus persons, but in the rural sample there are significant differences. The rural Mahars, who are the most open, are followed by the Marathas who in turn are more open than the Brahmins.

The five-factor ANOVA for SD home also yielded two main effects: one for city-rural (F (1,360) = 21.62, p < .001), and another for subject caste (F (2,360) = 7.62, p < .001). The SD home mean for the urban sample was 10.50, and the mean for the rural sample was 9.58, showing that the urban sample is more open to interact with others on SD home behaviors. The SD home means for Brahmins, Marathas and Mahars are 9.53, 10.15, and 10.46, respectively. This points to the fact that across the urban and rural samples, the Brahmins are more ingroupish than the Marathas, and the Marathas are more ingroupish than the Mahars on the SD home measure.

It must be noted here, that when the same five-factor ANOVA for SD home was done with the covariates (OM-12, casteism, and socio-economic status) the main effects of city-rural and subject caste completely disappeared (See Table 7). In their place the main effects of OM-12 and
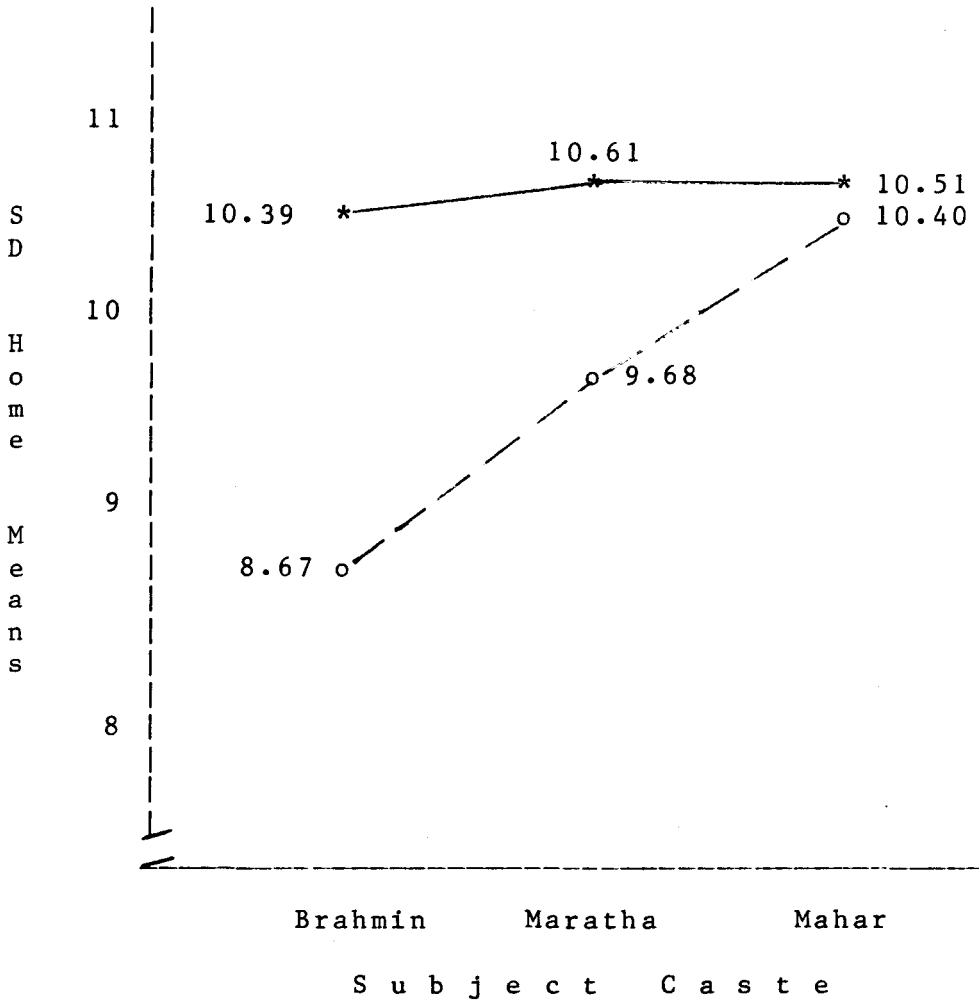
ILLUSTRATION 9: Graphic Presentation of CR x SS
               Interaction for SD Home.

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TABLE 7

F Values for Planned Contrasts to Examine Ingroup vs
Outgroup Mean Differences for Each of the SD Ratings
Across All Subjects and for Each Subject Caste.

	SD Home	SD Public	SD Marriage
Various Contrasts:			
"Same" Caste vs "Other" Caste: (For all Subjects)	F = 13.21 (p <.001)	F = 4.45 (p <.050)	F = 65.03 (p <.001)
Omega Square:	.038	.015	.155
Brahmins vs Non-Brahmin: (For Brahmin SS.)	F = 32.11 (p <.001)	NS	F = 109.21 (p <.001)
Omega Square:	.084		.235
Maratha vs Non-Maratha: (For Maratha SS.)	F = 5.01 (p <.050)	NS	F = 114.01 (p <.001)
Omega Square:	.016		.242
Mahar vs Non-Mahar: (For Mahar SS.)	F = 9.00 (p <.001)	F = 5.06 (p <.050)	F = 9.41 (p <.001)
Omega Square:	.027	.017	.028

Note: F values have been calculated from the t values
for each of the 4 contrasts. Degrees of freedom
for all F values = 1,360.

casteism were found to be significant. This shows that the variance accounted for by the city-rural and subject caste factors was in fact due to city-rural differences on the OM-12 and the casteism scale.

ANOVA for SD Public

The 2x2x2x3x3 ANOVA summary for SD public with two levels of city-rural, GBS and CBS, and three levels of subject caste and stimulus caste is presented in Table 8. First, this ANOVA yielded a 3-way interaction of subject caste by stimulus caste by caste belief similarity (F (4,360) = 6.19, p < .001). Illustrations 10 and 11 show what the subject caste by stimulus caste interaction looks like for the "low" and "high" CBS, respectively. The former Illustration shows that Brahmins are not open to other Brahmins who are "low" on CBS. The latter Illustration shows that the subject castes are more open to their own castes, when they are "high" on CBS. One should note here too, that all the means for the above Illustrations are above the mid-point of 2 (range for SD public = 0 to 4), and some of the means are close to the top showing some ceiling effect.

The ANOVA for SD public also yielded a 2-way interaction of subject caste by stimulus caste (F (4,360) = 2.44, p < .007). Illustration 12 shows that the Marathas and Mahars are more open to their own castes than to other castes. The

TABLE 8

Five-factor ANOVA Summary for SD Public with and without
Covariates.

Kind of Effect	SD Public	SD Public
Main Effects:	(No Covariates)	(3 Covariates)
City-rural (CR)	4.36 (p<.037) (df = 1,360)	NS
2-Way Interactions:		
CR x ST	NS	3.64 (p<.027) (df = 2,357)
SS x ST	2.44 (p<.047) (df = 4,360)	NS
SS x GBS	5.55 (p<.004) (df = 2,360)	4.59 (p<.027) (df = 2,357)
3-Way Interactions:		
CR x SS x GBS	3.16 (p<.044) (df = 2,360)	3.77 (p<.024) (df = 2,357)
SS x ST x CBS	6.19 (p<.001) (df = 4,360)	6.50 (p<.001) (df = 4,357)
Main Effects (Covar.):		
Overall Modernity	N/A	5.42 (p<.020) (df = 1,357)
Socio-economic Status	N/A	12.97 (p<.001) (df = 1,357)

Note: There were no significant 4/5-Way interactions.
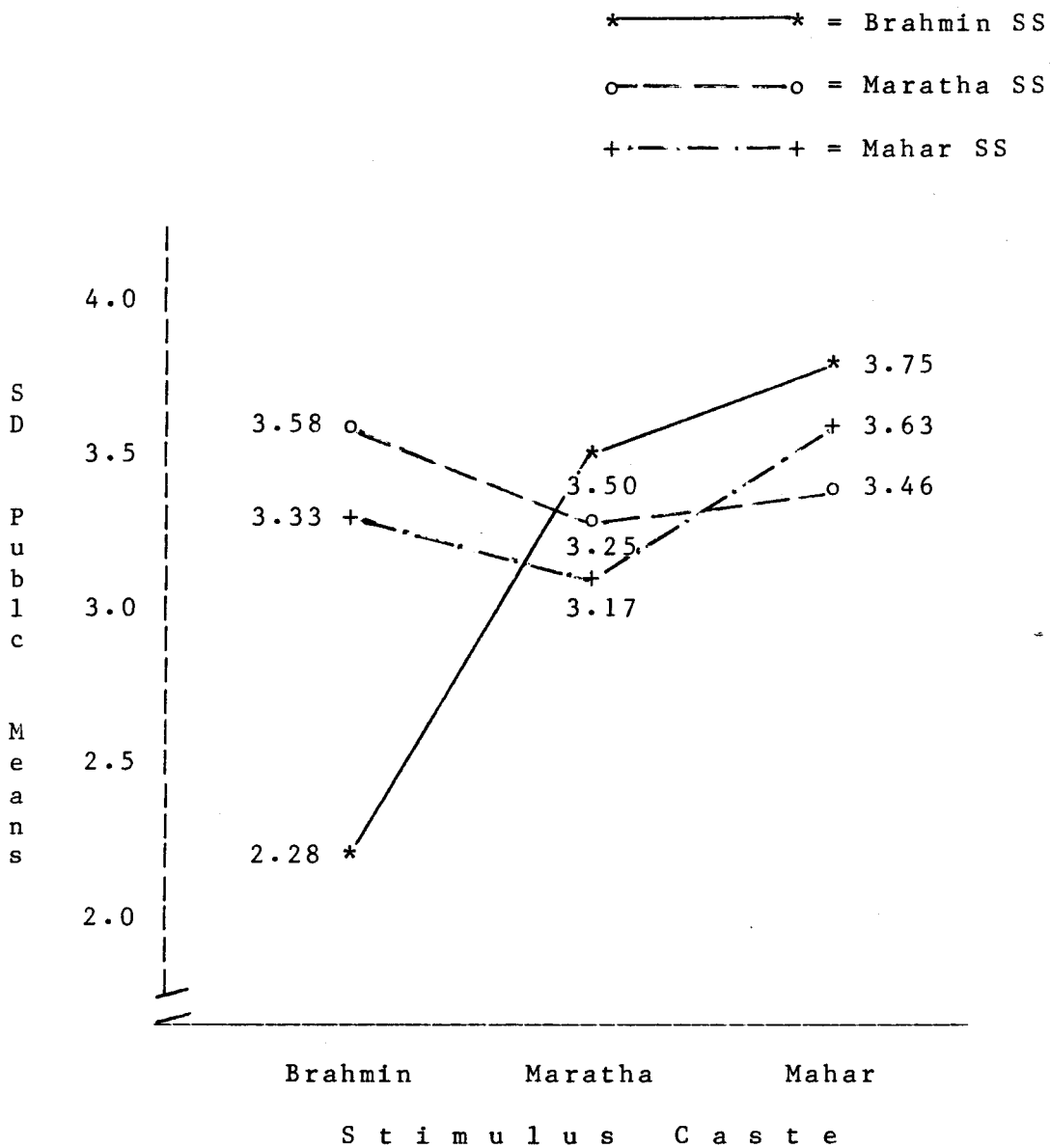
ILLUSTRATION 10: Graphic Presentation of SS x ST x CBS Interaction for SD Public in the CBS "Low" Condition.

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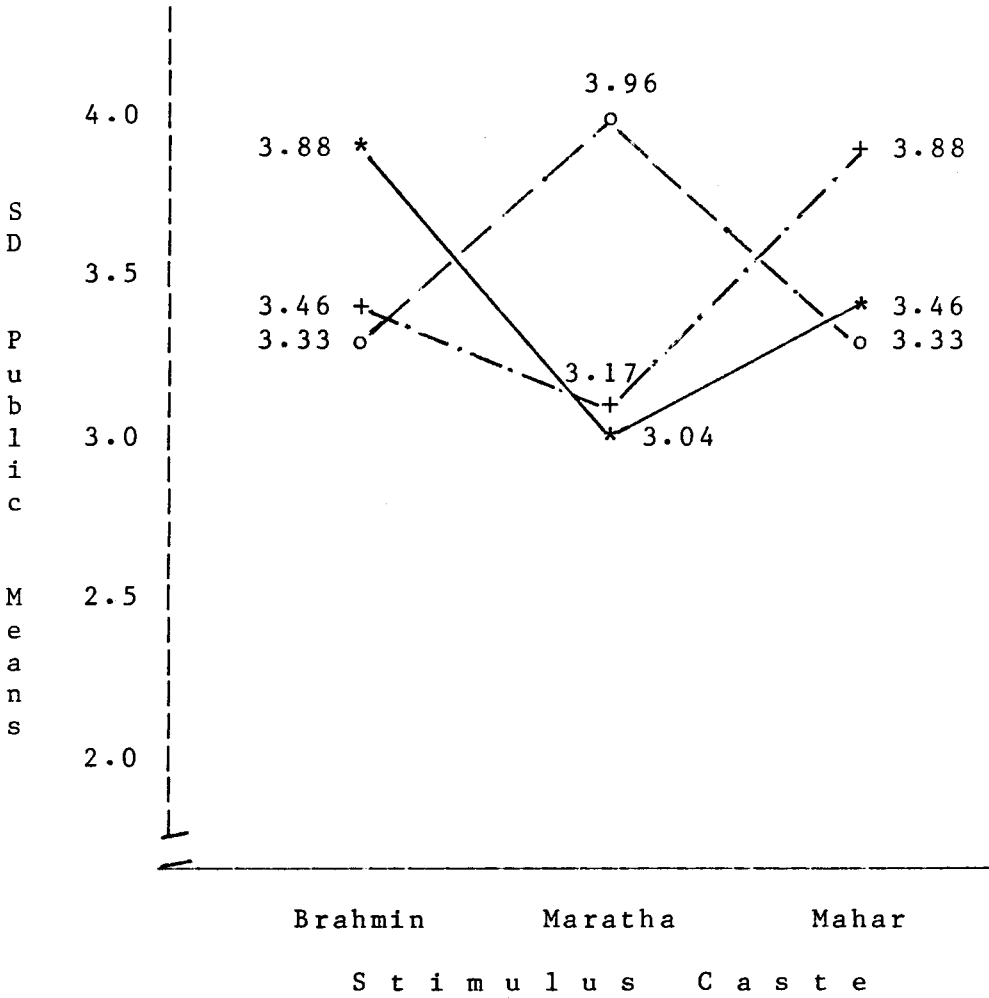
ILLUSTRATION 11: Graphic Presentation of SS x ST x CBS
Interaction for SD Public in the CBS
"High" Condition.

92
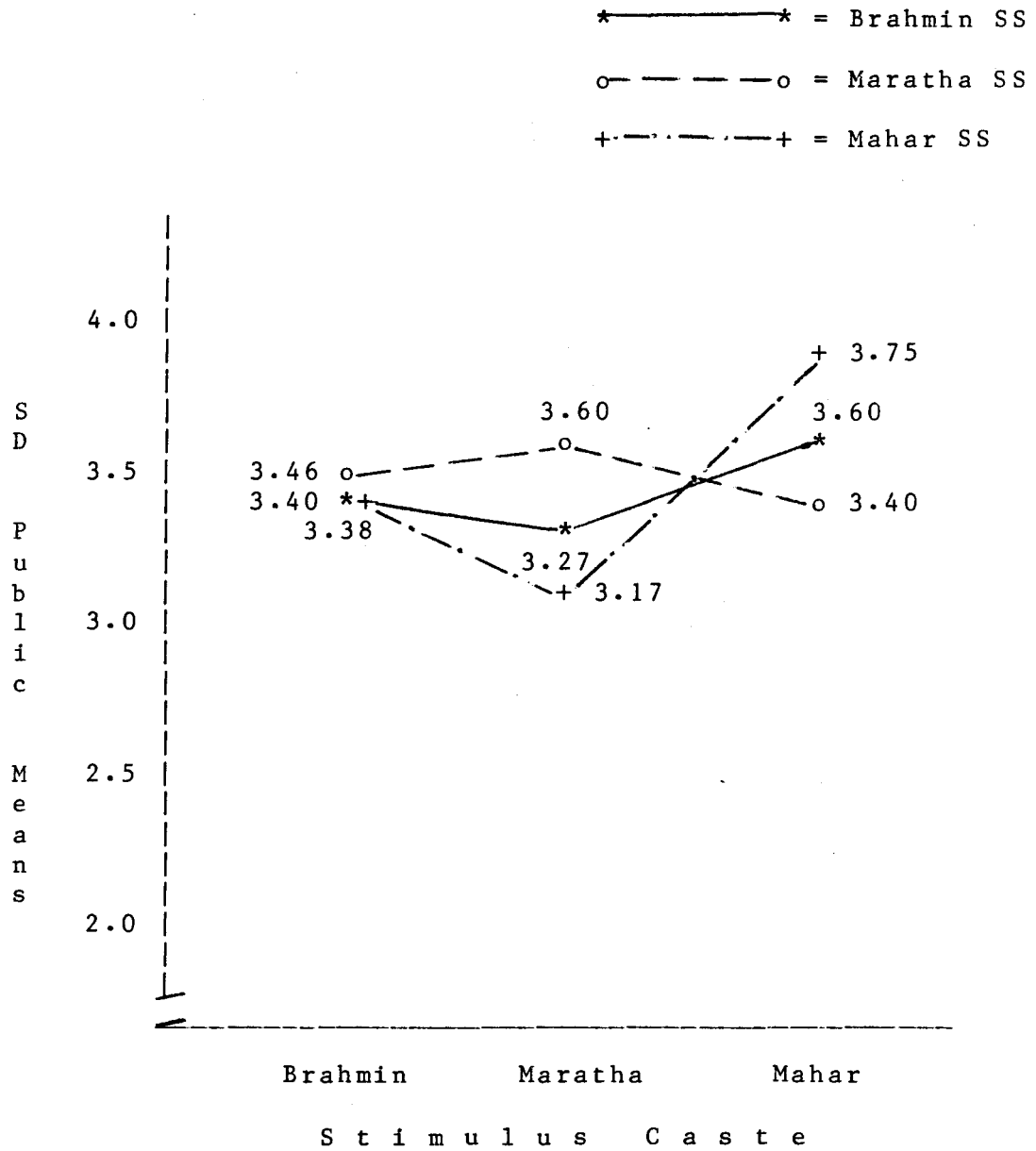
ILLUSTRATION 12: Graphic Presentation of SS x ST
Interaction for SD Public.

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Brahmins are slightly more open to the Mahars than to their own caste group. This interaction of subject caste by stimulus caste was broken down into four contrasts: (a) "same" stimulus caste vs. "other" stimulus caste across all subjects, (b) Brahmin vs. non-Brahmin stimulus for only Brahmin subjects, (c) Maratha vs. non-Maratha stimulus for only Maratha subjects, and (d) Mahar vs. non-Mahar stimulus for only Mahar subjects (See Table 7). These yielded t values (one-tailed) equal to 2.11 ($p < .025$), -.598 (NS), 1.85 ($p < .05$), and 5.06 ($p < .001$), respectively. Thus across all subjects, persons from the "same" stimulus caste are prefered more than persons from "other" stimulus caste when it comes to SD public behaviors. However, this conclusion does not apply generally because the Brahmin vs. non-Brahmin contrast was not only non-significant, but also yielded a negative t value, showing that their rejection of Brahmins who are "low" in CBS was really quite strong. For the Marathas and Mahars castes however, the openness to the ingroup was significantly higher than openness to the outgroup. Looking at the subject caste groups relative to each other on the SD public measure, the Brahmins were more open than Marathas, who in turn were more open than the Mahars.

The five-factor ANOVA for SD public also yielded a main effect of city-rural ($F (1,360) = 4.36$, $p < .037$). The SD Public mean for the urban sample was 3.36, and the mean for

the rural sample was 3.54, showing that the rural sample is slightly more open to interact with others on SD public behaviors. However, one must remember that the F value was very small.

It must be noted here, that when the same five-factor ANOVA for SD public was done with the covariates the main effect of city-rural which was weak to begin with completely disappeared (See Table 8). This main effect was replaced by significant main effects of OM-12 and socio-economic status. This shows that the variance accounted for by the city-rural factor was due to the covariates of OM-12 and socio-economic status.

ANOVA for SD Marriage

A 2x2x2x3x3 ANOVA summary for SD marriage with two levels of city-rural GBS and CBS, and three levels of subject caste and stimulus caste is presented in Table 9. First, this ANOVA yielded an interaction of city-rural by subject caste by stimulus caste (F (4,360) = 3.36, p < .001). Illustrations 13 and 14 show this interaction for SD marriage for the urban and rural areas, respectively. The ingroup vs. outgroup differences are larger for the rural sample than for the urban one. For the urban sample each caste group prefers its own caste group more than the other caste group. The Illustration for the rural area shows that this ingroup

TABLE 9

Five-factor ANOVA Summary for SD Marriage with and
without Covariates.

Kind of Effect	SD Marriage	SD Marriage
Main Effects:	(No Covariates)	(3 Covariates)
Subject Caste (SS)	13.70 (p<.001) (df = 2,360)	3.37 (p<.039) (df = 2,357)
Stimulus Caste(ST)	4.52 (p<.012) (df = 2,360)	4.44 (p<.013) (df = 2,357)
2-Way Interactions:		
CR x SS	7.92 (p<.004) (df = 2,360)	8.43 (p<.001) (df = 2,357)
SS x ST	18.32 (p<.001) (df = 4,360)	17.98 (p<.001) (df = 4,357)
SS x GBS	3.39 (p<.035) (df = 2,360)	NS
3-Way Interactions:		
CR x SS x ST	3.36 (p<.001) (df = 4,360)	6.59 (p<.001) (df = 4,357)
CR x SS x CBS	4.27 (p<.015) (df = 2,360)	4.36 (p<.013) (df = 2,357)
ST x GBS x CBS	4.96 (p<.007) (df = 2,360)	4.44 (p<.012) (df = 2,357)
Main Effects (Covar.):		
Socio-economic Status	N/A	13.93 (p<.001) (df = 1,357)
Casteism	N/A	9.59 (p<.002) (df = 1,357)

Note: There were no significant 4/5-Way interactions.

