CHAPTER- 2

Review of Literature

‘Child rearing’ is a broad concept. It is described by various scholars, to include various tasks. By and large this includes the overall care, socialization and training of the growing child in a particular culture. Thus it may be viewed as the tasks involved in meeting the progressive needs of the growing child at various stages of Development (Kusuma 1997).

Child rearing attempts to develop ways of raising children that will not psychologically cripple them but instead enable them to accept freedom and responsibility while developing natural self-regulation. "Don't worry that children never listen to you. Worry that they are always watching you." — (Robert Fulghum 1937).

Child rearing is part of society, a communal process by which children learn what it means to be an individual by being respected as one by others. In Bakunin's words, "real freedom - that is, the full awareness and the realization thereof in every individual, pre-eminently based upon a feeling of one's dignity and upon the genuine respect for someone else's freedom and dignity, i.e. upon justice - such freedom can develop in children only through the rational development of their minds, character and will (Goldman, 1931).

Child rearing is all about giving a well-rounded individuality that would include imbibing morals in him so that when he grows up he is an individual with integrity, courage and respect for truth and is also a tax-paying citizen. This can only happen as said by Emma Goldman in Red Emma Speaks “through the channel of the child that the development of the mature man must go, and that the present ideas of educating or training . . . are such as to stifle the natural growth of the child "(Goldman, 1931).

Child rearing practices do not exist in isolation but are usually related to a broader constellation of environmental events. In earlier times people attached little importance to the study of child rearing, now people have become enlightened and a large number of studies have come out in recent years with concurring results and at times with contradictory findings. Child rearing practices are considered as a product of ideas, beliefs and attitudes prevalent in a community on how to bring up children. These ideas are bound to change as a result of global environmental changes. Infact the ideas
prevalent on child rearing practices a few decades ago may appear remote and alien to the new generation. Nevertheless, the attitudes of past generation are found to have a greater hold on people than is generally realized. Ideas that one is not conscious of this may continue to exert an influence on the levels of less conscious feeling which are transmitted from one generation to the next through the process of child rearing itself. The process of child rearing is greatly influenced by the characteristic ways of thinking, feeling and acting prevalent in the cultural group to which the family belongs (Kusuma 1997).

Practices related to child rearing have been topics of interest among Sociologists, Anthropologists, child psychologist as well as general Psychologists and Educationists. However, the interest of the researchers of these various disciplines and their line of thinking has been markedly different. For example, Sociologists and Anthropologists study child rearing practices as explorations in the societal models of operations, as variations in social and cultural milieu of different geographical and climatic regions