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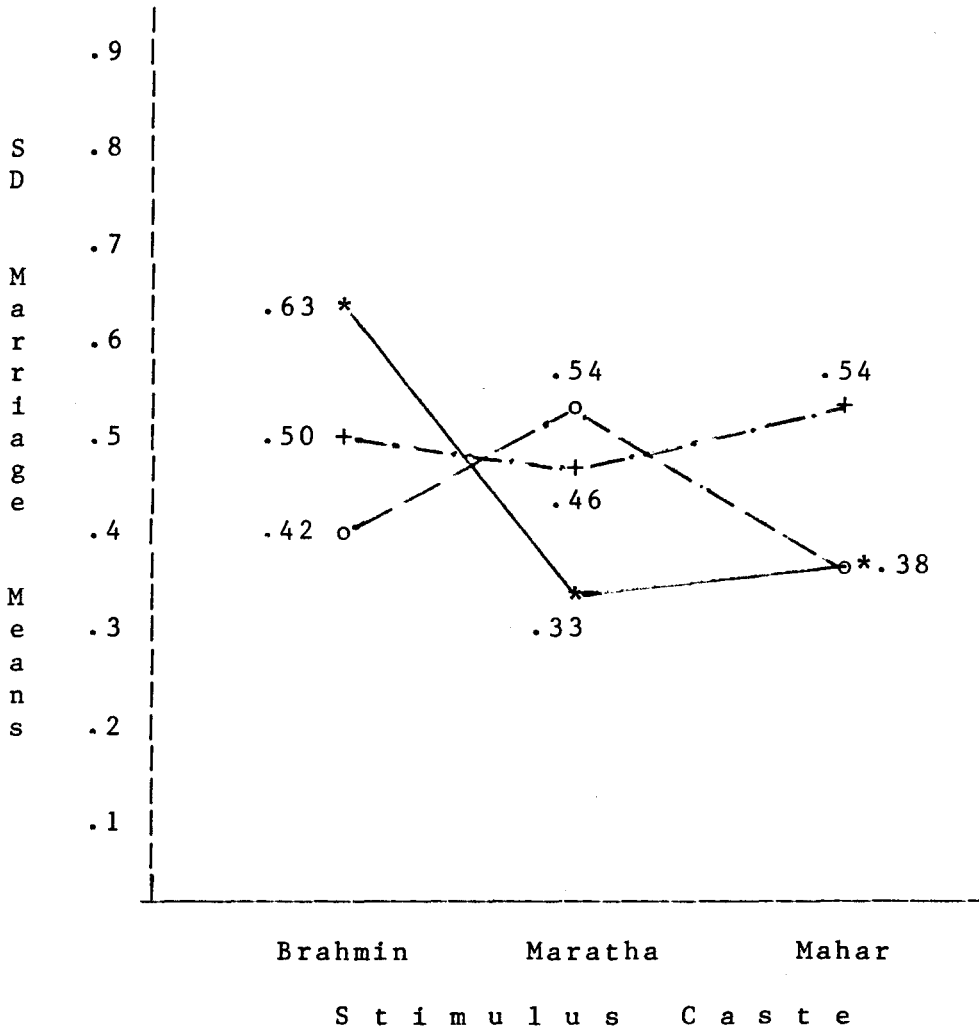
ILLUSTRATION 13: Graphic Presentation of CR x SS x ST
Interaction for SD Marriage in the Urban
Area.
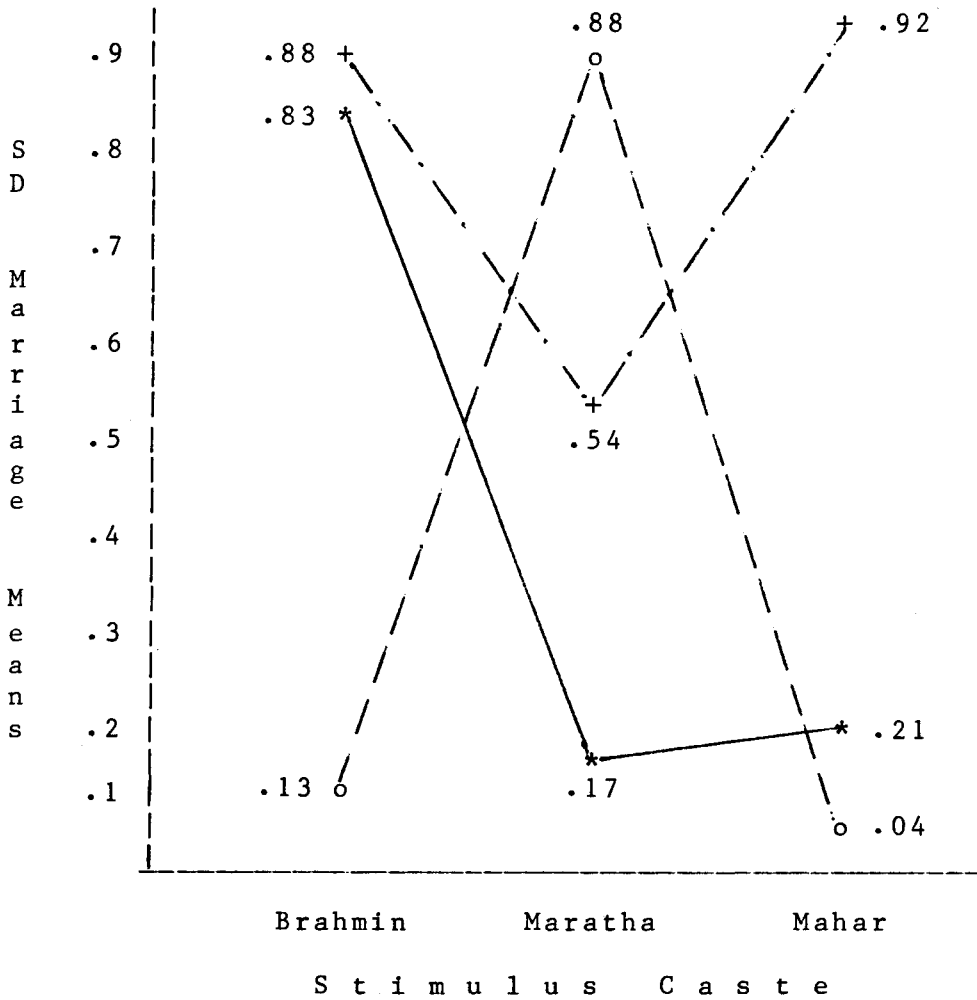
ILLUSTRATION 14: Graphic Presentation of CR x SS x ST
                 Interaction for SD Marriage in the Rural
                 Area.

preference is more marked than for the urban sample. In the rural sample, however, the Mahars show a rather high openness to the Brahmins. SD marriage with a range of 0 to 1 has no real mid-point, but any mean below .5 reveals that the majority are negative. In Illustration 13 only the mean of Brahmins rating Brahmins is notably above the mid-point. The rest are about evenly divided or negative. In Illustration 14 it is revealed that the great majority of Brahmins and Marathas would not marry outside their caste, but most Mahars would marry Brahmins and more than half would accept Marathas.

The ANOVA for SD marriage also yielded a 2-way interaction of subject caste by stimulus caste (F (4,360) = 18.32, p < .001). Illustration 15 shows that this interaction pattern is the same as the one for the rural sample with the differences between ingroup vs. outgroup means relatively weaker due to the effect of urban people. The high Mahar openness to marriage with Brahmins also shows itself here. This interaction of subject caste by stimulus caste was broken down into four contrasts: (a) "same" stimulus caste vs. "other" stimulus caste across all subjects, (b) Brahmin vs. non-Brahmin stimulus for only Brahmin subjects, (c) Maratha vs. non-Maratha stimulus for only Maratha subjects, and (d) Mahar vs. non-Mahar stimulus for only Mahar subjects (See Table 7). These yielded significant t values (one-tailed)
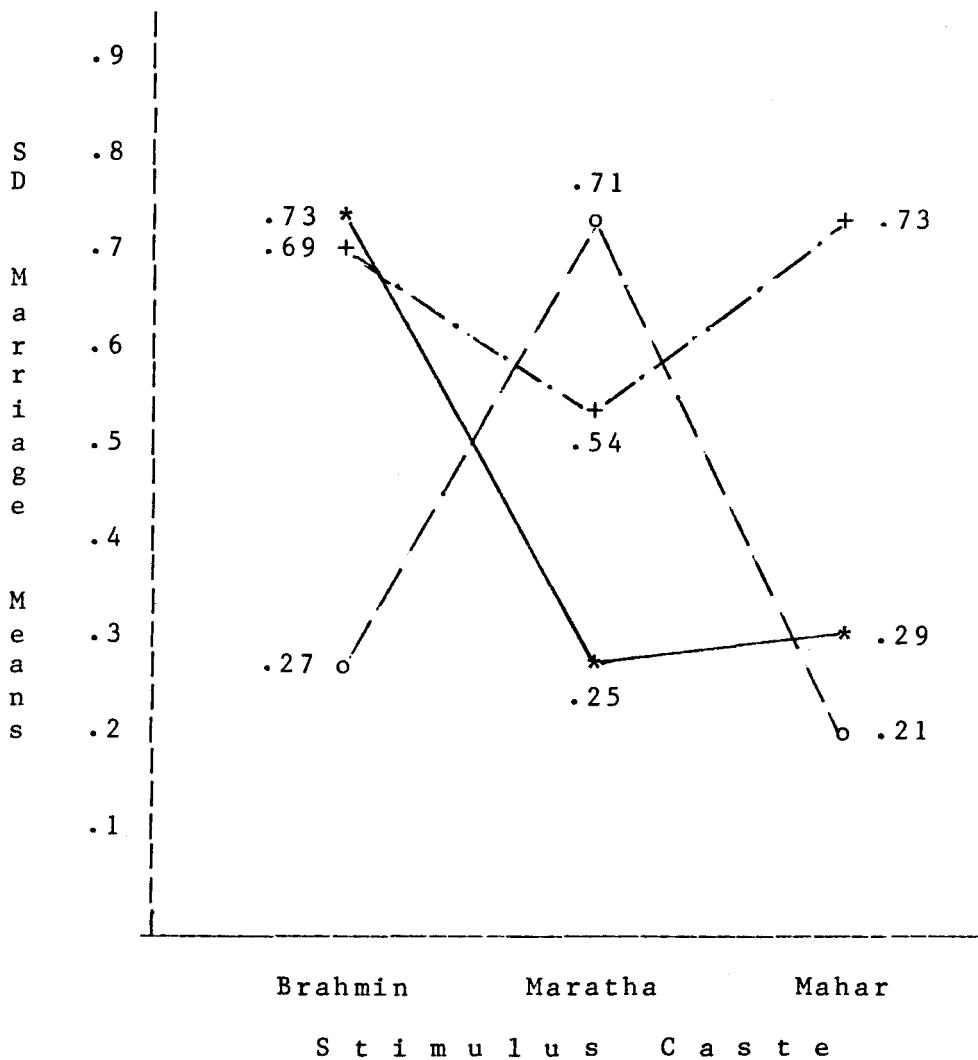
ILLUSTRATION 15: Graphic Presentation of SS x ST
Interaction for SD Marriage.

equal to 8.06 (p < .001), 10.45 (p < .001), 10.67 (p < .001), and 3.07 (p < .001), respectively. Thus across all subjects, persons from the "same" stimulus caste are preferred more than persons from "other" stimulus caste when it comes to SD marriage. Further, for each of the subject castes, openness to the ingroup was significantly higher than openness to the outgroup. Looking at the subject caste groups relative to each other on SD marriage, the Brahmins and Marathas were more ingroupish than the Mahars.

The ANOVA for SD marriage also yielded another 2-way interaction of city-rural by subject caste (F (2,360) = 7.92, p < .004). Illustration 16 shows that in the city sample the subject castes are not very different from one another in their openness to stimulus persons: the Mahars are only a little more open than the Brahmins and Marathas. In the rural sample however, the Mahars are extremely high in their openness on SD marriage.

The five-factor ANOVA for SD marriage also yielded two main effects: one for subject caste (F (2,360) = 13.70, p < .001), and another for stimulus caste (F (2,360) = 4.52, p < .012). The SD marriage means for subject caste are .42, .40, and .64 for the Brahmins, Marathas, and Mahars, respectively. The SD marriage means for stimulus caste are .56, .49, and .41 for the Brahmins, Marathas, and Mahars, respectively. This points to the fact that although the Mahars
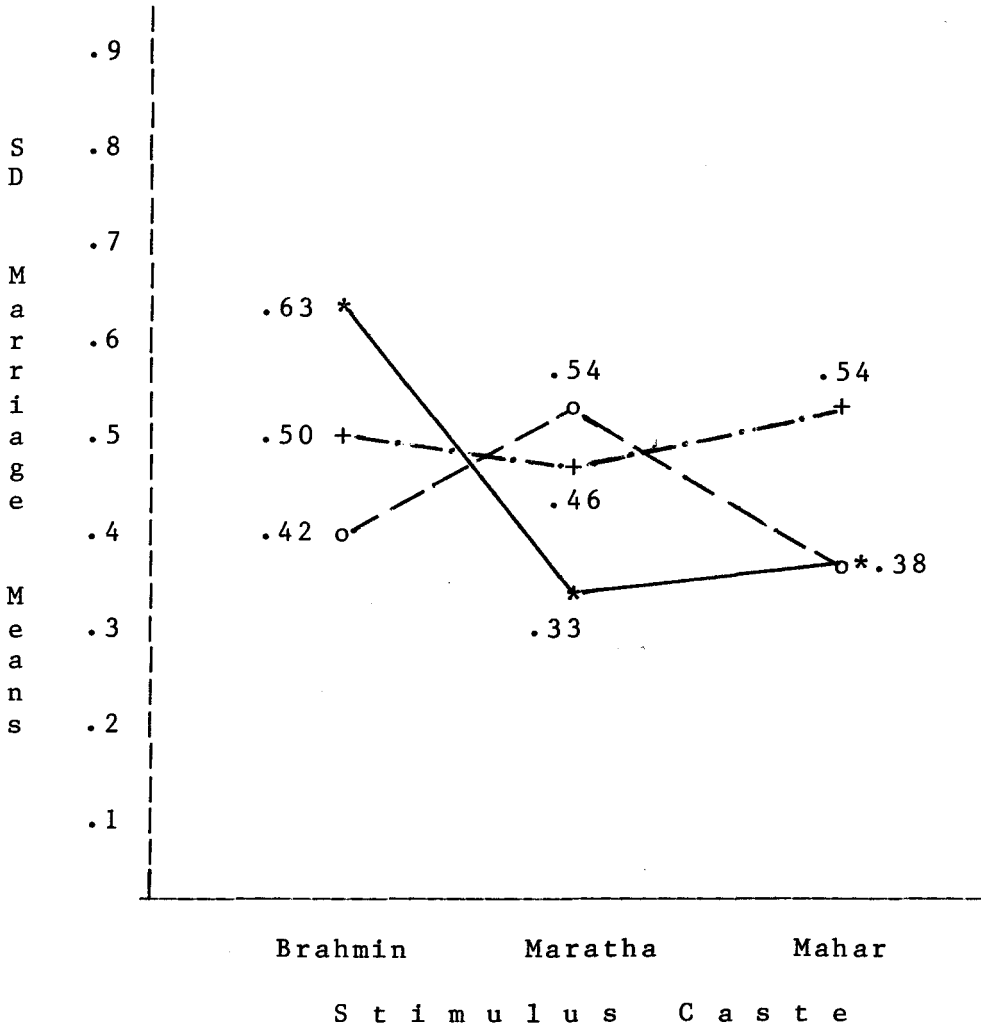
ILLUSTRATION 13: Graphic Presentation of CR x SS x ST
                  Interaction for SD Marriage in the Urban
                  Area.

are most open to others on SD marriage, the other castes show only a minimum openness to them. The Brahmins and Marathas are more or less equal in their openness to others on SD marriage, but when it comes to the most prefered marriage partners, the Brahmins are preferred.

Again it must be noted here, that when the five-factor ANOVA for SD marriage was done with the covariates the main effect of subject caste drops down considerably (See Table 9). This weakening of the main effect of subject caste was accompanied by the main effects of casteism and socio-economic status. This shows that a substantial part of the variance in SD marriage accounted for by the subject caste factor was due to the covariates of casteism and socio-economic status. The absence of any main effect of city-rural is worth noting.

Comparison of SD Measures

Because of a very strong social desirability effect on the SD ratings, there was a ceiling effect, which accounts for the rather high levels in the ratings given on the various SD ratings. This makes it difficult to find a great deal of variability in these ratings. The differences among the various ratings for caste similarity "same" and caste similarity "other" are also deceptive, because the range of each of the SD scales varies depending on the number of

items included in each scale. A comparison of these mean values alone could therefore be misleading unless one pays close attention to these range differences.

Therefore, Table 10 was prepared to demonstrate that even though the mean difference in SD home is significant, it is really not very different from the mean difference in SD public. The means were divided by the highest possible value to give a mean proportion for each of the three SD ratings. However, the differences between SD home and SD public are relatively closer to each other than they are to SD marriage. The mean proportion differences between caste similarity "same" and caste similarity "other" for SD marriage are greater than SD home, which in turn are only slightly greater than SD public.

Table 7 gives us an opportunity to examine all the three SD ratings in one glance and indicates that there is a continuum of SD behaviors ranging from the most intimate, i.e., SD marriage to SD public, which one can engage in away from the home environment. The F values for the caste similarity "same" vs. "other" condition contrasts show that the SD marriage: $F (1,360) = 65.03$ ($p < .001$) is larger than the SD home: $F (1,360) = 13.21$ ($p < .001$), which in turn is larger than the SD public: $F (1,360) = 4.45$ ($p < .05$). The Omega Square values in Table 7 show that caste similarity explains 15.49%, 3.8%, and 1.49% of the variance in SD marriage, SD

TABLE 10

Social Distance Means by Caste Similarity.

	Modified Social Distance Means (Mean Divided by Highest Possible Value)		
	Intimate		Public
	SD Home	SD Marriage	SD Public
Caste Similarity			
Same	.958	.722	.895
Other	.891	.368	.845
Difference in Means ...	.067	.354	.050
Omega Square Values	.038	.155	.015

Note: Actual range for SD Home = 0 to 11.
       Actual range for SD Public = 0 to 4.
       Actual range for SD Marriage = 0 to 1.
       Modified range for all 3 above = 0 to 1.

home, and SD public, respectively.

Similarly, the correlations of caste similarity with SD home, SD public and SD marriage showed the same hierarchy: i.e., the correlation values of caste similarity with SD marriage (.334, df = 430, p < .001) is higher than the correlation of caste similarity with SD home (.158, df = 430, p < .001), which in turn is higher than the correlation of caste similarity with SD public (.097, df = 430, p < .022). The last correlation was the least significant of all.

Analysis of Caste Similarity with Covariates

Doing the same five-factor ANOVA with the three principle covariates (OM-12, casteism scale, and socio-economic status) for SD home, shows significant main effects of two covariates: OM-12 (F (1,360) = 5.99, p < .015); and casteism (F (1,360) = 26.20, p < .001). However, the contrast caste similarity "same" vs. "other" for SD home was not absorbed by the presence of the covariates, showing that it is a robust effect, not affected by the presence of the covariates. Similarly, for SD public the five-factors ANOVA with covariates shows significant main effects of two covariates: OM-12 (F (1,360) = 5.42, p < .02); and socio-economic status (F (1,360) = 12.97, p < .001). However, here too, the contrast of caste similarity "same" vs. "other" was not absorbed by the presence of the covariates, showing that

it is a robust effect, not affected by the influence of the covariates. When the ANOVA for SD marriage was done with the covariates it yielded main effects of two covariates: casteism (F (1,360) = 9.59, p < .001); and socio-economic status (F (1,360) = 13.93, p < .001). However, the main effect of caste similarity for SD marriage was not affected by the presence of the covariates indicating that it is a robust main effect. The casteism scale yielded stronger main effects than socio-economic status, which in turn was stronger than the OM-12 (See Table 11).

Hypothesis 1.5:   General vs. Caste Belief Similarity

In rural areas, CBS is expected to be more important than GBS in influencing attraction and SD ratings. In urban areas, CBS and GBS may be equally important: however, for the urban sample, CBS may be more important for intimate behaviors, while GBS may be more important for public behaviors engaged in far from home.

Hence, 3-way interactions of city-rural by GBS by CBS would be expected. In other words, the GBS by CBS interaction would show different patterns for the city and rural samples. CBS was expected to be more important than GBS for the rural sample and vice versa for the urban sample. However, no such interactions were found except for SD home

TABLE 11

Main Effects of the Covariates for Each of the Dependent
Measures.

	Covariates		
	Casteism Scale	Overall Modernity	Socio-economic Status
Dependent Measures			
Attraction			
F values:	NS	NS	NS
Omega Square:			
SD Home			
F values:	26.20	5.99	NS
Omega Square:	.707	.182	
SD Public			
F values:	NS	5.42	12.97
Omega Square:		.177	.377
SD Marriage			
F values:	9.59	NS	13.93
Omega Square:	.288		.401

Note: Degrees of freedom F values in Table = 1,360.

(See Table 5). This 3-way interaction for SD home demon-
strated that "high" CBS was more important for the city sam-
ple than for the rural one in order to engage in behaviors
near the home. On the other hand, the rural sample engaged
in near home behaviors more or less to the same extent, when
the stimuli were either "low" or "high" on both the GBS and
CBS (See Hypothesis 4). This interaction did not show that
CBS was more important than GBS for the rural sample. For
SD marriage GBS was more important than CBS for both the
rural and the urban samples (a little more so for the urban
sample than for the rural). For SD public CBS seemed to be
slightly more important than GBS for both rural and urban
samples (a little more so for the urban sample than for the
rural). However, the differences for SD marriage and SD
public were too small to yield significant 3-way interac-
tions. These findings are shown in Table 12.

In conclusion, no evidence was found for the predominance
of the effect of CBS over GBS in the rural area, except for
SD public. No support was found for the predominance of GBS
over CBS in the urban areas, except for SD marriage, where
exactly the opposite had been hypothesized.

TABLE 12

Differences Between the Means of High and Low General and Caste Belief Similarity for Rural and Urban Areas.

Variable	Rural	Urban
Attraction	CBS* < GBS	CBS > GBS**
	.020 < .467	.380 > .314
SD Home	CBS* < GBS	CBS > GBS**
	.013 < .076	.121 > .099
SD Public	CBS > GBS**	CBS > GBS**
	.063 > .042	.296 > .127
SD Marriage	CBS* < GBS	CBS* < GBS
	.000 < .080	.040 < .140

Note: GBS = General Belief Similarity, and CBS = Caste Belief Similarity. Cells contain high minus low Belief Similarity differences in z values.

  *   Less threatening to the caste structure.
  ** More threatening to the caste structure.

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Hypothesis 1.6: Tradition and Modernity

The rural sample was expected to be more traditional in holding to the caste system and "orthodox" religious beliefs; it was also expected to be less modern and more prejudiced than the urban sample.

To be more traditional was understood in the sense of holding more strongly to the caste system and being more "orthodox" in terms of religious beliefs. The groups that are more casteist were also expected to be less modernized. The rural sample being more prejudiced implied that it would be less open than the urban sample on the SD scales.

Casteism in Rural Areas

Casteism, as described earlier, was measured by 10 belief statements relevant to the caste system. This scale was utilized as an indicator of how strongly the subjects favored the hierarchically structured caste system. This caste structure, not based on any egalitarian principles, has been supported by the religious traditions of Hinduism.

Table 13 contains the mean scores for each of the subject groups whether they be urban or rural. The overall mean for casteism for the rural sample (20.07) was much higher than the one for the urban sample (11.94). A two factor ANOVA for casteism with two levels of city-rural and three levels

TABLE 13

Casteism Broken Down by City-rural by Subject Caste.

	Subject Caste			
	Brahmin	Maratha	Mahar	Overall Means
Urban SS	16.51	14.28	5.05	11.94
Rural SS	25.63	22.86	11.72	20.07
Overall Means	21.07	18.57	8.38	16.01

Main Effects:

   City-rural   F (1,426) = 179.97, (p < .001)

   Subject Caste   F (2,426) = 164.18, (p < .001)

Note: Range of Casteism Scale = 0 to 45.

of subject caste yielded a main effect of city-rural: F
$(1,426)$ = 179.97, p < .001. The rural folk because of their
tradition-bound way of life find it difficult to give up or
even question the traditions of their ancestors. The same
ANOVA also yielded a main effect of subject caste: F
$(2,426)$ = 164.18, (p < .001). The Brahmins were the most
casteist with an overall mean of 21.07, while the Mahars
were the least so with a mean of only 8.38. The Marathas
were much closer to the Brahmins with a mean of 18.57.
Then, the Brahmins consider themselves to be the "top"
caste, and are normally acknowledged as such; hence they can
only lose by giving up the hierarchical caste structure. On
the other hand, the Mahars being lowest of the three castes
studied, can only gain by giving up the structure in favor
of a more egalitarian way of life.

However, it is not so easy to show that casteism has been
favored by the religious orthodox. An attempt to do this
was made by demonstrating that there are similarities in our
subjects' ratings on their casteism scale and an almost
identical group of 702 subjects who were asked to fill out a
small questionnaire on religious topics (items) that were
gleaned from a content analysis of one item from the pilot
study questionnaire (See Appendix B, III, 6.). The two
scales would have correlated positively with each other.

After most of the subjects were interviewed, the relig-
ious beliefs scale was administered to 702 subjects, which
included almost 80-90% of the subjects who had already been
used in the main study. Although the scores of these sub-
jects on the religious beliefs scale cannot be correlated
with other items from the main study, they indicate a pat-
tern similar to that of the casteism scale. The results
from this religious survey were very similar to the casteism
scale (See Tables 13 and 14). First, the two-factor ANOVA
for the religious beliefs scale with two levels of city-ru-
ral and three levels of subject caste yielded a weak but
significant interaction of city-rural by subject caste: F
(2,696) = 4.14, (p < .016). The same ANOVA yielded a main
effect of city-rural: F (1,696) = 43.59, (p < .001). Table
14 shows that the rural mean (37.21) is higher than the
overall city mean (34.59). Again the ANOVA yielded a main
effect of subject caste: F (2,696) = 28.72, (p < .001).
The Brahmins were more religious than the Mahars: Brahmins
mean = 38.33, while the mean for Mahars = 32.25; and the
Marathas were closer to the Brahmins with a mean of 38.04.

Hence, one could say that although no correlation of
casteism with the religious beliefs scale could be calcu-
lated, the similar pattern of differences in the means point
to the likelihood of significant correlations between the
two scales. Thus, the subjects of the same caste and loca-

TABLE 14

Religious Beliefs Scale Broken Down City-rural by Subject
Caste.

| | Subject Caste | | | |
	Brahmin	Maratha	Mahar	Overall Means
Urban SS	37.30	37.25	29.30	34.59
Rural SS	39.34	38.82	34.48	37.21
Overall Means	38.33	38.04	32.25	35.90

Main Effects:

   City-rural $F(1,696) = 43.59$, ($p < .001$)

   Subject Caste $F(2,696) = 28.72$, ($p < .001$)

Interaction:

   City-rural by Subject Caste

          $F(2,696) = 4.14$, ($p < .016$)

Note: Range of Religious Beliefs Scale = 0 to 45.
N of subjects = 702.

ation covary in the pattern of means they show.

The OM-12 yields results that are similar to casteism.
The urban sample was more modernized than the rural sample.
First, the two-factor ANOVA for OM-12 with two levels of
city-rural and three levels of subject caste yielded a 2-way
interaction of city-rural by subject caste: $F (2,426) =$
4.30, (p < .012). This interaction showed that differences
between urban caste groups were minimal, as opposed to the
differences between rural caste groups. The same ANOVA (See
Table 15). also yielded a main effect of city-rural: F
(1,426) = 164.53, (p < .001), and a main effect of subject.
caste: $F (2,426) = 5.03$, (p < .001). It is quite clear
from Tables 13 and 15 that the rural sample was not only
more casteist, but was also less modern. Hence, one would
expect to find a negative correlation between casteism and
the OM-12. This correlation was equal to -.387 (p < .001).
Thus, on the basis of this one can easily conclude that the
rural sample was more casteist and less modern than the
urban sample.

Given this background, the SD ratings can now be examined
to see if the data support the hypothesis that the rural
folk would be more prejudiced in terms of the SD ratings.

Refering back to the MANOVA table (See Table 5), where
all the three SD ratings were included together, one finds a

TABLE 15

OM-12 Broken Down by City-rural and Subject Caste.

	Subject Caste			
	Brahmin	Maratha	Mahar	Overall Means
Urban SS	42.44	42.26	42.54	42.42
Rural SS	38.74	35.68	36.33	36.92
Overall Means	40.59	38.97	39.44	39.67

Main Effects:

   City-rural $F(1,426) = 164.53$, $(p < .001)$

   Subject Caste $F(2,426) = 5.03$, $(p < .001)$

Interaction:

   City-rural by Subject Caste

               $F(2,426) = 4.30$, $(p < .012)$

Note: Range of OM-12 Scale = 0 to 55.

main effect of city-rural: F (3,358) = 16.75, (p < .001).
Although, this effect seems to be very strong, it dis-
appeared altogether when the same analysis was repeated with
the covariates. This showed that the city-rural differences
on the SD ratings were closely associated with the covari-
ates and were not as strong as they seemed.

However, looking at each of the SD ratings separately,
one found main effects of city-rural for SD home and SD pub-
lic, but no such effect for SD marriage. First, on the SD
home measure for intimate behaviors, the urban sample was
more open than the rural one. The means for SD home city
and rural were 10.50 and 9.58, respectively. These differ-
ences yielded a main effect for city-rural for SD home: F
(1,360) = 21.62, (p < .001). The SD home difference between
ingroup and outgroup means for the rural sample (1.30) was
greater than the difference between ingroup and outgroup
means for the urban sample (.19). This showed that rural
sample did exhibit a definite negative attitude toward
"other" stimulus castes. Second, for SD public, i.e., the
more public behaviors, the results did not come out as
expected. For behaviors away from home, the rural sample
was more open than the urban sample: City mean = 3.36, and
the rural mean = 3.54. This difference yielded a main
effect of city-rural: F (1,360) = 4.36, (p < .001). This $\underline{F}$
value was really not very large. The SD public difference

between ingroup and outgroup means for the rural sample

(.30) was greater than the difference between ingroup and

outgroup means for the urban sample (.09). Here again, the

rural mean for SD public was higher than the urban mean, the

rural sample did in fact exhibit a somewhat negative atti-

tude toward "other" Stimilus castes. Third, on SD marriage

the most intimate factor, the rural sample was more open

than the urban sample: the rural mean of .51 was greater

than .46, the mean for the city. This difference, however,

was not large enough to yield a significant F value. Once

again, one should not be deceived into believing that the

rural folk are more open to marrying any stimulus caste per-

son, because the means clearly show that the higher mean for

the rural sample was due to high ingroup openness (.88).

The SD marriage difference between ingroup and outgroup

means for the rural sample (.55) was greater than the dif-

ference between ingroup and outgroup means for the urban

sample (.16). Thus, the rural sample, which appeared to be

less prejudiced than the urban sample, was in fact more

prejudiced on all SD ratings.

Hence, in conclusion, the rural sample as compared to the

urban was more casteist, more religious, less modernized,

and by and large, more prejudiced in the way it dealt with

People of the "other" stimulus castes.

CHAPTER V

RESULTS: PART II "RELATED HYPOTHESES"

Hypothesis 2.1:   Attitude-Behavior Consistency

The measure of actual contact was expected to covary with
degree of attraction and SD ratings.

Seven behaviors common to the Indian context were used as
a measure of actual contact.   Subjects had been asked how
often they engaged in these behaviors with persons of the
stimulus caste.   Although these seven were all combined into
one scale of overall actual contact (overall AC) they were
also broken down into two subscales: near home actual con-
tact (near home AC) and far from home actual contact (far
from home AC).   These measures of actual contact were corre-
lated with attraction (last two items of Byrne IJS), SD rat-
ings (SD home, SD public or SD marriage), and overall SD
(all three SD ratings taken together).

In the context of this hypothesis, SD home was expected
to correlate positively with near home AC; this correlation
was also expected to be larger than not only the correla-
tions of near home AC with attraction, SD public, SD mar-
riage, and overall SD, but also the correlations of SD home

with far from home AC, and overall AC. Again, SD public was expected to correlate positively with the far from home AC; this correlation is also expected to be higher than not only the correlations of far from home with attraction, SD home, SD marriage, and overall SD, but also the correlations of SD public with near home AC, and and overall AC.

Although many of the correlations are significant and in the right direction, the sizes of two correlations are contrary to the hypothesis (See Table 16). The SD home with near home AC and the SD public with far from home AC are both smaller than expected. The correlation of attraction with near home AC was both positive and higher than the correlation of attraction with far from AC. This shows that those who engaged in near home AC also showed higher levels of attraction for the stimilus persons. The differences between the correlations of attraction with near home AC and far from home AC yielded a z value of 2.04, p < .005; and the difference in correlations of SD public with near home AC and far from home AC yielded a z value of 2.79, p < .005. These were the only correlations significantly different from one another. Moreover, the correlation of SD public with far from home AC was in the opposite direction, while the SD home with near home AC was in the expected direction. This correlation of measures of reported actual contact with SD ratings indicates that attitude-behavior consistency was

TABLE 16

Correlations of Reported Actual Contact with Attraction
and Social Distance Ratings.

	Measures of Actual Contact		
	Near home	Far from home	Overall Contact
With Attraction (Range = 0-10)	.154 (p<.001)	.013 (p<.394)NS	.078 (p<.053)NS
With SD Home (Range = 0-11)	.120 (p<.006)	.165 (p<.001)	.180 (p<.001)
With SD Public (Range = 0-4)	.149 (p<.001)	-.042 (p<.193)NS	.031 (p<.261)NS
With SD Marriage (Range = 0-1)	.182 (p<.001)	.082 (p<.045)	.143 (p<.001)
With Overall SD (Range = 0-16)	.163 (p<.001)	.122 (p<.006)	.166 (p<.001)

Note: Range of score for Overall Actual Contact could
vary from 0 to almost 210, if any subject claimed
that he engaged each of 7 behaviors everyday.
Degrees of freedom for correlations = 430.

critical within the home environment, but was of no great concern for behaviors away from home.

Thus, although most of the correlations point to attitude-behavior consistency (except on the far from home front) these correlations are indeed small and explain less than 4% of the variance. Table 17 gives the reliability values for the scales used in this analysis. The imperfect reliabilities, of course, serve to attentuate the correlations between the "attitude" and the "behavior" measures.

Hypothesis 2.2:   Contact Conditions and Attraction

Conditions of reported actual contact (not specific to any specific type of contact) are expected to covary with self-reported actual contact and interpersonal attraction.

According to the contact theory of prejudice reduction (Amir, 1969), a variety of contact conditions should be helpful in leading to more favorable attitudes. The contact conditions consisted of: (a) belief similarity, (b) caste similarity, (c) living near each other, (d) good acquaintanceship, (e) considering other as equal, (f) maintaining good relationship with other, and (g) disliking the caste system. This last contact condition had been specially included, since it was considered important for the Indian context. In keeping with the above hypothesis these condi-

TABLE 17

A Summary of the Alpha Values for Most of the Subscales
Used.

		Alpha Values
1.	Attraction (Byrne IJS 5+6)	.835
2.	SD Home (Near Home)	.910
3.	SD Public (Far from Home)	.676
4.	SD Marriage	N/A
5.	Overall SD	.892
6.	Near Home Actual Contact	.654
7.	Far from Home Actual Contact	.629
8.	Overall Actual Contact	.672

Note: SD Marriage = single item, hence no alpha value
computed.

tions of reported contact were expected to correlate with the degree of self-reported actual contact, showing support for the contact theory of prejudice reduction.

The contact hypothesis of prejudice reduction finds support in that the conditions often researched and found to have an impact on the reduction of prejudice were found to covary with reported actual contact and attraction. Table 18 presents the correlations of the conditions of actual contact with self-reported actual contact and attraction. "Disliking the caste system" was the only condition which did not consistently covary with the degree of self-reported actual contact and attraction. One reason for this could be that "disliking the caste system" does not necessarily mean that one can act according to one's dislikes. Doing the correlational analysis for each of the subject castes for the city and rural sample gives us an idea of what may be happening (See Table 19). There appears to be a marked difference between the rural and city samples. The correlations for the urban sample were smaller and far from significant while the correlations for the rural sample were either significant or nearly significant. This could well be an indication that the rural sample was more candid than the city one in reporting their acceptance of the caste system. On the other hand, they may have also over-reported their level of actual contact.

TABLE 18

Correlations of Contact Conditions with Actual Contact
and Attraction.

_____

	Pearson Product Moment Correlations			
	Reported Actual Contact / Attraction			
Row with Column	Near home	Far from home	Overall Contact	(Byrne IJS items 5+6)
Contact Condition 1 (Similar beliefs)	.240 (p<.001)	.402 (p<.001)	.416 (p<.001)	.196 (p<.001)
Contact Condition 2 (Same caste)	.302 (p<.001)	.143 (p<.001)	.244 (p<.001)	.185 (p<.001)
Contact Condition 3 (Live near)	.421 (p<.001)	.133 (p<.003)	.288 (p<.001)	.191 (p<.001)
Contact Condition 4 (Good acquaintance)	.181 (p<.001)	.164 (p<.001)	.206 (p<.001)	.159 (p<.001)
Contact Condition 5 (Consider as equal)	.146 (p<.001)	.241 (p<.001)	.250 (p<.001)	.153 (p<.001)
Contact Condition 6 (Good relations)	.163 (p<.001)	.299 (p<.001)	.303 (p<.001)	.172 (p<.001)
Contact Condition 7 (Dislike Caste Sys.)	-.066 (p<.085) NS	.198 (p<.001)	.123 (p<.005)	.016 (p<.368) NS

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Note: Degrees of freedom for correlations = 430.

TABLE 19

Correlations of "Dislike Caste System" with Attraction
for each Subject Caste in both Rural and Urban Areas.

	Subject Caste		
	Brahmin	Maratha	Mahar
Urban Subjects	.071	.012	− .004
	(p<.277)	(p<.461)	(p<.488)
Rural Subjects	.173	.224	.175
	(p<.073)	(p<.029)	(p<.071)

Note: N of Cases for each Cell = 72 only.
Degrees of freedom for correlations = 70.

The findings in Table 18, the near home AC correlated highly with contact condition 2 (same caste) and contact condition 3 (live near), and the far from home AC correlated highly with contact conditon 1 (similar beliefs), contact condition 5 (consider as equal) and contact condition 6 (maintain good relations). In this context, it was thought worthwhile to do a regression analysis to see if these were indeed good predictors of near and far from home AC for the city and rural samples. Tables 20 and 21 show the stepwise regression analysis with the variables in the order in which they were entered for the near and far from home AC.

For near home AC (See Table 20), there were three conditions which were significant predictors of the urban group: (a) live near (8.2%) (b) similar ideas (3.6%), and (c) maintained good relations (2.2%). For the rural sample, the one and only condition which was an important predictor was live near (23.6%). Similarly, for far from home actual contact (See Table 21), there were three conditions which were significant predictors of the urban group: (a) similar ideas (17.6%), (b) know well (4.1%), and (c) live near (2.6%). For the rural sample, the contact conditions which were significant predictors were: (a) live near (23.4%), (b) maintainted good relationships (3.7%), and (c) similar ideas (1.6%). Across both types of AC, "live near" and "similar ideas" were common predictors for the urban sample, and

TABLE 20

Order in which Contact Conditions were Entered in
Predicting Near Home Actual Contact. Variance Accounted
by Each Contact Condition is also Entered.

Predictors of Near Home Actual Contact:

Urban Subjects	Rural Subjects

1) Live near
$F (1,214) = 19.12$
    $(p < .001)$
Variance explained
    $= 8.2\%$
	1) Live near
	$F (1,214) = 65.11$
	    $(p < .001)$
	Variance explained
	    $= 23.6 \%$

2) Similar ideas
$F (1,213) = 8.50$
    $(p < .001)$
Variance explained
    $= 3.6\%$
	2) Consider as
	    equal

3) Maintained
    good relations
$F (1,212) = 5.54$
    $(p < .025)$
Variance explained
    $= 2.2\%$
	3) Same caste

4) Same caste	4) Know well
5) Know well	5) Maintained good relations
6) Consider as equal	6) Similar ideas

7) Dislike caste
    system
	7) Dislike caste
	    system

Note: Only significant $\underline{F}$ values have been presented.

TABLE 21

Order in which Contact Conditions were Entered in
Predicting Far from Home Actual Contact.   Variance
Accounted by Each Contact Condition is also Entered.

Predictors of Far From Home Actual Contact:

Urban Subjects   Rural Subjects

1) Similar ideas   1) Live near
F (1,214) = 45.96   F (1,214) = 65.32
   (p < .001)   (p < .001)
Variance explained   Variance explained
   = 17.6%   = 23.4%

2) Know well   2) Maintained
                                     good relations
F (1,213) = 11.22   F (1,213) = 10.90
   (p < .001)   (p < .001)
Variance explained   Variance explained
   = 4.1%   = 3.7%

3) Live near   3) Similar ideas
F (1,212) = 7.18   F (1,212) = 4.77
   (p < .001)   (p < .005)
Variance explained   Variance explained
   = 2.6%   = 1.6%

4) Dislike caste   4) Dislike caste
   system   system

5) Same caste   5) Know well

6) Maintained
   good relations

7) Consider as
   equal

Note: Only significant F values have been presented.
        Two contact conditions were not entered in the
        regression analysis for the rural subjects.

"live near" was the only condition that mattered for the rural sample.

In conclusion, the correlations of the conditions of actual contact (except "dislike caste system") were found to covary with self-report actual contact and attraction. The contact condition "live near" was a fairly good predictor of attraction for the rural sample, but no one good predictor was found for the urban sample.

Hypothesis 2.3: Attributions

Those more open on the SD ratings were expected to make internal attributions (IA), and those who are less open to make external attributions (EA).

In the light of attribution studies, it was expected that subjects who were more open on the SD ratings would want to take credit for their being so open, assuming of course that being open to others would be a socially desirable thing to do. The eight attributions included in the questionnaire were intended to be either external (items 1, 3, 5, and 7) or internal (items 2, 4, 6, and 8). Within the above frame-work, it was hypothesized that positive correlations of SD ratings with internal attributions for the subjects who rated their responses high on social desirability scale, and negative correlations of SD ratings with external attri-

butions would be found for those who rated their responses
low on social desirability scale. The social desirability
median was used to divide the subjects into the "high" and
"low" social desirability groups.

The correlational analysis done with the subjects broken
down into groups above and below the social desirability
scale median, did not yield the positive and negative corre-
lations one would have expected. "High" openness on the SD
ratings did, however, yield significant positive correla-
tions for item 6 (IA = open-mindedness of the subject).
Conversely, "low" openness on the SD ratings yielded neg-
ative correlations for item 5 (EA = caste differences). The
correlation of item 6 with all SD ratings combined together
(overall SD) was a strong .351 (df = 253, p < .001), and the
correlation of item 5 with all SD ratings combined together
(overall SD) was a modest .134 (df = 253, p < .05). Simi-
larly, "low" openness on the SD ratings did yield signifi-
cant negative correlations only for item 5 (EA = caste dif-
ferences). Conversely, "high" openness on SD ratings did
yield consistent positive correlations for item 6 (IA =
open-mindedness). The correlation of item 5 with overall SD
was also a strong -.318 (df = 179, p < .001), and the corre-
lation of item 6 with overall SD was also a strong .322 (df
= 179, p < .001). For the rest, the other attributions did
not yield any significant pattern consistent with the attri-

bution theory hypothesis.

Another way to analyse this data would be to compare the IA and EA scale means for the subjects "high" and "low" on social desirability. Subjects rating their responses "high" on social desirability were expected to show higher levels of IA than EA, and vice versa. It was also expected that subjects "high" on social desirability would make relatively higher IA than subjects "low" on social desirability. The means for "high" social desirability subjects for IA and EA were 11.68 and 3.87, respectively; and the means for the "low" social desirability for IA and EA were 12.12 and 3.23, respectively. These means support the idea that subjects "high" on social desirabiltiy made higher IA than EA. However, the second expectation was not fulfilled, because those "high" on social desirability made lower IA than those "low" on social desirabiltiy.

There are possibly two reasons for lack of support for the attribution hypothesis. First, the SD ratings were very socially sensitive, and were loaded with a high social desirability factor. As a result, most of the subjects reported that the kind of responses they gave were socially acceptable, which allowed for little variance in the social desirability ratings. Table 22 shows the mean ratings for social desirability were somewhat high: the city and rural means were 6.67, and 7.19, respectively; and similarly, the

TABLE 22

Social Desirability Broken Down by City-rural and Subject
Caste.

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Subject Caste

	Brahmin	Maratha	Mahar	Overall Means
Urban SS	6.22	6.36	7.42	6.67
Rural SS	6.83	6.92	7.81	7.19
Overall Means	6.53	6.64	7.61	6.93

Main Effects:

City-rural   F (1,426) = 9.21, (p < .003)

Subject Caste   F (2,426) = 16.22, (p < .001)

_____

Note: Range of Social Desirability = 0 to 10.

means for the Brahmins, Marathas, and Mahars were 6.53, 6.64, and 7.61, respectively. The actual range of scores clustered close to the median/mean making it difficult to divide the subjects down into two groups: "low" and "high" in social desirability. Second, what is considered as socially desirable by the subject is confounded by two sets of norms: (a) whether their responses are acceptable to society at large, and (b) whether their responses are acceptable within their own caste group. This confound possibly led all subjects to rate their responses as socially desirable either to society at large or within their caste group. This was supported by the fact that, although the rural sample was more ingroupish than the urban sample in its ratings of outcaste persons, it still considered its behavior to be socially desirable. The rural sample had a higher social desirability mean than the urban sample. If one compares this with the findings on casteism, one finds that although the rural sample was more casteist, it still thought that its ratings would be socially desirable.

On account of the above mentioned high social desirablity scores all the subjects were considered as belonging to the "high" social desirability condition and only one correlational analysis was done across all subjects. Table 23 shows all the correlations of all attributions with SD ratings. Except for item 5 (EA) and item 6 (IA), there was no

TABLE 23

Correlations of Social Distance Ratings with Various
Attributions for all Subjects.

Row with Column	Pearson Product Moment Correlations			
	SD Home	SD Public	SD Marriage	Overall SD
Attribution 1	-.054	-.028	.032	.043
(Social Pressure)	(p<.133)	(p<.283)	(p<.255)	(p<.187)
Attribution 2	.048	.008	-.015	.031
(Own choice)	(p<.159)	(p<.436)	(p<.378)	(p<.264)
Attribution 3	-.048	.049	-.045	-.055
(Religious Values)	(p<.039)	(p<.157)	(p<.176)	(p<.129)
Attribution 4	.051	.024	-.053	.036
(Own Educ. level)	(p<.147)	(p<.308)	(p<.137)	(p<.227)
Attribution 5	-.233	-.098	-.122	-.222
(Caste differences)	(p<.001)	(p<.021)	(p<.006)	(p<.001)
Attribution 6	.342	.176	.178	.336
(Own open-mind)	(p<.001)	(p<.001)	(p<.001)	(p<.001)
Attribution 7	-.045	.038	.028	-.017
(Situation limits)	(p<.176)	(p<.214)	(p<.284)	(p<.366)
Attribution 8	-.013	.026	-.009	.003
(Economic status)	(p<.397)	(p<.298)	(p<.428)	(p<.478)
Only internal Attributions	.192	.094	.031	.175
(Items 2, 4 & 6)	(p<.001)	(p<.026)	(p<.261)	(p<.001)
Only external Attributions	-.148	.008	-.044	-.114
(Items 1, 3, 5 & 7)	(p<.001)	(p<.436)	(p<.180)	(p<.009)

Note: Degrees of freedom for correlations = 430.

consistent pattern in the correlations. Apparently, these two attributions seem to be the only ones that were understood by the subjects as they were really intended, i.e., as external and internal. A closer look at the pattern for item 6 (IA) shows that those who were "high" on openness to the stimulus persons were also "high" on internal attribution. The significant positive correlations of item 6 (IA) with the SD ratings show this. The same group of subjects who were "high" on openness to the stimulus were "low" in their level of external attributions. This is seen in the significant negative correlations of item 5 (EA) with SD ratings. Thus across all the SD ratings, one finds that subjects do tend to take credit for responses they consider socially desirable, and do not like to attribute their praiseworthy behavior to factors in the external situation. This is also supported when one looks at the combined indices of EA and IA as reported at the bottom of Table 23. First, the correlations of SD ratings with IA scale are positive, and the ones of SD ratings with EA scale are all negative. Although not all of them are significant, they do lend some minimal support for the hypothesis.

In order to examine the confound of "caste" social desirability and "societal" social desirability, the above correlational analysis was redone by breaking down overall social desirability into its caste and societal components (See

Preliminary Analysis). These two types of social desirability were further broken down into sub-groups below and above the median. Furthermore, because of the high social desirability of within caste group behavior, only cases in the caste similarity "other" were examined. From the four sets of correlations (96 correlations altogether), 17 changed in the expected direction, and seven changed in the opposite direction, indicating some support for the idea that overall social desirability did deal with two confounded sets of norms. However, even with this method to eliminate the confound of caste and societal social desirability, the correlations did not yield a consistent pattern, and many of them were still not significant.

In conclusion, the possible confound of what was socially acceptable and desirable within the caste group and what was socially acceptable and desirable outside the caste group was one of the reasons why the correlations of attributions with SD ratings were not in the expected direction. Doing the analysis, for caste similarity "other" did yield more correlations in the expected direction. Thus, although the results did not yield strong support for attribution theory (Jones and Nisbett, 1971), they did give some support for the hypothesis.

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION

This study has covered several different topics in a whole array of closely knit and interrelated hypotheses. The results dealt with each hypothesis separately. In this discussion chapter, it was considered worthwhile to focus on each topic and discuss it across all the hypotheses that pertain to it. In keeping with this plan the following topics will be discussed: (i) attraction, (ii) social distance ratings, (iii) tradition and modernization, (iv) actual contact, (v) conditions of contact, and (vi) attributions.

Attraction

The first thing that strikes one about this study is the confirmation of the "Law of Attraction" in an Indian context. One finds that attraction is indeed a positive linear function of the proportion of similar beliefs purported to be held by a stranger. First, this was found to be true for overall belief similarity (OBS), and second, for the two sub-factors of belief similarity: i.e., general belief similarity (GBS) and caste belief similarity (CBS). This confirms the findings of Byrne and his associates (Byrne, 1961;

Byrne, 1962; Byrne, 1971; Byrne and Clore, 1966; Byrne and Griffitt, 1966; Byrne and Nelson, 1965; Byrne, Neslon and Reeves, 1966; Clore and Baldridge, 1968; and Griffitt, 1971). As belief similarity increases, attraction also increases. What is particularly striking is that this relation was supported in a different cultural context, even when no special effort was made to operationalize attraction for the new setting. Davidson and Thomson (1980), while arguing for functionally equivalent and cross-culturally validated measures, emphasize that these are not easy to develop. They state however, that the difficulty of developing such measures decreases as the strength of the theory or model one is testing increases. In the case of the "Law of Attraction," the lack of a cross-culturally validated measure of attraction was compensated by the strength of the theoretical relationship of attraction and the proportion of belief similarity. However, the fact that attraction was not operationalized for the Indian context, probably explains why the relationship was not found to be very strong. Better results could possibly be obtained with attraction specifically operationalized for India and the caste system.

Another reason for the lack of a strong effect of belief similarity (and perhaps caste similarity) is that the Byrne IJS, as utilized in this study, required subjects to respond

to a "hypothetical" person; in contrast the Byrne-type studies presented the stimulus as a real person, whom the subjects could possibly meet somewhere. The present study was originally planned to present the stimulus to the subjects as a real person, but owing to the great reluctance shown by many rural subjects to rate and evaluate a real-life person, the stimulus had to be presented only as imaginary. This, too, may have diminished the strength of the attraction ratings.

Furthermore, comparing caste belief similarity (CBS) and general belief similarity (GBS), the GBS vs. CBS contrast yielded a significant t value, and showed that GBS did influence attraction significantly more than CBS (See Hypothesis 1.1). This relatively stronger influence of GBS was also borne out by the ANOVA (See Table 2), which yielded a larger F for GBS than for CBS. The Omega Square values for GBS and CBS show that they explained 4.73% and 2.54% of the variance in attraction respectively. GBS was twice as influential as CBS in leading to attraction. Here, the small effect of CBS implies either (a) that the CBS is really not too important to the level of attraction one feels towards a stranger, or (b) that the topic of caste was a very sensitive one, making the subjects defensive, and consequently more cautious in admitting their dislike for or prejudices against those who did not agree with their caste

beliefs. Everyone who is knowledgable about the caste system in India is aware that the first alternative is contrary to fact. Besides, the evaluation by interviewers and the subjects' own ratings about the social desirability of their ratings points in the direction of the second alternative. As Table 24 shows, the rural subjects were very cautious, and were rated by the interviewer as being not completely honest in their responses. Similarly, looking at Table 25, one finds a similar pattern, where the rural sample felt about as threatened as the higher caste subjects. The latter alternative is also confirmed by the overall impression of the experimenter, who personally moved around in both the rural and urban areas, and spoke to several people informally. Most of their off the record comments seem to indicate that caste beliefs were indeed very strong and that the inclusion of this factor was a definite source of great threat to them. This led the experimenter to conclude that subjects were very defensive in their responses and cautious about how they were judged, and consequently were not completely sincere.

Attraction was also found to be influenced by the city-rural factor, when the analysis was done with and without the covariates (See Table 2). The city-rural differences indicated that, contrary to normal expectations, the rural sample had a higher threshold of openness to stimuli than

TABLE 24

Interviewer Evaluation Broken Down by City-rural and
Subject Caste.

	Subject Caste			
	Brahmin	Maratha	Mahar	Overall Means
Urban SS	9.54	9.88	9.99	9.80
Rural SS	7.94	8.07	8.67	8.23
Overall Means	8.74	8.97	9.33	9.02

Main Effects:

City-rural $F (1,426) = 287.04$, $(p < .001)$

Subject Caste $F (2,426) = 13.34$, $(p < .001)$

Note: Range of Interviewer Evaluation = 0 to 10.

TABLE 25

Normative Threat Broken Down by City-rural and Subject
Caste.

	Subject Caste			
	Brahmin	Maratha	Mahar	Overall Means
Urban SS	4.78	4.47	3.39	4.21
Rural SS	5.08	4.94	3.87	4.63
Overall Means	4.93	4.71	3.63	4.47

Main Effects:

City-rural   F (1,426) = 6.86, (p < .009)

Subject Caste   F (2,426) = 8.59, (p < .001)

Note: Range of Normative Threat = 0 to 10

the urban sample: rural mean for attraction = 6.82, and city mean = 5.85. However, this rural openness will have to be qualified because the caste similarity "same" vs "other" differences for the urban and rural samples showed that the rural sample was more open to "same" caste groups and less open to "other" caste groups: the rural mean for attraction in the caste similarity "same" condition was 7.66 and in the caste similarity "other" condition was 6.40, with a difference of 1.26 between the two; in contrast, the urban mean for attraction in the caste similarity "same" condition was 6.25 and in the caste similarity "other" condition was 5.65, with a difference of .60 between the two. Thus, although the rural sample was more open on the overall mean than the urban sample, it was more ingroupish than the urban sample. Besides, the variance explained by the city-rural factor is reduced from 4.03% to 2.42% with the inclusion of the covariates. This implies that a substantial part of the city-rural differences are due to the covariates of modernity, socio-economic status and casteism.

Rural India, with its relative lack of exposure to modern ideas and a rather severe lack of modernization, was expected to be more traditional and custom-bound by holding on to the old institution of caste more strongly. Several authors have claimed that caste in rural India would have a stronger grip over the people (Srinivas, 1962), or that

rural areas would be more prejudiced (Simon, 1965): consequently these factors would have a strong influence in leading to attraction. Hence, within the subject caste by stimulus caste interaction, stimuli of the same caste as the subject were expected to be rated as more attractive in the rural than in the urban areas. There was a "main effect" of caste similarity although subject caste or caste of stimulus by themselves did not influence attraction (See Table 2). But the city-rural by subject caste by stimulus caste inter-action was not found to be significant: the effect of caste similarity was not different for the city and rural samples.

Looking at the relative strengths of the main effects of belief and caste similarity one finds that each explains 6.67% and 3.35% of the variance in attraction. Belief simi-larity was more important: belief similarity had twice as much impact on attraction as caste similarity. In the con-text of several studies (Byrne and Wong, 1962; Insko and Robinson, 1967; Newcomb, 1956; Rokeach et al., 1960) belief similarity was expected to be the dominant factor. This expectation was supported by the results of this study. Other studies (Bergeron and Zanna, 1973; Triandis and Davis, 1965) found that race (group membership) also accounted for a significant amount of the variance in attraction, because of strong ingroup norms. This too was supported in that caste (group membership) did exert a significant influence

on attraction. It cannot be denied that the caste system does involve strong ingroup norms (Dumont, 1970; Kolenda, 1978; Mahar, 1958; Simon, 1965; Srinivas, 1962) and hence it is quite understandable that caste should also be an important factor explaining a significant amount of variance in attraction.

Knowing the caste system and how it functions in India, one ought to be surprised that this effect of caste membership was not any stronger. Wherever you go in India, some of the very first questions asked of a stranger are: "Where do you come from?" and "What is your name?" "What is your your paternal and maternal ancestry?" etc. (Bhattacharya, 1968). The questions are often adequate to identify one's caste and influence all subsequent interactions. Hence, it is clear that caste is quite salient in the minds of the people. Moreover, the caste issue, tied as it is to hierarchical status and discriminatory practices, is a very sensitive issue, and consequently does not easily permit subjects to be completely unbiased and honest. This latter reason also is a possible explanation for the small effect of caste similarity.

These results are limited, of course, to the way in which belief similarity and caste were operationalized. The results would probably be different if the operationalizations of belief similarity and caste were done in some other

way. Moreover, Triandis and Davis (1965) had expected and found race (group membership) influencing attraction when more intimate behaviors were used to measure attraction. The fact that caste similarity was found to influence attraction, although (a) it was not made as salient as belief similarity, and (b) it was not operationalized in terms of very intimate behaviors, shows the stranglehold that caste has over the common man in India.

One explanation for the absence of the greater strength of caste similarity over belief similarity in the rural areas could be that the rural folk, due to their lack of exposure to city interviewers or social desirability of the dependent measures, gave cautious responses. Once again one could look at Tables 24 and 25, to ascertain that the subjects did indeed appear threatened by the questionnaire. Here too, the informal chats with would-be interviewees and post-interview off the record remarks from subjects do indicate the extreme caution exhibited by the rural sample. This caution on the part of rural sample probably reduced the strength of the subject caste by stimulus caste interaction.

Another plausible explanation for the lack of the caste similarity effect could be that all subjects were volunteers. This "self-selection" may have led only those who were more open and liberal to volunteer for the study. One

could rightly assume that, only those persons who had little or nothing to hide in terms of their "socially" unacceptable caste relationships were among those who readily agreed to be interviewed. There were several who refused to be interviewed (the experimenter regrets that no data were collected to document this), among whom may have been the more bigoted and less open of the possible subjects.

A third possible explanation for the absence of the greater strength of the caste similarity effect in the rural area could be due to the fact that the city and rural interviews were conducted by two separate interviewers. Although efforts had been made to ensure that each interviewer would use the same standard procedure and explanations, it is not unlikely that some variations crept in, which may account for the city-rural differences. However, one must note that if there were any biases, they did not consistently show up in the same direction. For instance, the rural sample was higher than the urban one on the attraction measure, but the urban sample was more open on some of the SD ratings than the rural one. Furthermore, on the SD marriage item, the rural subjects showed a greater openness toward persons of their own caste, an openness which was much higher than the openness shown by the urban subjects. Thus one does find sufficient variability to support a lack of any consistent bias. The inability to keep to a limited schedule, and at

the same time to get one reliable interviewer to do all the interviews was a real limitation of this study.

Given the way belief similarity was manipulated and made salient, and the fact that reminders of caste similarity were minimal, the caste similarity aspect, although not forgotten, faded into the background, and did not affect the subjects as much as it otherwise might have. Although reminders of both belief and caste similarity were used throughout each interview, special care had been taken to keep the subjects reminded of the proportion of GBS and CBS, and this may have made the beliefs seem more important than the similarity of subject and stimulus castes.

Besides the differences due to caste similarity, the ANOVA also yielded a 3-way interaction of subject caste by stimulus caste by CBS across all subjects, showing that CBS leads to greater liking when the person is of the same caste than when he is of the other caste. This subject caste by stimulus caste by CBS interaction confirmed earlier findings, which showed that a stigmatized person would be disliked even though he was similar to the subject. In their study, Novak and Lerner (1968) dealt with stimuli who were stigmatized because of some mental/emotional illness, and were consequently repulsed. Byrne and Lamberth (1971) have also reported several replications of the Novak and Lerner study. In this study, stimuli with similar caste beliefs

were not liked in proportion to their belief similarity,
because belonging to the "other" caste was enough of a
stigma to warrant dissociation from them. Apparently, when
a person of the other caste is similar to the subject on
caste related issues the situation is as anxiety provoking
as when the person is similar but is stigmatized for some
"unacceptable" condition. Taylor and Mettee (1971) found
that a pleasant similar other was liked more than a pleasant
dissimilar other. Thus, being different on one dimension
was enough to create some dislike, although the stimulus was
likeable along another dimension.

Both belief similarity and caste similarity influence
attraction. Furthermore, both the sub-factors of GBS and
CBS are important, except that GBS seems to be the stronger
of the two influences. All in all, the effect of caste sim-
ilarity and CBS seem to be weakened by the fact that the
caste issue is a very sensitive one. In reality, the influ-
ence of caste and caste-related beliefs are probably much
stronger than the data seem to indicate.

Social Distance Ratings

When we go beyond the mere expression of liking and ask
our subjects about the various types of behaviors they would
be willing to tolerate of stimulus subjects, one finds the
belief similarity factor, which was quite strong in affect-

ing liking, is completely obliterated. When it comes to the mere verbal expression of liking for a stimulus person, belief similarity is more important than subject caste or stimulus caste taken singly or even when combined to yield a common factor of caste similarity. However, when it comes to behaviors between the subject and "other" stimulus castes, the factors which do exert any influence are the city-rural and subject caste and stimulus caste (See Tables 6, 8, and 9) while the factors of GBS and CBS are non-significant. This lack of a main effect for belief similarity in any form was truly remarkable, since the SD behaviors were a perfectly legitimate way of operationalizing attraction.

Table 26 shows that the correlations of attraction with the three SD ratings were fairly high and significant, indicating that the SD ratings were also measuring what can be termed as attraction. There is definitely something about the nature of the SD ratings that make belief similarity fade into the background and allow caste similarity to become so dominant. Another way to compare attraction and the SD ratings is to look at the pattern of interactions yielded by the attraction measure in the ANOVA and by the three SD ratings in the five-factor MANOVA. From such a comparison it is clear that there are some common interactions which are found for both attraction and SD ratings:

TABLE 26

Correlations of Attraction with SD Measures.

	Pearson Product Moment Correlations
Attraction	
with SD Home	.272 (p < .001)
with SD Public	.479 (p < .001)
with SD Marriage ...	.314 (p < .001)
with Overall SD	.402 (p < .001)

Note: Degrees of freedom for correlations = 430.

subject caste by stimulus caste by CBS, subject caste by stimulus caste and the city-rural by subject caste. This seems to indicate that CBS is somewhat important for the SD ratings as it is for attraction. However, there were no main effects for GBS and CBS for the SD ratings as there were for attraction. For attraction, GBS was significantly more important than CBS, while CBS was important only in some of the higher order interactions in the SD analyses.

Another possible reason for the lack of any main effect of belief similarity might be the way it was manipulated. Belief similarity may have had a stronger effect if: (a) a different degree of separation had been used (e.g., 10% vs. 90% instead of the 20% vs. 80%), or (b) more levels of similarity has been utilized, or (c) the total number of belief items had been increased. This would probably have made the manipulation of belief similarity not only easily noticeable but also more realistic.

The city-rural factor was found to be significant for SD home and SD public and non-significant for SD marriage. First, the urban sample was more open on the SD home; and while the rural sample was apparently more open on the SD public (See Hypothesis 1.6), it was in fact more open to those who were "same" than to those who were "other" on the caste similarity factor. The difference between the ingroup vs. outgroup openness was greater for the rural sample than

for the urban one. The rural context with its caste-ridden mentality still protects the home environment from encroachment by "other" stimulus castes, while it can afford to be somewhat lenient on interactions away from home.

Second, another factor that did influence this was that a village is, physically speaking, a rather small entity and interactions away from home cannot really be very far from home: it probably implies a walking distance of about one mile or less. For the urban sample, on the other hand, SD public behaviors could be several miles from home and involve travelling quite a distance. Besides, the urban context with its relative openness provides greater opportunities for interacting with other caste groups near the home and consequently eliminates the "need" for such interactions away from home.

Third, the lack of openness to other caste groups among the rural sample is the result of the housing pattern which segregates caste groups into different parts of the village. It is rare that low caste persons, except when they are Government employees or possibly very well educated, would live within the village settlement. More often than not, the low caste persons would live in a settlement some distance from the bulk of village housing or with some luck, on the fringe of the village. This definitely reduced the opportunity for the lower castes to associate with other high caste groups.

The differences between ingroup and outgroup openness on the SD ratings for the city sample were relatively small. The city-rural effects for both SD home and SD public are not independent of the covariates. The main effects of city-rural for SD home and SD public are obliterated when the three covariates are entered. This points to the differences between the city and urban samples being a function of their modernization, socio-economic level and the casteist mentality.

Although one does not find a main effect of city-rural for SD marriage, one ought not to be deceived into believing that there are no city-rural differences. The rural sample was extremely ingroupish on the marriage factor, so that the difference between its ingroup and group choices was very large. The urban sample was also less open to the outgroups but the difference was not too sharp. Thus, although the overall openness of the rural sample was greater than the city sample, this overall rural average was inflated by the super-ingroupishness of the rural sample. It is worth noting that on SD marriage, each subject caste is ingroupish in saying "Yes" to an approximately equal number in the "same" stimulus caste (Brahmins = 35, Marathas = 34, and Mahars = 35); however, when it comes to the number of "Yes" responses in the "other" stimulus caste condition, one finds that the Mahars are the only ones who make more outgroup choices

(Brahmins = 26, Marathas = 23, and Mahars = 57). This seems
quite natural for the Mahars, because marriage with out-
groups implies moving up the status ladder in society, while
for the Brahmins and Marathas, it means giving up their
caste-related high status.

Comparing the three covariates, it is obvious that caste-
ism exerts the strongest influence on SD home, accounting
for 7.07% of the variance; it also exerts a moderate influ-
ence on SD marriage, explaining 2.88% of the variance (See
Table 11). The next important covariate was socio-economic
status accounting for 3.77% and 4.01% of the variances in SD
public and SD marriage respectively. The OM-12 showed
itself to be the weakest of the three, explaining 1.82% and
1.77% of the variances in SD home and SD public, respec-
tively. Thus, modernization as measured by the OM-12 did
not account very much for the different levels in the depen-
dent measures. The dominant position of casteism fits in
perfectly with the caste-conscious society, which is afraid
to admit its part in the oppressive structure, but also does
little to discourage the flagrant violation of the rights of
lower castes, who linger at the bottom of the totem pole.

The subjects in this study were more affected by caste
beliefs - traditionally backed by the "orthodox" religious -
and by their own socio-economic status. More than just
accepting modern ideas in general, one has especially to

give up traditional caste beliefs and also enjoy a fairly
high socio-economic status in order to be open to others on
the SD ratings. Table 27 shows a pattern of mean values for
socio-economic status that parallels the OM-12 (See Table
15). The correlations of OM-12 with socio-economic status
(.521, df = 430, p < .001) indicates that attitudes toward
modernity and economic well-being go hand in hand. Again,
the correlations of the casteism scale with socio-economic
status (-.140, df = 430, p < .002) and with the OM-12
(-.387, df = 430, p < .001), show that casteism diminishes
as the economic well-being and favorable attitudes toward
modernity flourish. In this context, many more SD interac-
tions would be encouraged between the various caste groups
by reducing the dominance of caste beliefs, and by raising
the socio-economic status of the people. The relatively
stronger effects of casteism on the SD ratings seem to sug-
gest that the subjects' efforts to give only cautious and
socially desirable responses were not entirely successful.

The other aspect of the SD ratings is the presence of a
clear cut hierarchy from the most intimate to the most pub-
lic. Triandis and Davis (1965) found support for the view
that greater social distance would be maintained between
persons of diverse racial groups when it comes to intimate
rather than public behaviors. This finding was also con-
firmed here (See Table 7). Rokeach et al. (1960), while

TABLE 27

Socio-economic Status Broken Down City-rural by Subject
Caste.

| | Subject Caste | | | |
	Brahmin	Maratha	Mahar	Overall Means
Urban SS	11.32	12.81	8.17	10.76
Rural SS	6.82	6.61	4.85	6.09
Overall Means	9.09	9.71	6.51	8.46

Main Effects:

City-rural   F (1,426) = 263.94, (p < .001)

Subject Caste   F (2,426) = 46.30, (p < .001)

Interaction:

City-rural by Subject Caste:

F (2,426) = 8.42, (p < .001)

Note: Range of Socio-economic Status = 0 to 20.

examining the race vs. belief controversy, had also found that Whites rejected Blacks who had similar beliefs from intimate social relationships, but apparently liked them when they engaged in more casual encounters. SD marriage is the one interaction which is strongly guarded by the most extreme form of ingroup breeding. The other measures, SD home and SD public, are more susceptible to change than the marriage item. And in the case of SD home and SD public the subjects were more willing to tolerate behaviors which were public than those which were near home. If any realistic change is to take place in the amount of SD behaviors between the caste groups, one would have to start with goals that are achievable, namely those more amenable to change like the SD public behaviors rather than with those which would be more resistant to change, like SD marriage, or even some of the SD home items.

It was also expected that the subject caste by stimulus caste by CBS interaction for attraction and SD home would yield a different pattern for the city and the rural areas. Basically, one would expect a 4-way interaction of city-rural by subject caste by stimulus caste by CBS. But no such interaction was found for any of the SD ratings. One finds however, a pattern contrary to one's expectations, which indicates that the caste belief factor is of greater concern to the urban sample than to the rural one. Table 12 which

shows the differences between the city and rural means for GBS and CBS point to SD public as the area where all subjects are interested in associating with stimuli who have similar caste related ideas, while they are not too concerned about this when it comes to SD marriage. One reason for this seems to be that the marriage item is so protected by all the "do's" and "don't's" that the question of checking into CBS just does not arise, because it is taken for granted. The rural sample, in a similar way, was not concerned about CBS when associating with other stimuli, while the city sample liked stimuli who were similar to them in caste beliefs and would associate with them on the SD home, and SD public type behaviors. The rural sample lived in an environment protective of its caste structure and beliefs, and hence did not feel too threatened by "some" differences in caste-related beliefs. For the urban sample however, which is constantly bombarded by a whole variety of "anti" caste beliefs and behaviors, CBS seemed to be more critical than GBS. History bears it out time and again, that when the existence of a group is threatened by an "hostile" environment, the group fights back to protect itself.

In the case of SD ratings too, there were problems of ceiling effects due to the social desirability of the measures. Very often subjects would give a response indicating high openness to "other" castes, although they did not

really mean it. One rather clear instance of this was seen
by the experimenter in an exchange of ideas with a rural
Brahmin. After the interview was over, a Brahmin who had
said that he was open to let his son marry outside the
caste, made a complete about-face in a more informal talk
with him. The experimenter was willing to admit that often,
the lower caste people in a rural area are not too concerned
about hygiene and cleanliness, a factor instrumental in
explaining the reluctance of the Brahmins to associate with
them. This encouraged the Brahmin to venture on a long
tirade against the lower castes for their lack of education
and culture, as the principle reason why the Brahmins do not
easily inter-marry. The experimenter suggested a scenario
in which a good-hearted Brahmin would adopt a low caste
child and bring him up according to all the standards of
education and culture prevelant in a Brahmin household, and
then asked the Brahmin whether he would be open to let his
daughter marry such a "cultured" but low caste person. At
this, the Brahmin was incensed and angrily retorted: "The
question of marrying or giving my daughter in marriage is no
concern of anybody outside my household." This seems to
discard the notion that the upper castes do not inter-marry
with the low castes for reasons of hygiene, education, or
culture. The idea of possessing "blue-blood" and caste-su-
periority, which cannot easily be wiped out or overlooked
even if others abide by their standards of hygiene, educa-

tion and culture lurks at the back of their minds.

Thus, in summary, it could be said that the SD ratings used in this study were good indicators of the level of prejudice which exists within the caste context. The subject caste and stimulus caste surface again and again in different ways to show how they are important for within caste interaction, and how they discourage relationships with other caste groups. The CBS factor also featured in some of the higher order interactions.

Tradition and Modernization

With regard to hypothesis 1.6, the results show that greater SD was maintained by the rural sample, which was more casteist, although not significantly so for SD public. Table 13 shows that the rural sample was more casteist and less open on the SD ratings. Although the same subjects could not be utilized for the religious beliefs scale, the results of the casteism scale from the main study (See Table 13) and the religious beliefs scale data from a partly different sample (See Table 14) were found to be parallel. This is due to the fact that the higher castes (Brahmins and Marathas) have all to gain by holding on to the caste system, while the Mahars have all to loose by the perpetuation of the status quo. The city Mahars are the lowest on the casteist scale and are also the most extreme in their rejec-

tion of the caste system.

Concerning the question of religious "orthodoxy," the Brahmins and Marathas have shown higher scores on the religious beliefs scale than the Mahars. The latter demonstrate their utter rejection of the religious traditions which have harbored the hierarchical structure of the caste system. Although many Mahars openly take pride in belonging to their caste, in principle they have given up Hinduism and have embraced Buddhism. Most of the post-interview informal chats seemed to indicate their total disregard for "orthodox" Hinduism which has perpetrated oppression and misery for them over the centuries. In practice however, many Mahar Buddhists still hold to Hindu religious practices, and although they have "officially" become Buddhists, they are still treated like other Mahars who have chosen to remain within the Hindu fold. Basically, the Mahars are clamoring for equality and want to do away with the caste system, but are quite helpless in changing the minds and hearts of others around them.

The OM-12 did show only small subject caste differences which indicates that it was not a very potent measure to discriminate between them (See Table 15). However, it was a really effective tool to discriminate between the urban and rural samples. Although the rural sample was significantly less modern than the urban sample, it must be noted that the

city-rural difference on the OM-12 was not too large. This could possibly be a function of the inadequacy of the OM-12 (Amer and Schnaiberg, 1972; Berry, 1980; and Jones, 1977), because it measured only the individual's attitudes toward modernity, without taking into account the personality variables or the modernizing structures within society. Related to the previously discussed city-rural differences owing to the relative lack of exposure to modern ideas and a de facto lower level of modernization, is the idea that the rural sample would be more prejudiced than the urban one (Srinivas, 1962; Simon, 1965) with regard to its SD ratings.

By and large, the rural sample was definitely more prejudiced than the urban sample. The ingroup vs. outgroup difference for SD behaviors were proportionately larger for the rural than for the urban sample (See Hypothesis 1.4). Although it is true that the rural sample is more prejudiced than the urban sample, the differences between the two samples are largely a function of the three covariates: casteism, OM-12, and socio-economic status. The relative strengths of the covariates show that casteism is more influential than socio-economic status which in turn is more influential than OM-12 (See Table 11). Casteism goes hand in hand with religious "orthodoxy" to increase prejudice, while modernity and socio-economic status go hand in hand to reduce prejudice, except in the case of upper caste groups

who have vested interests in keeping the lower castes down
and out. The OM-12 by itself was not a very influential
covariate. However, if one agrees that (a) giving up cast-
eist traditional values, and (b) improving one's socio-eco-
nomic status, should be included in the idea of modernity,
then modernity is really the "main covariate," the lack of
which in the rural sample is largely responsible for the
lower SD ratings toward "other" castes.

Actual Contact

The reported actual contact measures, as an index of the
amount of social relationships maintained, were expected to
correlate with attraction and the SD ratings. This was
found to be so for the near home actual contact (near home
AC) but not for the far from home actual contact (far from
home AC) with attraction and SD public. Similarly, the cor-
relations of the overall contact with attraction and SD pub-
lic were non-significant (See Table 16).

First, the correlations were not all significant and in
the expected direction. Even when they were significant, in
keeping with the attitude-behavior consistency studies
(Wicker, 1969), they were relatively small and consequently
not too convincing (See Table 16). Basically, the correla-
tions did not yield the expected pattern, both in terms of
the direction and the strength of the relationships; hence

one could not conclude that there was much attitude-behavior consistency. The attraction and SD ratings refer to different specific stimuli than the measures of near and far from home actual contact: the attraction and SD ratings refer to a specific, but imaginery target having certain characteristics, while no such stimulus was presented to the subjects for their responses to the measures of actual contact. The latter measures dealt with real past interactions with all sorts of people within a specific stimulus caste. This lack of congruence in the specificity of the target responded to may have reduced the strength of the correlations. However, items included in both sets of measures did cluster together into near and far from home factors. This global sort of correspondence did yield values to marginally support attitude-behavior consistency, especially near the home front.

Also, the measure of attraction is only a verbal expression of liking, and does not commit the subject to tolerate any form of behavior on the part of the stimulus person. Hence, it is understandable that the subjects find it easier to report liking than tolerance for specific forms of behavior. Furthermore, even among the SD ratings, which required some definite commitment to tolerate different forms of behavior, there were degrees of involvement from the most intimate to the more public (Layton and Insko, 1974). Of all the three SD ratings the behaviors mentioned in SD pub-

lic (the more public behaviors) were more easily tolerated than the those in SD home or SD marriage. SD public is an area of interactions where attitude-behavior consistency is not very important. For the most part, interactions far from home take place in a fairly "anonymous" atmosphere, and even when the identity of persons is known, the frequency with which anti-normative behaviors take place make it impossible to abide by any ritual-pollution regulations. Thus, for the subjects in this study, attitude-behavior congruency seemed to be more critically important for the SD home or SD marriage items, than for the SD public or attraction (expressing verbal liking only) items. This is borne out by the fact that attraction and SD public seemed to fall into one category, in that they yielded a similar pattern of correlations with far from home contact and overall contact; and similarly, the correlations of SD home and SD marriage also yield a similar pattern of correlations. This probably explains the lack of significant correlations in the SD public/attraction area.

Another factor which may possibly explain the lack of strong and predictable correlations could be the lack of voluntary control over one's actual environment (Ajzen and Fishbein, 1980). The attraction and SD ratings are dealing with the subjects' willingness to accept as a friend and engage in behaviors with stimulus. However, in the case of

actual contact, the situational variables over which the subject has little or no control may exert a greater influence on whether a subject really interacts with persons of other castes or not. A subject's favorable attitudes toward other castes may not find an opportunity for behavioral expression or vice versa, making it difficult to find attitude-behavior consitency.

Although only self-reported actual contact measures were taken, they seem to have been adequate to yield some support for the attitude-behavior consistency theory. However, these data were to a great extent influenced by social desirability, and consequently make these findings somewhat less convincing.

Conditions of Contact

Amir's (1969) contact theory of prejudice reduction also finds some support in that the conditions of actual contact did covary with reported contact and attraction. The conditions of contact, i.e., similar beliefs, same caste (similar group membership), living near (proximity), good acquaintance, considering as equal, and maintaining good relationships, all correlated with reported actual contact with values ranging from .133 to .432, all significant at $p < .005$ or better (See Table 18). Here, as in the case of attributions, the conditions of contact did not refer to any spe-

cific form of contact, and therefore one finds only weak support for the contact theory.

All the same, it is clear that contact based on certain conditions would have to be emphasized if one sought to reduce the negative impact of caste prejudice. First, in the context of this study these contact conditions would be those of similar beliefs and common group membership (Byrne, 1960; Byrne and Wong, 1962; Insko and Robinson, 1967; Rokeach et al., 1960, Triandis and Davis, 1965). However, the beliefs stressed should be in the direction of giving up the caste system, and group membership should deal with more than a narrow communal identity. Second, conditions fostering propinquity in terms of work, housing, and recreational facilities will also help in improving the situation (Hamilton and Bishop, 1976; Segal, 1974, Wilner, Walkley and Cook, 1955). With the growth and strengthening of democratic processes, concepts of freedom of opportunity and equality for all in all spheres of life are beginning to take root. These changes, coupled with civil relationships and even better friendships will go a long way in the effort towards integration. Contact conditions, which destroy any belief in an hierarchy like the caste system, afford people the opportunity to mix more freely with others and see the many commonalities among different groups, and thus lead to an era of true development and progress for all.

The only contact condition which did not correlate well with the near home AC and attraction was "disliking the caste system." This condition had been especially introduced for the Indian context to see if it would make any difference to the degree of contact maintained by the subjects. Near home AC yielded a non-significant but negative correlation with "disliking the caste system." This indicated that those who disliked the caste system did not engage in socializing with "others" near the house, or that those who did not dislike the caste system were forced to interact with "others" in the vicinity of their homes. Although the above mentioned correlation was non-significant, the lack of voluntary control over one's environment (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980) makes the above explanations quite plausible. Low caste persons from the village, whose kith and kin are well-known to upper caste people, are not the normal targets of any near home AC interactions; but "strangers" - like the experimenter for one - whose roots are unknown, are treated fairly well by the upper castes, lest they reject someone who may be a Government official or perhaps one of their own caste. There are many villages where complete strangers, often from the lower castes, would be allowed access to temples on special feast days, while local low caste groups would be unofficially prohibited.

The regression analysis done on the conditions of actual

contact for the rural sample showed that both near and far from home AC was to a great extent a function of whether the target person "lives near" them: 23.6% of the variance in near home AC, and 23.4% of the variance in the far from home AC was accounted for by the "live near" condition. This makes sense for the rural situation because not only are most SD behaviors influenced by the caste similarity factor, but also there is little integrated housing for the various caste groups. For the rural sample, "maintaining good relations" and "similar ideas," conditions were also important for the far from home AC, but very weakly so. For the city sample, on the other hand, where integrated housing is only beginning to take place, the "live near" factor is less important: 8.2% of the variance in near home AC, and 2.6% of the variance in far from home AC accounted for by the "live near" condition. For the city sample, "similar ideas" and "maintaining good relations," and "similar ideas" and "know well" condition were important for the near and far from home AC respectively. Thus, proximity in housing was really a critical factor for the rural sample, but similar ideas and maintaining good relations with acquaintances were more important for urban one.

Last, since these conditions were also "self-reported" like their corresponding contact measures, social desirability was also operative here. Furthermore, no specific type

of contact was examined for each condition of contact, and this makes these findings - based on such loose linkage - somewhat dubious.

Attributions

In keeping with the predictions of attribution theory, it was expected that for those subjects who were more open to others, the SD ratings would correlate positively with internal attributions (IA). Similarly, for those who were less open to others the SD ratings would correlate positively with external attributions (EA). These expectations were not fulfilled across all the SD ratings (See Hypothesis 2.3). SD home was the only measure where (a) subjects who were more open made significantly higher IA (items 2, 4, and 6 taken together), and (b) subjects who were low on openness to others were made significantly higher EA (items 1, 3, 5, and 7 taken together). Even when one looks at all the subjects together, one finds SD home measure stands out with signficant correlation values. The same is true also for the overall SD rating (See Table 23). The strength of these correlations stems mainly from attributions 5 and 6. For the rest, the results yield at best, very weak support for the attribution hypothesis.

If one were to advance possible reasons for this, one finds that first, the concept of attribution may not have

been accurately translated. Together with this difficulty, the subtle differences between internal and external may have complicated the issue still further. Second, even if the translations of these concepts were wholly accurate, they may well have been beyond the grasp of the common folk, especially those less educated. The correlations of SD ratings with all the attributions were examined for only the educated subjects, but this did not show any noticeable change in the chaotic pattern: two correlations changed in the direction of the hypotheses, four changed against it, eight correlations that were contrary to the hypothesis did not change their direction. None of the correlations which changed were signficant. Third, although many subjects were not very open to other caste groups, they thought their behavior to be socially desirable. A close look at the social desirability ratings in Table 22 shows this quite clearly. This is probably due to a dual nature of social desirability, where what is desirable at the level of the caste is not so desirable at the level of society and vice versa. Thus no matter what answer was given by the subject, it could be socially desirable either from the point of view of one's caste or that of society at large. There is a self-serving bias at work here (Ross, 1977) which makes it difficult to separate the confound of social desirability according to caste norms and social desirability according to the norms of society in general. Last of all, the attri-

butions were not directed to any specific behavior, but rather to a whole set of SD ratings. A global response to a whole set of diverse behaviors may have confused the issue still further, and made it impossible for the subjects to respond in any consistent or reasonable way.

Basically, the attribution data yielded findings which were quite patternless and chaotic: with little or no support for the different types of perceptions relative to paise-worthy and blame-worthy behavior (Jones and Nisbett, 1971). Several methodological problems need to be sorted out and clarified.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

Significance of Results

One of the more significant aspects of this study is the
overall support given to the idea that similarity leads to
liking or conversely, the absence of negative prejudice. Of
the five factors included in this study, city-rural, the two
sub-factors of belief similarity and caste similarity (when
subject caste and stimulus caste were combined) were the
major influences on attraction scores. When both the belief
similarity factors were examined in a single contrast to
test for the effect of overall belief similarity, it was
found to be stronger than the effect of caste similarity.
Caste similarity, examined in a planned contrast from a com-
bination of the factors of subject and stimulus caste,
showed that it was a significant incentive toward greater
attraction. The emphasis on belief similarity and group
membership (caste similarity in this study) to encourage
greater liking is consistent with most research done in the
past. The question of their strength relative to each other
seems to be a function of the contextual variables at play
in any given situation. The caste-ridden context in India

is such that belief similarity had a far greater impact on attraction as measured by the last two items of the Byrne IJS, but the caste similarity dimension became salient and important when it came to inter-caste mixing and mingling.

The effects of similarity (belief and caste) on attraction however, are a mixed blessing. One aspect of similarity influencing liking relationship would be to keep similar caste beliefs from becoming salient and getting the upper hand. Although belief similarity did influence attraction favorably, CBS was counter productive when it came to liking other caste groups. The Brahmins and the Marathas were higher in their caste beliefs than the Mahars, and hence the former betrayed a casteist mentality. Caste beliefs, which support a casteist mentality, did undoubtedly influence subjects to refrain from demonstrating liking toward other caste groups. These, like caste similarity, would have to be discouraged, particularly because they structuralize the caste groups into a hierarchical pattern. Hence the idea of equality for all, independent of caste membership, also needs to be emphasized. There is no high and low or great and small. To be different, as all men definitely are, is not to be better or worse. Either one is human or one is not. If one is, then there is only one way to treat him/her, i.e., in a human way. The fact that others merely do not belong to the "our" group, but possess a "They-ness"

which is distinct from the "We-ness" is no reason for disliking and discriminating (Merton, 1972). The hierarchical structure that puts one group on a pedestal made of other oppressed groups is inhuman, because it denies the oppressed castes the dignity and rights which are due to them.

Caste similarity led to greater liking within caste groups. Similar others belonging to other groups were not liked as much as similar others from the same caste group. In this context, much as it is important to emphasize common group membership, one has to be careful to see that this group is not a small caste group, but a broader more encompassing group, which is open to cross-caste membership. The smaller the group, the easier it is to foster and maintain a within group feeling of belonging and acceptance. It could and normally does lead to conflict situations with many more groups. Conversely, if the emphasis is put on a large group with wider membership possiblities, one finds that it would be much harder to establish and maintain feelings of belonging and acceptance. This calls for a good balance between maintaining those aspects of the smaller group which foster a feeling of belonging and acceptance, and emphasizing identity within a a larger group which transcends narrow group boundries. However, such a situation would also provide fewer outgroups with minimum opportunities for conflict.

One way to reach some sort of homogeneity between the caste groups would be that of amalgamation i.e., a biological intermixture of the various castes (Hunt and Walker, 1974). This seldom takes place through any planned official policy, and frequently takes place through unplanned situations which promote contact between different caste groups. But in the case of caste groups with strong ingroup marriage preferences, this process would probably take many many generations.

The topic of prejudice and discrimination also surfaces in this study. In terms of rating others on the attraction and SD ratings, on the one hand, there is fairly consistent bias in favor of the upper castes and against the Mahars. The latter, on the other hand, are also responsible for their unfavorable ratings of the Brahmins and Marathas, on both attraction and the SD ratings (except marriage). Prejudice is more than mere non-acceptance as a friend, it often includes negative bahaviors. Although this study did not professedly look at any negative behaviors like beatings, expulsions from temples and restaurants, or other discriminating practices in terms of housing, jobs etc., there is no doubt that there is enough of negativity toward the lower caste groups to make such behaviors probable. For instance, the pattern of housing in the rural areas and even some urban areas is a clear indication of the extent of such dis-

crimination. The differences between the various subject castes is to be found both in the rural and urban areas. However, the city-rural differences show that rural India has quite a long way to go before free and open relationships begin to take place. But this does not mean that the urban areas are free of any discriminatory practices against "other" castes. The city ways of discriminating are probably a lot more subtle and difficult to detect.

One available option seems to encourage the process of "sanskritization" by which a lower caste can move up to the status of a higher caste (Srinivas, 1956). This apparently would allow lower caste groups to gradually merge with the higher groups making it impossible to discern them from the rest. This process would make caste a more lenient form of class, without the stigma of being born into a group for life. On the other hand, this very process of "sanskritization" assumes the givenness of a hierarchy which permits one to move up higher. Such an assumption cuts at the very roots of equality and admits to a structure of high and low among human beings. The admitance of any hierarchy is a step backward in a democratic country that officially subscribes to equality for all (Revankar, 1971). What one needs to do is to create an environment where any vestige of the past is completely obliterated. Sanskritization is a step which is counter-productive to this goal, hence one

needs to find another more functional alternative.

The Government of India in its effort to do away with the caste system has stopped collecting any data in its census records which will identify and categorize people according to their castes. From one point of view, this is indeed data lost; but from another point of view, the Government has taken a very sensible step in the process of doing away with the caste category. This made it extremely difficult for the interviewer to locate villages and city neighborhoods which housed the castes he was interested in studying. This also gave people the freedom not to identify themselves with any caste nomenclature, and thus maintain their freedom to assert their disbelief in the caste system.

Another way out of this situation suggested by several Indologists is to politicize the lower caste groups (Carter, 1974; Karve, 1972; Singh, 1972; Sirsikar, 1970). This process supposedly will make them aware of their rights, duties and group identity. Although this suggestion comes from good and well-intentioned people, the result of this effort has not been so promising. On the one hand, ruthless politicians have exploited them with broken promises in return for their vote, and on the other they find themselves polarized against other groups in animosity and conflict which has often resulted in incidents too horrible to describe. The recent mass slaying in Assam, India (McNulty, 1983) was

too gruesome an episode, one of many violent eruptions of an
otherwise dormant volcano of inter-group rivalry. These
were triggered off by all too politicized tribal groups,
against settlers who had moved into the area in search of
better living conditions.

According to the upper castes, the Government of India
with its official policy of "protective discrimination" in
favor of the schedule castes and schedule tribes have turned
them into "Government Brahmins" (Srinivas, 1957). This has
angered upper caste groups. Until recently, the alloted
quotas for the schedule castes and schedule tribes in terms
of places in educational institutions and jobs in Government
organizations were rarely filled. But only as a growing
number of them began to fill these reserved places through
good education and better jobs, did it start hurting the
higher caste groups. Although the blame for perpetuating
the caste system is now placed squarely on the shoulders of
the Government, no one comes forward with any better solu-
tion which will help the schedule castes and schedule tribes
to rise from their state of abject poverty and oppression.
The anger and frustration of the higher castes is often
vented on poor helpless low caste peasants: last year alone
there were several such instances of "Harijans" (low caste
people) mercilessly slaughtered by unknown raiders, who are
probably hand in glove with the powers that be (And now

Durg, 1982; Carnage in UP, 1982; Licensed to kill, 1981).

Many such editorials from newspapers and other articles
related to Harijan (low caste) conversion to Islam or Chris-
tianity (Akbar, 1982; Chawla, 1981; Malkani, 1981; Nilekani,
1981; Sonalkar, 1982), indicate how the issue of caste is
extremely complex. On the one hand, the upper castes do not
want to admit that they have been to a great extent reponsi-
ble for the plight of the low caste people; on the other
hand, they resent low caste Hindus embracing Islam or Chris-
tianity. Caught between the devil and the deep blue sea,
the low castes are pushed into an extremely frustrating
situation, from which there is neither relief nor any oppor-
tunity to move away from this helpless mess. Although the
higher caste groups are in conflict over issues of power and
control among themselves, they still seem quite united when
it comes to protecting their vested interests against any
encroachment by the lower castes. There is no doubt how-
ever, that the official policy of the Government of India is
in favor of the low castes, but very often the local offi-
cials manage to find enough loop-holes to avoid implementing
Government directives.

It is surprizing that within each sub-sample the Brahmins
and the Marathas were quite modernized, but still were among
the more casteist and more prejudiced. Socio-economically,
they are among the more privileged now, just as they were in

the past. With the advent of independence and democracy, other lower caste groups are competing for a greater share of the pie, which the upper castes are reluctant to give. In practice, the official policies of the Government are not quite "okay" with most of the upper castes, because it calls on them to give up their privileged positions in favor of others whom they did not and perhaps still do not consider as equal. Furthermore, with the temporary privileges granted to the lower caste groups, to enable them to come up to the level of the other castes, the upper castes are not only disgruntled, but often helpless to openly do anything to salvage their privileges and keep their upper status. This is probably another reason why there is so much subtle resistance to inter-caste relationships.

Another significant aspect of this study is that the conditions of actual contact correlate quite strongly with self-report measures of actual contact. This could show that subjects were aware of what helped them to interact with stimulus caste persons. These contact conditions need to be fostered to provide real opportunities for persons of various castes to meet and mix. If ever the amalgamation of the various caste groups is to come about, the conditions which permit contact between different caste groups have to be encouraged. One of the conditions which seemed very important was the one of "living near" each other. This

alone would help to bring many more people together in ways that would break down the arificial barriers resulting from the caste system.

Outlook for the Future

In speaking about India's ex-untouchables, Isaacs (1964) emphasizes their effort to hide their caste identity. He shows how this has been successfully done by so many who through good education and a good job have managed to grow out of their old ways and make good progress in the direction of becoming respectable citizens, who could stand up to anyone on a one-to-one basis. In terms of changing the present situation much faster, and in completely erasing any link with an ignoble past, the role of education is primary. Education is especially important in rural India, where almost 80% of the population lives. Efforts have to be made to reverse the high drop-out rate among school children and get them back to books and basics rather than keep them at home for short-lived gain as helping hands around the house. The lessons of fraternity, equality and justice for all have to be drilled into the hearts and minds of our young, so that there is no vestige of the past to haunt them. Educa- tion should be aimed at making people competent and skill- ful, and not at keeping them in their ignorance and want. The lower caste persons have to realize that if they want to go ahead and make progress in life it has to be done through

competence and skill, and not through hand-outs which will
forever keep them dependent on the donor.

Contact on the basis of equal status will have to take
place in a way that does away with all distinctions based on
caste. There was a time in India, when one aquired social
status and acceptance only through birth in one caste or
another. This period is going or almost gone (Karve, 1972).
Now status and acceptance often comes through one's compe-
tence and skill, job and income. This is a sign of great
hope for the future of intercaste relationships. We should
look forward to a time when there would be no need at all to
mention one's caste to gain any form of respectability.
Hence, anything to do with caste or caste-endorsing beliefs
have to be stamped out once and for all. For educational-
ists in India, it is a primary goal; there is no other.

The Government has, as mentioned earlier, been instrumen-
tal in providing the schedule castes and schedule tribes
with privileges as a form of "protective discrimination."
This has no doubt benefitted the lower castes and tribes by
providing them with better education and better jobs. At
the same time, it has made it so lucrative for the schedule
castes and schedule tribes to cling to their caste nomencla-
ture, that they are in danger of being labelled as such for
life. This protective discrimination, which was initiated
only for a period of 10 years, has not been discontinued,

because the politicians have vested interests in satisfying the electorate, including the lower castes and tribes. In the long run, such a short-sighted measure will probably boomerang and hurt those whom it was intended to help. The Government also has similar programs, which aid the economically backward classes. Rather than use caste (group membership) as a pre-condition for aid, the Government should move in the direction of making economic backwardness the basis for aid. This way will help the upper castes and the lower castes, when they are in real need, precluding any favoritism based on caste membership. If the Government does not move in this direction soon, it faces the responsiblity of explaining how it has been instrumental in preserving the caste system, in the name of helping the lower castes.

Besides expecting the Government to do its part, it would be important to support and encourage all who help to establish and maintain the conditions which lead to more inter-caste interactions. In this context, the experience of America in dealing with its Black-White race problem can throw some light on the caste problem in India. Equality of treatment and opportunity, regardless of caste should be the rule on all formal and on-the-job situations: education, housing, hiring, promotion, etc. The American experience of equal opportunity before the law, and at times even forced

desegragation at school (Pettigrew, 1969, Webster, 1961), at work (Parrish, 1966), and integrated housing (Farley and Taeuber, 1968; Hamilton and Bishop, 1976), etc., is slowly but surely beginning to pay dividends. Such an approach will give the lower castes an opportunity to slowly move up just as it has for so many Blacks in a country with a very racist history. However, the differences between the two situations will also have to be taken into account. The caste system has a longer history, which shows that it has been nurtured and supported by a religious tradition which accepts an hierarchical structure of the high and the low among the different castes. This is fundamentally different from the American way of life which is based on equality of opportunity for all. Such a contextual difference may demand a cautious approach in following the lead of America.

One of the important conditions leading to greater contact and interaction between different caste in this study is "living near." This means that in practice integrated housing for all caste groups should be the goal both in the urban and rural areas. If one visits any village in India, and examines to see what could be done in this regard, one cannot help but notice an insurmountable economic problem. Divisions of properties and housing units have for centuries followed a segregationist policy: there is no way in which this can be changed in a few years. It may require the

passing of several generations before any significant change

can take place. However, let there be no hesitation about

the direction in which the country should move or about the

need of taking the first step in that direction. One thing

that is known is that if a person is well-educated or a gov-

ernment official, people will not so easily discriminate

against him because of his caste. It would be critical to

make use of this inroad to break down barriers to segrega-

tionist policy and practice.

Second, fostering unity through the emphasis on similari-

ties would also be important. The commonalities that unite

us are far more important than the trivialities which divide

us. In the final analysis, hopefully all will come to

acknowledge that they are actually alike, probably descended

from common ancestors in the remote past, and that between

group differences are of little importance. The common

attitudes and beliefs held by people, the common identity

they share as people of one state or nation will all aid in

bringing together rather than dividing and separating. This

will be one way of making us comfortable in the presence of

and accepting of one another.

The third point to pay attention to would be not to lose

touch with reality. Although there are commonalities, there

are also bound to be differences. Without being blinded by

similarities, to be accepting of others in spite of differ-

ences would call for more mature sharing with and respect for one another. Human understanding is ill-served by bigotry, which emphasizes intergroup differences, and condemns others, or by blind, insensitive determination to ignore all differences on the grounds that all are the same. Diversity does provide a variety without which mankind would be the poorer. However, diversity could also lead to friction and conflict. Let us not fear to dialogue and share, realizing that the universality of our common nature is not something that ignores differences, but explores them. Differences there will always be, but to enrich ourselves through them and look beyond them to solve common problems and make this world a better place is the obligation of all men of good will.

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APPENDIX A

PRESCALING QUESTIONNAIRE

I A.   Below you will find a set of 50 beliefs each of which have to be rated by you for two different reasons. First of all, you must rate them for their <u>degree of controversiality</u> utilizing a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 = Not at all controversial, and 5 = Very controversial. Similarly, you must rate each of these belief statements for their <u>degree of relevance to the Indian cultural context</u>. Here too, you will use a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 = Not at all relevant, and 5 = Very relevant. The first belief statement is illustrated in detail, while the others are merely typed for information.

1.   The schedule castes/tribes are fit to use their brawn, not their brains. (R)

	Not at all						Very
Controversial		1	2	3	4	5	Controversial
	Not at all						Very
Relevant		1	2	3	4	5	Relevant

2.   Honesty is the best policy in all cases.

3.   Generally speaking people do not work hard unless they have to.

4.   India should vigorously advocate a policy of integrated

housing for all caste. (R)

5. Success in life is pretty much determined by forces outside our control.

6. Most peoples' first loyalty is to themselves rather than to their country.

7. God is the real author of the caste system. (R)

8. People are very much alike in their basic interests.

9. The idea of God is unnecessary for our enlightened age.

10. All have the primary obligation to promote the common good of society rather than the well-being of their caste. (R)

11. People should be open to new ideas even when they go against traditional values and beliefs.

12. People normally help rather than hurt one another.

13. Children of low caste parents do badly in school because of their "deprived" background. (R)

14. One must always avoid being dependent on other persons or things; the control over one's life should come from within oneself.

15. Religion is the opium of the people.

16. The oppressive tactics of the higher castes have been largely responsible for the poverty and misery of the lower castes. (R)

17. India's social problems are so vast and deep, that democratic methods can never solve them.

18. Land-owners dominated and oppressed the poor laborers.

19. It is alright to falsify one's income certificate in order to qualify for the Economic Backward Class Scholarship.

20. Our government should take more affirmative action to do away with the caste system. (R)

21. People go too far in hiding their backgrounds by changing their names and even imitating the manners and customs of others.

22. People are always dissatisfied and looking for something new.

23. Privileges given to the schedule castes/tribes result in incompetent persons being promoted to positions of importance. (R)

24. People keep too much to themselves, instead of taking a proper interest in community problems and good government.

25. There are spiritual realities of some kind.

26. Indian society functions better with each caste having its own profession. (R)

27. There is little one can do to alter one's fate in life.

28. There is no life after death.

29. The higher castes have effectively used religion to keep the lower castes ignorant and oppressed. (R)

30. There is a supreme being (God) who is concerned about and cares for the world.

31. What India needs is a strong dictatorship to make good

progress for its many poor millions.

32. It is useless to raise the expectations of the schedule castes/tribes and leave them disappointed and unhappy. (R)

33. Man ought to be guided by what his experiences tell him is right rather then by what past religious tradition dictates.

34. There is nothing beyond the material world which we perceive.

35. No one should be denied the right to take part in social events only because of their caste. (R)

36. People who try, but are unable to help themselves, have the right to expect help from others.

37. The cultural influences of western civilization have been detrimental to true and genuine progress in our country.

38. The hierarchical structure which results in the caste system is made by man. (R)

39. Patriotism and loyalty are the first and most important requirements of a good citizen.

40. Marrying outside one's caste should be encouraged. (R)

41. It is better to be ordinary and honest, than to be famous and dishonest.

42. Man is always responsible for his actions.

43. The system of reserved seats for schedule castes/tribes should be continued. (R)

44. Most people are basically good and kind.

45. A person can be quite happy and enjoy life to the full without ever believing in God.

46. All people regardless of their caste are equal and hence have an equal right to the benefits of society. (R)

47. Poverty could be almost entirely done away with, if we made some basic changes in our social and economic system.

48. Obedience and respect for authority are the most important things that children should learn.

49. The quota system is unjust since it discriminates against qualified and deserving members from the higher castes. (R)

50. Schools and colleges should teach students to accept the religious and social standards traditional to our way of life.

Note: Here is a list of scales from which some of the above statments have been borrowed. All page numbers refer to Robinson and Shaver(1975), and all item numbers refer to the items in the above list of belief statements.

1) Christie, et al. (1969), pp. 590-602.

- Item 2 from Machiavellianism IV.

- Items 3 and 44 from Machiavellianism V.

- Item 41 from Kiddie Machiavallianism.

2) James, W. H. (1957), pp. 240-243.

   - Item 5 from James's Internal External Locus
     of Control.

3) Sullivan, P. and Adelson, J. (1954), pp. 622-624.

   - Items 6, 17 and 24 from Misanthropy Scale.

4) Wrightsman, L. (1964), pp. 603-613.

   - Items 8, 11, 12 and 27 from Philosophy of
     Human Nature.

5) Brown, D. and Lowe, W. (1951), pp. 689-683.

   - Items 9 and 45 from Inventory of Religious
     Belief.

6) Whitey, S. (1965), pp. 533-536.

   - Item 14 from Dimensions of Value.

7) Thouless, R. (1935), pp. 682-683.

   - Items 15 and 42 from The 'Beliefs' Test.

8) Rettig, S. and Pasamanick, B. (1959), pp. 537-540.

   - Item 19 from Change in Moral Values.

9) Fey, W. F. (1955), pp. 625-627.

   - Item 22 from Acceptance by Others.

10) Brown, L. B. (1962), pp. 684-688.

    - Items 25 and 34 from Study of Religious
      Belief.

11) Putney, S. and Middleton, R. (1961), pp. 663-666.

    - Item 28 from Dimensions of Religious Ideology.

12) Perloe, S. I. (1967), pp. 576-585.

    - Item 36 from Social Values Questionnaire Scale.

I B. Now, please go over each of the 50 belief statements
and circle the number before those which in your opinion
are related to the caste system. For example, if you
consider the first belief statement is related to caste,
then draw a circle around the number like this 1.   Do
not make any mark for the beliefs unrelated to caste.

Note: Statements which are marked with (R) were originally
intented as caste related statements. In addition, other
statements judged as caste related by pilot study sub-
jects were also included as caste beliefs.

II Would you consider the following behaviors admissable
on the part of a person of the _____ (stimulus caste
name included here) Caste? Using a rating scale from 1
to 5, where 1 = Not at all, and 5 = Very definitely, cir-
cle the number which corresponds most closely to your
answer. For example:

Behaviors	Not at all				Very definitely
Can sit next to me on a bus.	1	2	3	4	5

Now, if your answer is Not at all, then circle 1, and
if your answer is Very definitely, then circle 5, and
so on.

Ratings

Behaviors	Not at all				Very definitely
1. Can touch you.	1	2	3	4	5
2. Can sit on your cot.	1	2	3	4	5
3. Can come into your kitchen.	1	2	3	4	5
4. Can touch your brass utensils.	1	2	3	4	5
5. Can touch your earthernware vessels.	1	2	3	4	5
6. Can smoke your pipe.	1	2	3	4	5
7. Can smoke your bowl of pipe (hukka).	1	2	3	4	5
8. Can accept fried (pakka) food from him.	1	2	3	4	5
9. Can accept boiled (kaccha) food from him.	1	2	3	4	5
10. Can accept dry uncooked food from him.	1	2	3	4	5
11. Can take drinking water from his hand.	1	2	3	4	5
12. Can touch your water vessel.	1	2	3	4	5
13. Can touch your children.	1	2	3	4	5
14. Can marry into your family.	1	2	3	4	5
15. Can be your friend.	1	2	3	4	5

Ratings

Behaviors   Not   Very

                            at all   definitely

16. Can live on your street as

    your neighbor.   1   2   3   4   5

17. Can be your co-worker in an

    office, factory or farm.   1   2   3   4   5

18. Can be citizen of your

    country.   1   2   3   4   5

19. Can be a visitor only to

    your country. (If you had

    had your way).   1   2   3   4   5

20. Would be expelled from your

    country. (If you had your

    way).   1   2   3   4   5

21. Can be your boss.   1   2   3   4   5

Note: The above set of items were presented to the subject

    thrice with each of the three stimulus castes included in

    the blank space. Thus, the relative differences in

    social distance ratings could be measured for each of the

    three stimulus castes.

III.   Now, last of all, I want you to answer a few questions which will help us to classify and use the information you have given us in a systematic way.

1. Age: _____   2. Sex: Male / Female.

3. Caste: Brahmin / Maratha / Mahar / Other.

4. Number of years lived in urban area:_____

5. Number of years lived in rural area:_____

6. Mention one or two religious beliefs which you consider important to the Hindu religion.

   a) _____

   b) _____

7. Mention one or two reasons why people think that the caste system is either forced on them or chosen by them.

   a) _____

   b) _____

8. Mention one or two reasons why we should do away with the caste system in India.

   a) _____

   b) _____

APPENDIX B

FINAL QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire is to study belief, attitude and
friendship patterns among the three major caste groups in
this region of Maharashtra. This study will also gauge the
similarities and differences between the same three caste
groups. All your responses to any of the questions asked
here will be confidential. Thus, even though, your face and
name will be known to us, your name will not be disclosed to
anyone, nor written anywhere on this form.

I A.   Following are a set of belief statements. Please rate
    your personal opinion on each of them using the follow-
    ing system: 0 indicates strong disagreement with the
    opinion, 1 indicates simple disagreement, 2 indicates
    only slight disagreement, 3 indicates slight agreement,
    4 indicates simple disagreement, and 5 indicates strong
    agreement. Listen carefully to each statement and then
    give a number indicative of your rating.

GENERAL BELIEFS

	Disagree strongly				Agree strongly

1. The idea of God is unne-
   cessary for our enlight-
   ened age.   0   1   2   3   4   5

2. What India needs is a
   strong dictatorship to make
   progress for its many poor
   millions.   0   1   2   3   4   5

3. There is little one can
   do to alter one's fate
   in life.   0   1   2   3   4   5

4. People are very much alike
   in their basic interests.   0   1   2   3   4   5

5. Generally speaking, people
   do not work hard unless
   they have to.   0   1   2   3   4   5

6. Man is always responsible
   for his actions.   0   1   2   3   4   5

7. Honesty is the best policy
   in all cases.   0   1   2   3   4   5

8. The cultural influences
   of western civilization
   have been detrimental to
   true and genuine progress
   in our country.   0   1   2   3   4   5

9. There is nothing beyond
   the material world which
   we perceive.   0   1   2   3   4   5

10. People normally help rather
    than hurt one another.   0   1   2   3   4   5

CASTE BELIEFS

| | Disagree strongly | | | | Agree strongly |

1. The schedule castes/tribes
   are fit to use their
   brawn, not their brains.   0   1   2   3   4   5

2. Indian society functions
   better with each caste
   having its own profession.   0   1   2   3   4   5

3. The system of reserved seats
   for schedule castes/tribes
   should be continued.   0   1   2   3   4   5

4. Children of low caste par-
   ents do badly in school
   because of their "deprived"
   background.   0   1   2   3   4   5

5. India should vigorously
   advocate a policy of inte-
   grated housing for all
   castes.   0   1   2   3   4   5

6. The oppressive tactics of
   the higher castes have
   been largely responsible
   for the poverty and misery
   of the lower castes.   0   1   2   3   4   5

7. It is useless to raise the
   expectations of schedule
   castes/tribes and leave them
   disapppointed and unhappy. 0   1   2   3   4   5

8. Privileges given to the
   schedule castes/tribes
   result in incompetent per-
   sons being promoted to
   to important positions.   0   1   2   3   4   5

9. People go too far in hiding
   their backgrounds by chang-
   ing their names and even
   imitating the manners and
   customs of others.   0   1   2   3   4   5

10. God is the author of the
    caste system.   0   1   2   3   4   5

II.   Following is a set of demographic questions meant to
   collect information about some common variables which
   may have some influence on the similarities and differ-
   ences between the many subjects interviewed. Where an
   exact answer is not possible, make your best guess.

   1. Age: _____   2. Sex: Male / Female.

   3. Caste: _____   4. Religion: _____

5. Where do you live? Rural area/Urban area.

   How long have you lived in the rural/urban area?

   Specify: _____years.

6. Your level of education: (Choose any one):

   a) Below 4th Grade _____

   b) Grade 4 complete _____

   c) Between 5th and 7th Grade _____

   d) Between 8th and 10th Grade _____

   e) Between 11th and 12th Grade _____

   f) Some College _____

   g) Completed Baccalaureate _____

   h) Master's or above _____

7. Monthly Income (Rupees) of all earning household

   members put together.

   a) Less than 200 _____   b) 201 to 400 _____

   c) 401 to 600 _____   d) 601 to 800 _____

   e) 801 to 1,000 _____   f) 1,001 to 1,200 _____

   g) 1,201 to 1,400 _____   h) 1,401 to 1,600 _____

   i) 1,601 to 1,800 _____   j) 1,801 to 2,000 _____

   k) Above 2,001 _____

8. Do you own any landed property? Yes / No.

   If yes, how many acres? Specify: _____

   Total Rupee value of this property: _____

9. What is your regular occupation?

   Specify: _____

III.   Here are some ratings given by another person who
    belongs to _____ Caste. The ratings given by
    him are his personal opinions about the same belief
    statements rated by you. Try to form an impression of
    this person: "What do you think a person giving answers
    like this is like?" Then, based on this information, I
    would like you to answer a few questions for me.

Note: Here the general and caste belief items filled by an
    hypothetical person were presented to the subject for his
    personal perusal and judgment. The degree of similarity/
    dissimilarity was manipulated as shown earlier in Illus-
    tration 1 (See Chapter II).

    In response to this the subjects were asked to answer
several sets of questions, some evaluating the stimulus
person, others relating to the behaviors and attributions
of the subject himself.

    These were as follows:
        A)   The Byrne Interpersonal Judgment Scale.
        B)   Social Distance Ratings.
        C)   Attribution information, and
        D)   Questions regarding normative threat.

III A. Modified Interpersonal Judgment Scale.

Now I want you to recollect the impression you
have of this person and answer the following:

1. Do you believe that this person is intelligent? (Choose
any one answer).

| Very | | | | | Not at all |
| Intelligent | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Intelligent |

2. Do you think that this person has knowledge of current
events?

| Certainly | | | | | Has no know- |
| has knowledge | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | ledge at all |

3. Does this person impress you as being a moral person?

| Extremely | | | | | Extremely |
| Moral | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Immoral |

4. Do you believe that that person is well adjusted?

| Very Well | | | | | Very poorly |
| Adjusted | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Adjusted |

5. Do you feel that you would probably like this person?

| Like | | | | | Dislike |
| very much | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | very much |

6. Would you like to work with this person on the same job?

| Like | | | | | Dislike |
| very much | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | very much |

III B.   Now once again, I want you to recollect the impression you have of this person and respond whether you would consider the following behaviors admissable on the part of this person.

	No	Yes
1. Can touch you.	0	1
2. Can sit on your cot.	0	1
3. Can come into your kitchen.	0	1
4. Can touch your brass utensils.	0	1
5. Can touch your earthenware vessels.	0	1
6. Can smoke your pipe.	0	1
7. Can accept fried (pakka) food from him.	0	1
8. Can accept boiled (kaccha) food from him.	0	1
9. Can accept dry uncooked food from him.	0	1
10. Can take drinking water from his hand.	0	1
11. Can touch your water vessel.	0	1
12. Can touch your children.	0	1
13. Can marry into your family.	0	1
14. Can be your friend.	0	1
15. Can live on the same street as your neighbor.	0	1

<div align="right">No   Yes</div>

16. Can be your co-worker in an
    office, factory or farm.   0   1

17. Can be your boss.   0   1

III C.   To what do you attribute your permitting or not permitting the items mentioned mentioned in III B. Check as many as you think appropriate.

No   Yes

1. Social Pressure. 0 1 2 3 4 5

2. Your own personal choice. . 0 1 2 3 4 5

3. Religious values. 0 1 2 3 4 5

4. Your educational level. . . 0 1 2 3 4 5

5. Caste differences. . . . . 0 1 2 3 4· 5

6. Your open-mindedness. . . 0 1 2 3 4 5

7. Situational limitations. . 0 1 2 3 4 5

8. Your economic well-being. . 0 1 2 3 4 5

III D. Questions to be answered by all subjects:

1. Do you think that an average person from your own caste group would be threatened by the questions asked in III B.?

   No   0 1 2 3 4 5 Yes

2. Would other persons from your caste approve of your responses?

   No   0 1 2 3 4 5 Yes

IV A. Measure of Actual Contact.

Now, specify as best as you can remember how often
you did each of the activities with a person of
_____ (stimulus) caste during the last month only.

1. How many times did you go out to the movies with
a person of this caste?

Specify the number: _____.

2. How man times did you invite a person of this
caste to have meals at your house?

Specify the number: _____.

3. How many times did you go to visit the house of
of a person of this caste?

Specify the number: _____.

4. How often did you go out to a restaurant (for
tea/meals) with a person of this caste?

Specify the number: _____.

5. How often did you have a chat with a person of
this caste?

Specify the number: _____.

6. How often did you work together with a person
of this caste?

Specify the number: _____.

7. How many times did you invite a person of this
caste to your house for tea?

Specify the number: _____.

IV B. Try and recollect the situations under which you did
what you did in IV A. And for each of the situations
mentioned below check the degree of agreement.

		No					Yes
1.	You both had common goals.	0	1	2	3	4	5
2.	You belong to same caste.	0	1	2	3	4	5
3.	You live near each other.	0	1	2	3	4	5
4.	You know each other from a long time.	0	1	2	3	4	5
5.	You consider him/her equal in status.	0	1	2	3	4	5
6.	You are favorably disposed toward him/her.	0	1	2	3	4	5
7.	You dislike caste system.	0	1	2	3	4	5

V. A Modified Version of Overall Modernity Scale (OM-12):

1. Did you ever get so highly concerned about some public
issue that you really wanted to do something about it?

Please specify the number: _____ .

2. If schooling were freely available (and there were no
other obstacles), how many years of school do you think
children of people like you should have?

Specify the number: _____ .

3. Would you agree with the farmer who said, "It is good to think of new and better ways of growing corn (or jowar)?"

    No   0   1   2   3   4   5   Yes

4. Would you agree with the person who said, "It is necessary for a man and his wife to limit the number of their children so that they can better care for those they already have?"

    No   0   1   2   3   4   5   Yes

5. Do you think that a man can be really good without having any religion at all?

    No   0   1   2   3   4   5   Yes

6. If you were to meet a person from another country a long way off (about 1,000 kilometers away), could you understand his way of thinking?

    No   0   1   2   3   4   5   Yes

7. It is good to have the best educated person who has special knowledge to hold important places in the country's government.

    No   0   1   2   3   4   5   Yes

8. The hard work of our people is the most important asset for the future of our country.

    No   0   1   2   3   4   5   Yes

9. Do you think that the progress made by science in industry and medicine has been beneficial to society?

    No   0   1   2   3   4   5   Yes

10. Would you agree that you are interested in reading international news?

      No   0   1   2   3   4   5   Yes

11. Do you belong to any organizations or groups like social clubs, unions or political parties?

      Specify the number:_____.

12. How often do you get your news and information from newspapers?

      Never 0   1   2   3   4   5   Everyday

VI. <u>Manipulation</u> <u>Checks</u>:

1. What was the caste of the person about whom you were asked so many questions?

  Specify the caste:_____.

2. Was the person about whom you were asked so many questions (stimulus) similar to you in his beliefs?

  Not at all   Yes, very

    similar   0   1   2   3   4   5   similar

3. Was the person about whom you were asked so many questions similar to you in his caste related beliefs?

  Not at all   Yes, very

    similar   0   1   2   3   4   5   similar

4. Was the person about whom you were asked so many questions similar to you in his more general beliefs?

  Not at all   Yes, very

    similar   0   1   2   3   4   5   similar

5. Do you think that people in society at large would

   approve of the type of responses you have given in

   in this questionnaire?

   Not approve   Yes, approve

   very much 0   1   2   3   4   5   very much

6. Would you be ashamed to admit and/or act according

   to the responses you have given in this questionnaire?

   Not at all   Yes, very

   ashamed   0   1   2   3   4   5   ashamed

Final Questions: (For interviewer only)

1. Do you think that the interviewee gave honest and

   truthful answers?

   No   0   1   2   3   4   5   Yes

2. Did the interviewee manifest any signs of

   uneasiness or fear during the interview?

   No   0   1   2   3   4   5   Yes

APPENDIX C

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS SCALE

Interviewee Caste:_____.

	No					Yes
1. Hindu festivals create a spirit of unity in society.	0	1	2	3	4	5
2. Each one's caste is determined by <u>Karma</u> in one's past life.	0	1	2	3	4	5
3. Hinduism's impact is very good since it's the best religion.	0	1	2	3	4	5
4. God always looks after the good people.	0	1	2	3	4	5
5. God is the author of the caste system.	0	1	2	3	4	5
6. I love the Hindu religion.	0	1	2	3	4	5
7. Every one must deal with each other with brotherly love.	0	1	2	3	4	5
8. I do not believe in reincarnation.	0	1	2	3	4	5
9. Sacrifice, devotion and faith have a place in one's life.	0	1	2	3	4	5
10. Each one must do one's duty without expecting any reward (<u>Nishkama</u> <u>Karmayogi</u>).	0	1	2	3	4	5

APPENDIX D

VERNACULAR EDITIONS

APPENDIX D.1

VERNACULAR EDITION

(Appendix A in Marathi)

प्रश्नावली

१ अ : खाली पन्नास विधानांचा संच दिलेला आहे. त्यातील प्रत्येक विधानाचे
दोन वेगवेगळ्या कसोट्यांवर मूल्यमापन करावयाचे आहे. प्रथम १ ते ५
ही मोजपट्टी वापरून ते विधान कितपत विवाद्य आहे ते ठरवा :-

१ = निर्विवाद आणि ५ = अतिविवाद्य

त्याचप्रमाणे ही विधाने भारतीय संस्कृतीशी कितपत सुसंगत आहेत ते ठरवा.

यासाठीही १ ते ५ अशीच मोजपट्टी वापरायची आहे.

१ = अजिबात सुसंगत नाही आणि ५ = अगदी सुसंगत आहे.

तुमच्या उत्तराला जवळ असलेल्या आकड्याभोवती गोल करा.

१) अनुसूचित जाति-जमातीचे लोक केवळ शारीरिक कष्ट करण्यासच लायक आहेत,
बौद्धिक नव्हे.

    निर्विवाद   १   २   ३   ४   ५   अति विवाद्य
    अजिबात सुसंगत नाही   १   २   ३   ४   ५   अगदी सुसंगत आहे

२) प्रत्येक बाबतीत प्रामाणिकपणा हाच उत्तम मार्ग होय.

    निर्विवाद   १   २   ३   ४   ५   अति विवाद्य
    अजिबात सुसंगत नाही   १   २   ३   ४   ५   अगदी सुसंगत आहे

३) सर्वसामान्यतः लोक अगदी आवश्यक झाल्याखेरीज अंग मोडून काम करत नाहीत.

    निर्विवाद   १   २   ३   ४   ५   अति विवाद्य
    अजिबात सुसंगत नाही   १   २   ३   ४   ५   अगदी सुसंगत आहे

४) सर्व जातीयांसाठी एकत्रित गृहरचना-योजनेचा सरकारने जोरदार पुरस्कार
करायला हवा.

    निर्विवाद   १   २   ३   ४   ५   अति विवाद्य
    अजिबात सुसंगत नाही   १   २   ३   ४   ५   अगदी सुसंगत आहे

१

२

५) जीवनातील यशापयश हे बव्हंशी आपल्या नियंत्रणाबाहेर असलेल्या अनेक शक्तींवर अवलंबून असते.

निर्विवाद १ २ ३ ४ ५ अति विवाद
अजिबात सुसंगत नाही १ २ ३ ४ ५ अगदी सुसंगत आहे

६) बहुतांश लोकांच्या निष्ठा या त्यांच्या व्यक्तीगत स्वार्थांशी प्रथम निगडित असतात, राष्ट्राशी नव्हे.

निर्विवाद १ २ ३ ४ ५ अति विवाद
अजिबात सुसंगत नाही १ २ ३ ४ ५ अगदी सुसंगत आहे

७) जातिसंस्था ही परमेश्वरानेच निर्माण केलेली आहे.

निर्विवाद १ २ ३ ४ ५ अति विवाद
अजिबात सुसंगत नाही १ २ ३ ४ ५ अगदी सुसंगत आहे

८) मूलभूत आशा-आकांक्षांच्या बाबतीत सगळे लोक सारखेच.

निर्विवाद १ २ ३ ४ ५ अति विवाद
अजिबात सुसंगत नाही १ २ ३ ४ ५ अगदी सुसंगत आहे

९) अ) प्रबोधनाच्या या युगात ईश्वरी कल्पना अनावश्यक आहे.

निर्विवाद १ २ ३ ४ ५ अति विवाद
अजिबात सुसंगत नाही १ २ ३ ४ ५ अगदी सुसंगत आहे

ब) प्रबोधनाच्या या युगात आध्यात्मिक अनुभवाला महत्त्वाचे स्थान आहे.

निर्विवाद १ २ ३ ४ ५ अति विवाद
अजिबात सुसंगत नाही १ २ ३ ४ ५ अगदी सुसंगत आहे

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१०) केवळ आपल्या जातीचे हित न बघता सर्व समाजाच्या हिताचा विचार
करणे हे प्रत्येकाचे आद्य कर्तव्य आहे.

| निर्विवाद | १ | २ | ३ | ४ | ५ | अति विवाद्य |
| अजिबात सुसंगत नाही | १ | २ | ३ | ४ | ५ | अगदी सुसंगत आहे |

११) पारंपारिक श्रद्धांना आणि मूल्यांना विरोध करतानासुध्दा लोकांनी
नवनवीन कल्पनांना सामोरे गेले पाहिजे.

| निर्विवाद | १ | २ | ३ | ४ | ५ | अति विवाद्य |
| अजिबात सुसंगत नाही | १ | २ | ३ | ४ | ५ | अगदी सुसंगत आहे |

१२) साधारणपणे लोक एकमेकांना त्रास देण्यापेक्षा मदत करतात.

| निर्विवाद | १ | २ | ३ | ४ | ५ | अति विवाद्य |
| अजिबात सुसंगत नाही | १ | २ | ३ | ४ | ५ | अगदी सुसंगत आहे |

१३) कनिष्ठ जातींतील पालकांची मुले आपल्या 'वंचित' (गरीब) पार्श्वभूमीमुळे
चांगली प्रगती करु शकत नाहीत.

| निर्विवाद | १ | २ | ३ | ४ | ५ | अति विवाद्य |
| अजिबात सुसंगत नाही | १ | २ | ३ | ४ | ५ | अगदी सुसंगत आहे |

१४) बाह्य गोष्टींवर आणि इतर व्यक्तींवर अवलंबून राहणे प्रत्येकाने टाळले
पाहिजे. आपल्या आयुष्यावर आपला स्वत:चाच ताबा असायला हवा.

| निर्विवाद | १ | २ | ३ | ४ | ५ | अति विवाद्य |
| अजिबात सुसंगत नाही | १ | २ | ३ | ४ | ५ | अगदी सुसंगत आहे |

१५) धर्म ही जनतेची अफूची गोळी आहे.

| निर्विवाद | १ | २ | ३ | ४ | ५ | अति विवाद्य |
| अजिबात सुसंगत नाही | १ | २ | ३ | ४ | ५ | अगदी सुसंगत आहे |

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१६) कनिष्ठ जातीयांच्या दारिद्रयाला आणि दु:खाला उच्चवर्णीयांची जुलमी
वागणूक फार मोठ्या प्रमाणात कारणीभूत आहे.

निर्विवाद　　　१　 २　 ३　 ४　 ५　　　अति विवाद्य
अजिबात सुसंगत नाही　१　 २　 ३　 ४　 ५　 अगदी सुसंगत आहे

१७) भारताचे सामाजिक प्रश्न हे इतके व्यापक आणि खोलवर रुतले आहेत, की
लोकशाही मार्गांनी ते कदापि तुटणे शक्य नाही.

निर्विवाद　　　१　 २　 ३　 ४　 ५　　　अति विवाद्य
अजिबात सुसंगत नाही　१　 २　 ३　 ४　 ५　 अगदी सुसंगत आहे

१८) जमीनदारांचे गरीब, भूमिहीन शेतमजुरांवर वर्चस्व होते. त्यांनी त्यांच्यावर
जुलूम केला.

निर्विवाद　　　१　 २　 ३　 ४　 ५　　　अति विवाद्य
अजिबात सुसंगत नाही　१　 २　 ३　 ४　 ५　 अगदी सुसंगत आहे

१९) आर्थिकदृष्ट्या मागातलेल्यांसाठी असलेली शिष्यवृत्ती मिळण्यासाठी एखाद्याने
उत्पन्नाचे खोटे प्रमाणपत्र मिळवले, तर त्यात काही चूक नाही.

निर्विवाद　　　१　 २　 ३　 ४　 ५　　　अति विवाद्य
अजिबात सुसंगत नाही　१　 २　 ३　 ४　 ५　 अगदी सुसंगत आहे

२०) जातिसंस्थेचे निर्मूलन करण्याच्या दृष्टीने शासनाने अधिक विधायक कार्य
करायला हवे.

निर्विवाद　　　१　 २　 ३　 ४　 ५　　　अति विवाद्य
अजिबात सुसंगत नाही　१　 २　 ३　 ४　 ५　 अगदी सुसंगत आहे

२१) आपली जातकुळी लपवण्यासाटी लोक काय वाटेल ते करतात. आपली नावे
बदलतात. इतकेच नव्हे, तर इतरांच्या रीतीभातींचे अनुकरण करतात.

निर्विवाद　　　१　 २　 ३　 ४　 ५　　　अति विवाद्य
अजिबात सुसंगत नाही　१　 २　 ३　 ४　 ५　 अगदी संसुगत आहे

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२२) लोक नेहमीच असंतुष्ट आणि काहीतरी नव्याच्या शोधात असतात.

निर्विवाद १ २ ३ ४ ५ अति विवाद

अजिबात सुसंगत नाही १ २ ३ ४ ५ अगदी सुसंगत आहे

२३) अनुसूचित जातिजमातीतील लोकांना दिल्या जाणा-या सोयी सवलतींमुळे महत्त्वाच्या पदांवर तितकी लायकी नसलेल्या लोकांची नियुक्ती होते .

निर्विवाद १ २ ३ ४ ५ अति विवाद

अजिबात सुसंगत नाही १ २ ३ ४ ५ अगदी सुसंगत आहे

२४) कार्यक्षम शासनाच्या उभारणीमध्ये किंवा सामाजिक प्रश्नांमध्ये लोकांना रस नसतो. ते स्वतःच्या मर्यादित विश्वातच गढून गेलेले असतात.

निर्विवाद १ २ ३ ४ ५ अति विवाद

अजिबात सुसंगत नाही १ २ ३ ४ ५ अगदी सुसंगत आहे

२५) आध्यात्मिक गोष्टींनाही अस्तित्व आहे.

निर्विवाद १ २ ३ ४ ५ अति विवाद

अजिबात सुसंगत नाही १ २ ३ ४ ५ अगदी सुसंगत आहे

२६) आपापला नियोजित व्यवसाय करणा-या जाति-व्यवस्थेमुळे भारतीय समाजाचे कार्य चांगले चालते.

निर्विवाद १ २ ३ ४ ५ अति विवाद

अजिबात सुसंगत नाही १ २ ३ ४ ५ अगदी सुसंगत आहे

२७) आपले दैव बदलणे आपल्या हाती नसते.

निर्विवाद १ २ ३ ४ ५ अति विवाद

अजिबात सुसंगत नाही १ २ ३ ४ ५ अगदी सुसंगत आहे

२८) इहलोकी मृत्यूनंतर जीवाला अस्तित्व नाही.

निर्विवाद   १   २   ३   ४   ५   अति विवाद्य
अजिबात सुसंगत नाही १   २   ३   ४   ५   अगदी सुसंगत आहे

२९) कनिष्ठ जातीयांना आपल्या वर्चस्वाखाली आणि अज्ञानात ठेवण्यासाठी
उच्च वर्णीयांनी धर्माचा मोठ्या कौशल्याने वापर केला.

निर्विवाद   १   २   ३   ४   ५   अति विवाद्य
अजिबात सुसंगत नाही १   २   ३   ४   ५   अगदी सुसंगत आहे

३०) या जगाचा भार एका परमोच्च तत्त्वावर (देवावर) आहे.   तोच या
सगळ्यांची काळजी घेतो.

निर्विवाद   १   २   ३   ४   ५   अति विवाद्य
अजिबात सुसंगत नाही १   २   ३   ४   ५   अगदी सुसंगत आहे

३१) इथल्या लक्षावधी दरिद्री लोकांची प्रगती करायची असेल, तर भारताला कठोर
हुकूमशाहीचीच आवश्यकता आहे.

निर्विवाद   १   २   ३   ४   ५   अति विवाद्य
अजिबात सुसंगत नाही १   २   ३   ४   ५   अगदी सुसंगत आहे

३२) अनुसूचित जातीजमातींच्या लोकांच्या इच्छा-आकांक्षा उंचावून त्यांना
असमाधानी आणि दुःखी बनवण्यात काही अर्थ नाही.

निर्विवाद   १   २   ३   ४   ५   अति विवाद्य
अजिबात सुसंगत नाही १   २   ३   ४   ५   अगदी सुसंगत आहे.

३३) पारंपारिक धार्मिक रूढींचे वर्चस्व मानण्यापेक्षा माणसाने स्वतःच्या अनुभवातून
शहाणपण शिकले पाहिजे.

निर्विवाद   १   २   ३   ४   ५   अति विवाद्य
अजिबात सुसंगत नाही १   २   ३   ४   ५   अगदी सुसंगत आहे

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३४) आपल्याला जाणवणा-या या ऐहिक जगतापलिकडे कशालाही अस्तित्व नाही.

निर्विवाद १ २ ३ ४ ५ अति विवाद
अजिबात सुसंगत नाही १ २ ३ ४ ५ अगदी सुसंगत आहे

३५) केवळ एखाद्याच्या विशिष्ट जातीमुळे त्याच्या सामाजिक समारंभात भाग घेण्याचा हक्क नाकारला जाऊ नये.

निर्विवाद १ २ ३ ४ ५ अति विवाद
अजिबात सुसंगत नाही १ २ ३ ४ ५ अगदी सुसंगत आहे

३६) प्रयत्न करूनही स्वावलंबी होऊ न शकणा-या लोकांना इतरांकडून मदतीची अपेक्षा करण्याचा हक्क आहे.

निर्विवाद १ २ ३ ४ ५ अति विवाद
अजिबात सुसंगत नाही १ २ ३ ४ ५ अगदी सुसंगत आहे

३७) पाश्चात्य संस्कृतीचा प्रभाव आपल्या देशाच्या ख-या प्रगतीला घातक ठरला आहे.

निर्विवाद १ २ ३ ४ ५ अति विवाद
अजिबात सुसंगत नाही १ २ ३ ४ ५ अगदी सुसंगत आहे

३८) श्रेष्ठ-कनिष्ठतेच्या तत्वावर आधारलेली जातिव्यवस्था मानवाने निर्माण केली आहे.

निर्विवाद १ २ ३ ४ ५ अति विवाद
अजिबात सुसंगत नाही १ २ ३ ४ ५ अगदी सुसंगत आहे

३९) देशभक्ती आणि निष्ठा या उत्तम नागरिकत्वासाठी आवश्यक असलेल्या आद्य आणि प्रमुख गोष्टी आहेत.

निर्विवाद १ २ ३ ४ ५ अति विवाद
अजिबात सुसंगत नाही १ २ ३ ४ ५ अगदी सुसंगत आहे

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४०) आंतरजातीय विवाहांना उत्तेजन दिले गेले पाहिजे.

| निर्विवाद | १ | २ | ३ | ४ | ५ | अति विवाद |
| अजिबात सुसंगत नाही | १ | २ | ३ | ४ | ५ | अगदी सुसंगत आहे |

४१) प्रसिध्द परंतु अप्रामाणिक असण्यापेक्षा सामान्य पण प्रामाणिक असणे जास्त चांगले.

| निर्विवाद | १ | २ | ३ | ४ | ५ | अति विवाद |
| अजिबात सुसंगत नाही | १ | २ | ३ | ४ | ५ | अगदी सुसंगत आहे |

४२) माणसाच्या प्रत्येक वृत्तीला तो स्वत:च जबाबदार असतो.

| निर्विवाद | १ | २ | ३ | ४ | ५ | अति विवाद |
| अजिबात सुसंगत नाही | १ | २ | ३ | ४ | ५ | अगदी सुसंगत आहे |

४३) अनुसूचित जाती-जमातीतील लोकांसाठी राखीव जागा ठेवण्याचे धोरण तसेच चालू ठेवावे.

| निर्विवाद | १ | २ | ३ | ४ | ५ | अति विवाद |
| अजिबात सुसंगत नाही | १ | २ | ३ | ४ | ५ | अगदी सुसंगत आहे |

४४) बहुतांश लोक मुळात सज्जन आणि दयाळू असतात.

| निर्विवाद | १ | २ | ३ | ४ | ५ | अति विवाद |
| अजिबात सुसंगत नाही | १ | २ | ३ | ४ | ५ | अगदी सुसंगत आहे |

४५) परमेश्वरासंबंधी यत्किंचितही श्रध्दा न बाळगता माणूस आपल्या आयुष्याचा पूर्ण आस्वाद घेऊ शकतो आणि आनंदात राहू शकतो.

| निर्विवाद | १ | २ | ३ | ४ | ५ | अति विवाद |
| अजिबात सुसंगत नाही | १ | २ | ३ | ४ | ५ | अगदी सुसंगत आहे |

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४६) सर्व मानव समान आहेत, मग ते कुठल्या का जातीचे असेनात आणि त्यामुळेच सामाजिक सोयी-सवलती मिळण्याचा प्रत्येकाला समान हक्क आहे.

निर्विवाद   १   २   ३   ४   ५   अति विवाद्य

अजिबात सुसंगत नाही   १   २   ३   ४   ५   अगदी सुसंगत आहे

४७) आपल्या सामाजिक आणि आर्थिक व्यवस्थेत मूलभूत बदल घडवून आणले तर दारिद्र्याचे समूळ उच्चाटण करणे शक्य होईल.

निर्विवाद   १   २   ३   ४   ५   अति विवाद्य

अजिबात सुसंगत नाही   १   २   ३   ४   ५   अगदी सुसंगत आहे

४८) आज्ञाधारक वृत्ती आणि वरिष्ठांबद्दल आदर या दोन सर्वांत महत्त्वाच्या गोष्टी मुलांनो शिकायलाच हव्यात.

निर्विवाद   १   २   ३   ४   ५   अति विवाद्य

अजिबात सुसंगत नाही   १   २   ३   ४   ५   अगदी सुसंगत आहे

४९) राखीव जागा ठेवण्याची पध्दत अयोग्य आहे, कारण त्यामुळे आवश्यक गुणवत्ता असलेल्या, लायक उच्चवर्णीयांवर अन्याय होतो.

निर्विवाद   १   २   ३   ४   ५   अति विवाद्य

अजिबात सुसंगत नाही   १   २   ३   ४   ५   अगदी सुसंगत आहे

५०) शाळा-महाविद्यालयांतून विद्यार्थ्यांना परंपरागत सामाजिक आणि धार्मिक आदर्श शिकवले जावेत.

निर्विवाद   १   २   ३   ४   ५   अति विवाद्य

अजिबात सुसंगत नाही   १   २   ३   ४   ५   अगदी सुसंगत आहे

१०

१ ब :   आता ही पन्नास विधाने काळजीपूर्वक वाचून त्यातील जो विधाने
जातिसंस्थेशी संबंधित आहेत असे तुम्हाला वाटेल, त्या विधानाच्या
क्रमांकाभोवती गोल करा.   उदा. पहिले विधान जातीशी संबंधीत
आहे असे तुम्हाला वाटत असेल, तर १ या आकडयाभोवती १
असा गोल करा.   जी संबंधीत नसतील त्यांना काहीच खूण करु नका.

२ अ : एखादा महार माणूस खालीलप्रमाणे वागला, तर तुम्हाला ते चालेल का ?

१ ते ५ ही मोजपट्टी वापरून तुमच्या उत्तराला जवळ असलेल्या आकड्याभोवती गोल करा.

१ = अजिबात नाही आणि ५ = अगदी नक्की चालेल

उदा. :

बसमध्ये माझ्याशेजारी बसलेला चालेल.

अजिबात नाही १ २ ३ ४ ५ अगदी नक्की चालेल

जर तुम्हाला वाटेल तुमचे उत्तर "अजिबात नाही" या विधानाशी संबंधित आहे, तर मग १ या आकड्याभोवती १ असा गोल करा आणि समजा तुमचे उत्तर "अगदी नक्की चालेल" असे असेल, तर ५ या आकड्याभोवती ५ असा गोल करा.

		अजिबात नाही				अगदी नक्की चालेल
१)	तुम्हाला शिवलेला चालेल	१	२	३	४	५
२)	तुमच्या खाटेवर बसलेला चालेल	१	२	३	४	५
३)	तुमच्या स्वयंपाक घरात आलेला चालेल	१	२	३	४	५
४)	तुमच्या पितळेच्या भांड्याकुंड्यांना हात लावलेला चालेल	१	२	३	४	५

१२

		अजिबात नाही				अगदी नक्की चालेल
५)	तुमच्या घरातील मातीच्या भांड्यांना हात लावलेला चालेल	१	२	३	४	५
६)	तुमचा पाईप त्याने ओढलेला चालेल	१	२	३	४	५
७)	तुमचा हुक्का त्याने ओढलेला चालेल	१	२	३	४	५
८)	तुम्ही त्याच्याकडून शिजवलेले (त्याने शिजवलेले) अन्न घ्याल	१	२	३	४	५
९)	तुम्ही त्याच्याकडून कोरडे पदार्थ (उकडलेले) घ्याल	१	२	३	४	५
१०)	तुम्ही त्याच्याकडून न शिजलेले पदार्थ (मिश्र) घ्याल	१	२	३	४	५
११)	त्याच्या हातचे पाणी प्याल	१	२	३	४	५
१२)	त्याने तुमच्या पाण्याच्या भांड्यांना हात लावलेला चालेल	१	२	३	४	५
१३)	तुमच्या मुलांना हात लावलेला चालेल	१	२	३	४	५
१४)	तुमच्या कुटुंबातील व्यक्तीशी लग्न केलेले चालेल	१	२	३	४	५
१५)	तुमचा मित्र होऊ शकेल	१	२	३	४	५
१६)	तुमचा शेजारी म्हणून चालेल	१	२	३	४	५
१७)	तुमच्या कचेरीत, कारखान्यात किंवा शेतावर सहकारी म्हणून चालेल	१	२	३	४	५

१३

		अजिबात नाही				अगदी नक्की चालेल
१८)	तुमच्या देशाचा नागरिक म्हणून चालेल	१	२	३	४	५
१९)	तुमच्या देशाचा केवळ पाहुणा म्हणूनच चालेल (तुमच्या हातात असेल तर)	१	२	३	४	५
२0)	तुमच्या देशातून हाकलून घाल (तुमच्या हातात असेल तर)	१	२	३	४	५
२१)	तुमचा वरिष्ठ अधिकारी झालेला चालेल	१	२	३	४	५

१४

२ ब : एखादा मराठा माणूस खालीलप्रमाणे वागला, तर तुम्हाला ते चालेल काय ?

१ ते ५ ही मोजपट्टी वापरून तुमच्या उत्तराला जवळ असलेल्या आकड्याभोवती गोल करा.

१ = अजिबात नाही आणि ५ = अगदी नक्की चालेल

उदा. :

खळमध्ये माझ्याशेजारी बसलेला चालेल.

अजिबात नाही १ २ ३ ४ ५ अगदी नक्की चालेल

जर तुम्हाला वाटले तुमचे उत्तर "अजिबात नाही" या विधानाशी संबंधित आहे, तर मग १ या आकड्याभोवती १ असा गोल करा आणि समजा तुमचे उत्तर "अगदी नक्की चालेल" असे असेल, तर ५ या आकड्याभोवती ५ असा गोल करा.

	अजिबात नाही				अगदी नक्की चालेल
१) तुम्हाला शिवलेला चालेल	१	२	३	४	५
२) तुमच्या खाटेवर बसलेला चालेल	१	२	३	४	५
३) तुमच्या स्वयंपाकघरात आलेला चालेल	१	२	३	४	५

१५

		अजिबात नाही				अगदी नक्की चालेल
४)	तुमच्या पितळेच्या भांड्या- कुंड्यांना हात लावलेला चालेल	१	२	·३	४	५
५)	तुमच्या घरातील मातीच्या भांड्यांना हात लावलेला चालेल	१	२	३	४	५
६)	तुमचा पाईप त्याने ओढलेला चालेल	१	२	३	४	५
७)	तुमचा हुक्का त्याने ओढलेला चालेल	१	२	३	४	५
८)	तुम्ही त्याच्याकडून शिजवलेले (त्याने शिजवलेले) अन्न घ्याल	१	२	३	४	५
९)	तुम्ही त्याच्याकडून कोरडे पदार्थ (उकडलेले) घ्याल	१	२	३	४	५
१0)	तुम्ही त्याच्याकडून न शिजलेले पदार्थ (शिधा) घ्याल	१	२	३	४	५
११)	त्याच्या हातचे पाणी प्याल	१	२	३	४	५
१२)	त्याने तुमच्या पाण्याच्या भांड्यांना हात लावलेला चालेल	१	२	३	४	५
१३)	तुमच्या मुलांना हात लावलेला चालेल	१	२	३	४	५
१४)	तुमच्या कुटुंबातील व्यक्तीशी लग्न केलेले चालेल	१	२	३	४	५
१५)	तुमचा मित्र होऊ शकेल	१	२	३	४	५

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		अज्ञिात नाही				अगदी नक्की चालेल
१६)	तुमचा शेजारी म्हणून चालेल	१	२	३	४	५
१७)	तुमच्या कचेरीत, कारखान्यात किंवा शेतावर सहकारी म्हणून चालेल	१	२	३	४	५
१८)	तुमच्या देशाचा नागरिक म्हणून चालेल	१·	२	३	४	५
१९)	तुमच्या देशाचा केवळ पाहुणा म्हणूनच चालेल (तुमच्या हातात असेल तर)	१	२	३	४	५
२०)	तुमच्या देशातून हाकलून द्याल (तुमच्या हातात असेल तर)	१	२	३	४	५
२१)	तुमचा वरिष्ठ अधिकारी झालेला चालेल	१	२	३	४	५

१७

२ क : एखादा ब्राम्हण माणूस खालीलप्रमाणे वागला, तर तुम्हाला ते
चालेल काय ?

१ ते ५ ही मोजपट्टी वापरुन तुमच्या उत्तराला जवळ असलेल्या
आकड्याभोवती गोल करा.

१ = अजिबात नाही आणि ५ = अगदी नक्की चालेल

उदा. :

बसमध्ये माझ्याशेजारी बसलेला चालेल

अजिबात नाही   १   २   ३   ४   ५   अगदी नक्की चालेल

जर तुम्हाला वाटले तुमचे उत्तर "अजिबात नाही" या विधानाशी
संबंधित आहे, तर मग १ या आकड्याभोवती १ असा गोल करा
आणि समजा तुमचे उत्तर "अगदी नक्की चालेल" असे असेल, तर ५
या आकड्याभोवती ५ असा गोल करा.

		अजिबात नाही				अगदी नक्की चालेल
१)	तुम्हाला शिवलेला चालेल	१	२	३	४	५
२)	तुमच्या खाटेवर बसलेला चालेल	१	२	३	४	५
३)	तुमच्या स्वयंपाक घरात आलेला चालेल	१	२	३	४	५

१८

		अजिबात नाही				अगदी नक्की घालेल
४)	तुमच्या वितळेच्या भीडया- कुंड्यांना हात लावेला घालेल	१	२	३	४	५
५)	तुमच्या घरातील मातीच्या भांडयांना हात लावलेला घालेल	१	२	३	४	५
६)	तुमचा पाईप त्याने ओढलेला घालेल	१	२	३	४	५
७)	तुमचा हुक्का त्याने ओढलेला घालेल	१	२	३	४	५
८)	तुम्ही त्याच्याकडून शिजवलेले (त्याने शिजवलेले) अन्न घ्याल	१	२	३	४	५
९)	तुम्ही त्याच्याकडून कोरडे (पदार्थ (उकडलेले) घ्याल	१	२	३	४	५
१०)	तुम्ही त्याच्याकडून न शिजलेले पदार्थ (शिधा) घ्याल	१	२	३	४	५
११)	त्याच्या हातचे पाणी प्याल	१	२	३	४	५
१२)	त्याने तुमच्या पाण्याच्या भांडयांना हात लावलेला घालेल	१	२	३	४	५
१३)	तुमच्या मुलांना हात लावलेला घालेल	१	२	३	४	५
१४)	तुमच्या कुटुंबातील व्यक्तीशी लग्न केलेले घालेल	१	२	३	४	५
१५)	तुमचा मित्र होऊ शकेल	१	२	३	४	५

१९

		अजिबात नाही				अगदी नक्की चालेल
१६)	तुमचा शेजारी म्हणून चालेल	१	२	३	४	५
१७)	तुमच्या कचेरीत, कारखान्यात किंवा शेतावर सहकारी म्हणून चालेल	१	२	३	४	५
१८)	तुमच्या देशाचा नागरिक म्हणून चालेल	१	२	३	४	५
१९)	तुमच्या देशाचा केवळ पाहुणा म्हणूनच चालेल (तुमच्या हातात असेल तर)	१	२	३	४	५
२०)	तुमच्या देशातून हाकलून द्याल (तुमच्या हातात असेल तर)	१	२	३	४	५
२१)	तुमचा वरिष्ठ अधिकारी झालेला चालेल	१	२	३	४	५

२०

३ : आता माझे अगदी थोडेच प्रश्न राहिले आहेत. तुम्ही दिलेल्या माहितीचे वर्गीकरण करून तिचा योग्य पध्दतीने वापर करण्यासाठी मला तुमची उत्तरे आवश्यक आहेत.

१) वय , २) लिंग : स्त्री / पुरुष

३) जात : ब्राम्हण/मराठा/महार/इतर

४) शहर विभागात किती वर्षे राहिला आहात ?

५) ग्रामीण विभागात किती वर्षे राहिला आहात ?

६) हिंदू धर्मातील तुम्हाला महत्त्वाच्या वाटणा-या एक किंवा दोन कल्पना सांगा.

अ) _____
    _____

ब) _____
    _____

७) काही लोकांना जातिसंस्था ही त्यांच्यावर लादलेली आहे किंवा ती त्यांनी स्वखुशीने स्वीकारली आहे, असे वाटते. असे का वाटते याची एक किंवा दोन कारणे सांगा.

अ) _____
    _____

ब) _____
    _____

८) भारतातील जातीसंस्थेचे आपण का उच्चाटन करायला हवे, याची एक किंवा दोन कारणे सांगा.

अ) _____
    _____

ब) _____
    _____

पत्ता : प्रमोद रायकर, स्नेहसदन,
         २५० शनिवार पेठ, पुणे ४११ 030 (दूरध्वनि : ४४ २७ ०९)

APPENDIX D.2

VERNACULAR EDITION

(Appendix B in Marathi)

प्र श्न मा लि का

महाराष्ट्राच्या या भागातील तीन प्रमुख जातींचे एकमेकांविषयी असलेले विचार, दृष्टीकोन आणि त्यांचे परस्परांतील संबंध, यांचा अभ्यास करणे हा या प्रश्नमालिकेचा उद्देश आहे. त्याचप्रमाणे या अभ्यासामुळे या तीन जातीतील साम्यभेदांचेही स्वरूप कळून येईल. यात विचारलेल्या कोणत्याही प्रश्नाला तुम्ही दिलेल्या उत्तरांबाबत पूर्ण गुप्तता राखली जाईल. तुमचा चेहरा आणि तुमचे नाव जरी आम्हांस माहित असले, तरी ते कोणालाही कळणार नाही किंवा आमच्या फाईलमध्येही त्याचा उल्लेख असणार नाही. या फॉर्मवरही ते लिहिले जाणार नाही.

१ : खाली काही विधाने दिली आहेत. कृपया पुढील पध्दतीनुसार आपले त्याविषयी मत ठरवा.

    ०   --   याने कट्टर विरोध दर्शविला जातो.

    १   --   याने साधा विरोध सूचित होतो.

    २   --   याने विरोधाकडे कल सूचित होतो.

    ३   --   याने संमतीकडे कल सूचित होतो.

    ४   --   याने साधी संमती सूचित होते, आणि

    ५   --   याने संपूर्ण सहमती सूचित होते.

आता प्रत्येक विधान काळजीपूर्वक ऐका आणि तुमच्या मतानुसार त्याला क्रमांक द्या.

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जातीसंबंधीची विधाने	कट्टर विरोध					संपूर्ण सहमती
८) अनुसूचित जाती जमातींच्या लोकांना दिल्या जाणा-या सोयी सवलतींमुळे महत्त्वाच्या पदांवर तितकी लायकी नसलेल्या लोकांची नियुक्ती होते.	0	१	२	३	४	५
९) आपली जातकुळी लपविण्यासाठी लोक काय वाटेल ते करतात. आपली नावे बदलतात. इतकेच नव्हे तर, इतरांच्या रितीभातींचे अनुकरण करतात.	0	१	२	३	४	५
१0) जाती संस्था ही परमेश्वरानेच निर्माण केली आहे.	0	१	२	३	४	५

४

सर्वसाधारण विधाने	कद्दटर विरोध					संपूर्ण सहमती
१) साधारणपणे लोक एकमेकांना त्रास देण्यापेक्षा मदत करतात.	0	१	२	३	४	५
२) आपल्याला जाणणा-या या ऐहिक जगतापलिकडे कशालाही अस्तित्व नाही.	0	१	२	३	४	५
३) पाश्चात्य संस्कृतीचा प्रभाव आपल्या देशाच्या ख-या प्रगतीला घातक ठरला आहे.	0	१	२	३	४	५
४) प्रत्येक बाबतीत प्रामाणिकपणा हाच उत्तम मार्ग होय.	0	१	२	३	४	५
५) माणसाच्या प्रत्येक कृतीला तो स्वतःच जबाबदार असतो.	0	१	२	३	४	५
६) सर्वसाधारण लोक अगदी आवश्यक झाल्याखेरीज अंग मोडून काम करीत नाहीत.	0	१	२	३	४	५
७) मुलभूत आशा-आकांक्षांच्या बाबतीत सगळे लोक सारखेच आहेत.	0	१	२	३	४	५
८) आपले दैव बदलणे आपल्या हाती नसते.	0	१	२	३	४	५
९) इथल्या लक्षावधी दरिद्री लोकांची प्रगती करावयाची असेल, तर भारताला कठोर हुकूमशाहीचीच आवश्यकता आहे.	0	१	२	३	४	५
१०) प्रबोधनाच्या युगात ईश्वरी कल्पना अनावश्यक आहे	0	१	२	३	४	५

५

२ : पुढे काही वैयक्तिक प्रश्न दिलेले आहेत. मुलाखती घेतलेल्या निरनिराळ्या व्यक्तींमधील साम्यभेदांच्या बाबतीत परिणामकारक ठरणारे काही साधारण घटक सापडतात. या विषयी माहिती मिळविणे हा त्यामागचा उद्देश आहे. जेथे नेमके देणे शक्य नसेल, तेथे अंदाजाने साधारण बरोबर उत्तर द्या.

१) वय :   २) लिंग :

३) जात :   ४) धर्म :

५) रहाण्याचे ठिकाण :   ग्रामीण विभाग/शहरी विभाग.
या ग्रामीण/शहरी विभागात आपण किती वर्षे रहात आहात ?

६) शैक्षणिक पातळी : (कोणतीही एक निवडा)

    अ) चौथ्या इयत्तेखाली   ब) चौथी इयत्ता पूर्ण
    क) पाचवी ते सातवी इयत्ताड) आठवी ते दहावी इयत्ता
    ई) आकरावी ते बारावी   फ) थोडेफार महाविद्यालयीन
        इयत्ता
    ग) पहिली (बॅचलरची)   ह) दुसरी (मास्टर्स) पदवी किंवा
        पदवी   त्याहून जास्त.

७) घरातील सर्व व्यक्तींचे मिळून मासिक उत्पन्न. (रुपयात)

    अ) २०० हून कमी   ब) २०१ ते ४००
    क) ४०१ ते ६००   ड) ६०१ ते ८००
    ई) ८०१ ते १०००   फ) १००१ ते १२००
    ग) १२०१ ते १४००   ह) १४०१ ते १६००
    य) १६०१ ते १८००   ज) १८०१ ते २०००
    म) २००१ च्या वर

६

८) काही स्थावर मालमत्ता आहे का ? हो/नाही. असल्यास किती एकर ?

९) तुमचा नियमित व्यवसाय कोणता ?

३ : दुस-या एका   जातीच्या व्यक्तीने सांगितलेली ही काही मते (मतक्रमांक) आहेत. तुम्ही ज्या विधाना - संबंधी मते व्यक्त केली आहेत, ही त्याची वैयक्तिक मते आहेत. या माणसाचे चित्र / स्वरूप डोळ्यासमोर आणण्याचा प्रयत्न करा. "ही व्यक्ती कोणत्या प्रकारची असेल असे तुम्हाला वाटते ?" आता या माहितीवर आधारित काही प्रश्न मी तुम्हाला विचारणार आहे, त्यांची तुम्ही उत्तरे द्यावी.

जातीसंबंधीची विधाने	कट्टर विरोध					संपूर्ण सहमती
१) जाती संस्था ही परमेश्वरानेच निर्माण केली आहे.	०	१	२	३	४	५

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जातीसंबंधीची विधाने	कट्टर विरोध					संपूर्ण सहमती
२) आपली जातकुळी लपविण्यासाठी लोक काय वाटेल ते करतात, आपली नावे बदलतात, इतकेच नव्हे तर इतरांच्या रिती - भातीचे अनुकरण करतात.	०	१	२	३	४	५
३) अनुसूचित जाती-जमातीतील लोकांना दिल्या जाणा-या सोयी सवलतींमुळे महत्त्वाच्या पदांवर तितको लायकी नसलेल्या लोकांची नियुक्ती होते.	०	१	२	३	४	५
४) अनुसूचित जाती-जमातींच्या लोकांच्या इच्छा आकांक्षा उंचावून त्यांना असमाधानी व दु:खी बनविण्यात काही अर्थ नाही.	०	१	२	३	४	५
५) कनिष्ठ जातीयांच्या दारिद्रयाला व दुखाला उच्चवर्णीयांची जुलमी वागणूक फार मोठ्या प्रमाणात कारणीभूत आहे.	०	१	२	३	४	५
६) सर्व जातीयांसाठी एकत्रित गृहरचना योजनेया सरकारने जोरदार पुरस्कार करायला हवा.	०	१	२	३	४	५
७) कनिष्ठ जातींतील पालकांची मुले आपल्या "वंचित" (गरिब) पार्श्वभूमिमुळे चांगली प्रगती करु शकत नाहीत.	०	१	२	३	४	५

८

जातीसंबंधीची विधाने	कट्टर विरोध					संपूर्ण सहमती
८) अनुसूचित जाती-जमातीतील लोकांसाठी राखीव जागा ठेवण्याचे धोरण तसेच चालू ठेवावे.	0	१	२	३	४	५
९) आपआपला नियोजित व्यवसाय करणा-या जाती व्यवस्थेमुळे भारतीय समाजाचे कार्य चांगले चालते.	0	१	२	३	४	५
१0) अनुसूचित जाती-जमातीचे लोक केवळ शारिरिक कष्ट करण्यासच लायक आहेत, बौद्धिक नव्हे.	0	१	२	३	४	५

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सर्वसाधारण विधाने	कट्टर विरोध					संपूर्ण सहमती
१) प्रबोधनाच्या युगात ईश्वरी कल्पना अनावश्यक आहे.	0	१	२	३	४	५
२) इथल्या लक्षावधी दरिद्री लोकांची प्रगती करायची असेल, तर भारताला कठोर हुकूमशाहीचीच आवश्यकता आहे.	0	१	२	३	४	५
३) आपले दैव बदलणे आपल्या हाती नसते.	0	१	२	३	४	५
४) मुलभूत आशा-आकांक्षाच्या बाबतीत सगळे लोक तारखेच आहेत.	0	१	२	३	४	५
५) सर्वसामान्य लोक अगदी आवश्यक झाल्याखेरीज अंग मोडून काम करीत नाहीत.	0	१	२	३	४	५
६) माणसाच्या प्रत्येक कृतीला तो स्वतःच जबाबदार असतो.	0	१	२	३	४	५
७) प्रत्येक बाबतीत प्रामाणिकपणा हाच उत्तम मार्ग होय.	0	१	२	३	४	५
८) पाश्चात्य संस्कृतीचा प्रभाव आपल्या देशाच्या ख-या प्रगतीला घातक ठरला आहे.	0	१	२	३	४	५

१०

सर्वसाधारण विधाने	कट्टर विरोध					संपूर्ण सहमती
९) आपल्याला जाणणा-या या ऐहिऊ जगतापलिकडे कशालाही अस्तित्व नाही.	0	१	२	३	४	५
१०) साधारणपणे लोक एकमेकांना त्रास देण्यापेक्षा मदत करतात.	0	१	२	३	४	५

११

३ ऊ : व्यक्तीव्यक्तींच्या एकमेकांविषयींच्या अनुमानाविषयी सुधारित मोजपट्टी

या व्यक्तीबद्दल तुमच्या मनात झालेले चित्र आठवा व खालील प्रश्नांची उत्तरे द्या. कोणतेही एक उत्तर निवडा.

१) तुम्हांला ही व्यक्ती बुध्दीमान असावी असे वाटते का ?

अजिबात बुध्दीमान नाही   अतिशय बुध्दीमान

           0   १   २   ३   ४   ५

२) तथ्याच्या परिस्थितीचे यांना ज्ञान आहे, असे तुम्हांला वाटते का ?

अजिबात नाही   नक्कीच आहे

           0   १   २   ३   ४   ५

३) ही व्यक्ती नीतीमान आहे, असे तुमचे मत होते का ?

अत्यंत अनीतीमान   अत्यंत नीतीमान

           0   १   २   ३   ४   ५

४) ही व्यक्ती तिच्या भोवतालच्या वातावरणाशी आणि माणसाशी योग्य रीतीने समरस होऊ शकते असे तुम्हांला वाटते का ?

अजिबात नाही   अत्यंत समरस

           0   १   २   ३   ४   ५

५) ही व्यक्ती तुम्हांला आवडण्याचा संभव आहे, असे तुम्हांला वाटते का ?

अजिबात नाही   खूपच आवडली

           0   १   २   ३   ४   ५

६) या व्यक्तीबरोबर काम करायला तुम्हांला आवडेल का ?

अजिबात आवडणार नाही   खूपच आवडेल

           0   १   २   ३   ४   ५

१२

३ ब : या व्यक्तीसंबंधी तुमच्या मनात तयार झालेल्या चित्रांची उजळणी
आता तुम्ही परत एकदा करा आणि मग मला असे सांगायचे आहे की
या व्यक्तीने खालील वर्तन केलेले तुम्हांला चालेल का ?

		नाही	होय
१)	तुम्हांला शिवलेला चालेल	0	१
२)	तुमच्या वाटेवर बसलेला चालेल	0	१
३)	तुमच्या स्वयंपाक घरात बसलेला चालेल	0	१
४)	तुमच्या पितळेच्या भांड्याकुंड्यांना हात लावलेला चालेल	0	१
५)	तुमच्या घरातील मातीच्या भांड्यांना हात लावलेला चालेल	0	१
६)	तुमचा पाईप त्याने ओढलेला चालेल	0	१
७)	तुम्ही त्याच्याकडून शिजविलेले (त्याने शिजवलेले) अन्न घ्याल	0	१
८)	तुम्ही त्याच्याकडून कोरडे पदार्थ (उकडलेले) घ्याल	0	१
९)	तुम्ही त्याच्याकडून शिधा पदार्थ घ्याल	0	१
१०)	त्याच्या हातचे पाणी प्याल	0	१
११)	त्याने तुमच्या पाण्याच्या भांड्यांना हात लावलेला चालेल	0	१
१२)	तुमच्या मुलांना हात लावलेला चालेल	0	१
१३)	तुमच्या कुटुंबातील व्यक्तीशी लग्न केलेले चालेल	0	१
१४)	तुमचा मित्र होऊ शकेल	0	१
१५)	तुमचा शेजारी म्हणून चालेल	0	१

१३

	नाही	होय

१६) तुमच्या कचेरीत, कारखान्यात किंवा
शेतावर सहकारी म्हणून चालेल   0   १

१७) तुमचा वरिष्ठ अधिकारी झालेला चालेल   0   १

३ क : ३ ब मध्ये भुल्लेखिलेल्या गोष्टी या व्यक्तीने केल्या तर तुम्हांला त्या
पसंत पडतील किंवा नाही आणि त्यांचा संबंध तुम्ही खालील पैकी
कोणत्या गोष्टीशी जोडाल ?

१) सामाजिक दडपण	0	१	२	३	४	५
२) तुमचा स्वत:चा निर्णय	0	१	२	३	४	५
३) धार्मिक मूल्ये	0	१	२	३	४	५
४) तुमची शैक्षणिक पातळी	0	१	२	३	४	५
५) जातीभेद	0	१	२	३	४	५
६) तुमचा विशाल दृष्टीकोन	0	१	२	३	४	५
७) परिस्थितीच्या मर्यादा	0	१	२	३	४	५
८) तुमची आर्थिक तुस्थिती	0	१	२	३	४	५

३ ड : या प्रश्नांची उत्तरे तुम्ही सर्वांनी द्यायची आहेत.

१) तुमच्या जातीतील सर्वसामान्य माणूस ३ ब मधील प्रश्नांची
दचकेल असं तुम्हांला वाटतं का ?
नाही   0   १   २   ३   ४   ५   होय

२) तुमच्या जातीतील इतर लोकांना तुमची ही उत्तरे मान्य होतील का ?
नाही   0   १   २   ३   ४   ५   होय

४ अ : प्रत्यक्ष संपर्काचे मोजमाप

जातीमधील एखाद्या व्यक्तीबरोबर खालील गोष्टी गेल्या महिन्यात तुम्ही किती केल्यात ते स्मरणपूर्वक सांगा. हे सारे प्रश्न गेल्या एका महिन्याला उद्देशून विचारलेले आहेत.

१) गेल्या महिन्यात या जातीच्या व्यक्तीबरोबर तुम्ही किती वेळा चित्रपटाला गेलात ? नेमका आकडा

२) गेल्या महिन्यात या जातीच्या व्यक्तीला तुम्ही किती वेळा आपल्या- कडे जेवायला बोलावलंत ? नेमका आकडा

३) गेल्या महिन्यात तुम्ही या जातीच्या व्यक्तीच्या घरी किती वेळा गेलात ? नेमका आकडा

४) गेल्या महिन्यात तुम्ही या जातीच्या व्यक्तीबरोबर किती वेळा हॉटेलमध्ये चहाला किंवा जेवायला गेलात ? नेमका आकडा

५) गेल्या महिन्यात या जातीच्या व्यक्तीबरोबर तुम्ही किती वेळा गप्पा मारत्यात ? नेमका आकडा

६) गेल्या महिन्यात या जातीच्या व्यक्तीबरोबर तुम्ही किती वेळा एकत्र काम केलंत ? नेमका आकडा

७) गेल्या महिन्यात या जातीच्या व्यक्तीला तुम्ही किती वेळा चहाला घरी बोलावलंत ? नेमका आकडा

१५

४ ब : ४ अ मधील गोष्टी तुम्ही कोणत्या परिस्थितीत केल्यात ते आठवा,
आणि खाली दिलेली माहिती प्रत्येक परिस्थिती तुम्हाला कितपत
मान्य आहे ते दाखवा.

१) तुम्हा दोघांचीही उद्दिष्टे / ध्येये समान होती.
नाही   0 १ २ ३ ४ ५   होय

२) तुम्ही दोघेही एकाच जातीचे आहात
नाही   0 १ २ ३ ४ ५   होय

३) तुम्ही एकमेकांच्या जवळ रहाता.
नाही   0 १ २ ३ ४ ५   होय

४) तुम्ही ब-याच काळापासून एकमेकांना ओळखता.
नाही   0 १ २ ३ ४ ५   होय

५) तुम्ही त्याला / तिला तुमच्या बरोबरीचे मानता
नाही   0 १ २ ३ ४ ५   होय

६) तुमचे तिच्याशी / त्याच्या शी चांगले संबंध आहेत.
नाही   0 १ २ ३ ४ ५   होय

७) परंपरागत जातीव्यवस्थेचा तुम्हाला तिटकारा आहे.
नाही   0 १ २ ३ ४ ५   होय

१६

५ : एकूण आधुनिकतेविषयीच्या मोजपट्टीची सुधारीत आवृत्ती (ओ एम. १२)

१) श्याचा सार्वजनीक प्रश्नाबाबत तुम्हाला उतकी आस्था ज्यी वाटती का ? की त्या बाबतीत खरोखरीच काहीतरी करावं असे तुम्हाला वाटलं का ? कृपया असं किती वेळा वाटलं ते सांगा

२) जर मोफ्त शिक्षण उपलब्ध असेल तर तुमच्या सारख्या लोकांच्या मुलांना किती वर्षे शिक्षण असावं असं तुम्हाला वाटतं ? नेमका आकडा

३) एका शेतकऱ्याच्या ह्या मताशी तुम्ही सहमत आहात का ? तो म्हणाला होता, "धान्य (ज्वारी) पेरणीच्या नवीन आणि सुधारलेल्या पध्दतीचा विचार करणं चांगलं".

   नाही   ०   १   २   ३   ४   ५   होय

४) "आहेत, त्या मुलांच जास्त चांगलं पालन-पोषण करण्यासाठी नवरा – बायकोंनी मुलांची संख्या मर्यादित ठेवण आवश्यक आहे". असं एकानं म्हटलं आहे. तुम्ही त्याच्याशी सहमत आहात का ?

   नाही   ०   १   २   ३   ४   ५   होय

५) माणसाला कुठला धर्म नसला, तर खरंच फार छान होईल असं तुम्हाला वाटतं का ?

   नाही   ०   १   २   ३   ४ . ५   होय

६) समजा दूरवरच्या (साधारण १००० कि. मी. दूर) श्याचा परदेशी माणसाशी तुमची गाठ पडली, तर तुम्ही त्याची विचार करण्याची पध्दत समजावून घेऊ शकता का ?

   नाही   ०   १   २   ३   ४   ५   होय

७) उत्तम शिक्षण घेतलेल्या आणि चांगली माहिती अतलेल्याच लोकांनी राष्ट्राच्या शासनात (कारभारात) महत्त्वाच्या पदांवर अतलेलं चांगलं.

नाही   0   १   २   ३   ४   ५   होय

८) आपल्या लोकांनी केलेले कठोर परिश्रम ही देशाच्या भवितव्याच्या दृष्टीने अतिशय महत्त्वाची आणि फायद्याची गोष्ट आहे.

नाही   0   १   २   ३   ४   ५   होय

९) औद्योगिक आणि वैद्यकीय क्षेत्रात विज्ञानाने केलेली प्रगती समाजाला उपकारक ठरली आहे, असं तुम्हांला वाटतं का ?

नाही   0   १   २   ३   ४   ५   होय

१०) आंतरराष्ट्रीय वार्ता वाचण्यात तुम्हांला रस आहे का ?

नाही   0   १   २   ३   ४   ५   होय

११) सामाजिक क्लब, कामगार संघटना किंवा राजकीय गट यांसारख्या कोणत्या संस्थेशी तुमचा संबंध आहे का ? नेमका आकडा

१२) तुम्ही वर्तमानपत्रातील बातम्या किंवा माहिती कॅव्हा वाचता ?

१) रोज

२) आठवड्यात तीन / चार वेळा

३) पंधरवड्यातून एकदा / दोनदा

४) महिन्यातून एकदा किंवा

५) अजिबात नाही

६ : शेवटचे प्रश्न :

१) ज्या व्यक्तीविषयी तुम्हांला प्रश्न विचारले, त्या व्यक्तीची जात कोणती होती ?

· १८

२) ज्या व्यक्तीबद्दल तुम्हांला इतके प्रश्न विचारले, त्याची तुमची मतं
सारखी होती का ?

नाही अजिबात नाही   होय, अगदी सारखी

    0   १   २   ३   ४   ५

३) ज्या व्यक्तीबद्दल तुम्हांला इतके प्रश्न विचारले, त्याची आणि तुमची
जातीसंबंधी मतं सारखीच होती का ?

नाही, अजिबात नाही   होय, अगदी सारखी

    0   १   २   ३   ४   ५

४) ज्या व्यक्तीबद्दल तुम्हांला इतके प्रश्न विचारले, त्याची आणि तुमची
सर्वसाधारण बाबींविषयी मतंही सारखी होती का ?

नाही, अजिबात नाही   होय, अगदी सारखी

    0   १   २   ३   ४   ५

५) या प्रश्न मालिकेला तुम्ही जी उत्तरे दिलीत, ती बहुतांश समाजाला
मान्य होतील असं तुम्हांला वाटतं का ?

नाही, अजिबात नाही   होय, अगदी मान्य होतील

    0   १   २   ३   ४   ५

६) या प्रश्नमालिकेला तुम्ही जी उत्तरे दिलीत ती मान्य करताना किंवा
त्याप्रमाणे वागतांना तुम्हांला लाज वाटेल का ?

नाही, अजिबात वाटणार नाही   होय, अतिशय वाटेल

    0   १   २   ३   ४   ५

१९

<u>फक्त मुलाखत घेणा-याने भरावे.</u>

१)   मुलाखतीच्या वेळेस उत्तरे प्रामाणिकपणे दिली गेलीत असे आपल्याला वाटले का?
     नाही   0   १   २   ३   ४   ५   होय

२)   मुलाखतीच्या वेळेस भित-भित किंवा संकोचून उत्तरे दिली गेलीत का ?
     नाही   0   १   २   ३   ४   ५   होय

- -

पत्ता   :   श्री. प्रमोद रायकर
              'स्नेहसदन'
              २५०, शनिवार पेठ,
              पु णे - ४११ ०३०

                              दूरध्वनी : ४४ १७ ०९

APPENDIX D.3

VERNACULAR EDITION

(Appendix C in Marathi)

धार्मिक विचाराचे मुल्यमापन

भरणा-याची जात	नाही					होय
१. सण आणि उत्सव यामुळे हिंदु समाजात ऐक्य निर्माण होते	0	१	२	३	४	५
२. पूर्वजन्मीच्या कर्मावरुन प्रत्येकाची जात ठरवली जात नाही.	0	१	२	३	४	५
३. हिंदु धर्म सर्व श्रेष्ठ होय. हिंदु धर्मामुळे होणारे संस्कार चांगलेच आहेत	0	१	२	३	४	५
४. देव नेहमी ब-यांचा (चारित्र्यवानांचा) पाठीराखा असतो	0	१	२	३	४	५
५. जातीव्यवस्था ही परमेश्वराने निर्माण केलेली नाही	0	१	२	३	४	५
६. हिंदु धर्माविषयी मला पूर्णपणे आपुलकी वाटत आहे	0	१	२	३	४	५
७. सर्वांनी एकमेकांशी बंधुभावाने वागावे	0	१	२	३	४	५
८. पुनर्जन्माची कल्पना मला मान्य नाही	0	१	२	३	४	५
९. देवपूजा, भक्ती आणि श्रध्दा यांत प्रत्येकाच्या जीवनात स्थान असावे	0	१	२	३	४	५
१०. प्रत्येकाने निष्काम कर्मयोगी असावे फळाची अपेक्षा न धरता स्वधर्म पार पाडावा	0	१	२	३	४	५

- -

पत्ता : प्रमोद रायकर
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१

APPROVAL SHEET

The dissertation submitted by Pramod Raikar has been read and approved by the following committee:

> Dr. John D. Edwards, Director
> Associate Professor, Psychology, Loyola
>
> Dr. Emil J. Posavac,
> Professor, Psychology, Loyola
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> Associate Professor, Psychology, Loyola

The final copies have been examined by the director of the dissertation and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the dissertation is now given final approval by the Committee with reference to content and form.

The dissertation is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosohy.

April 18, 1983

Date

John D. Edwards

Director's Signature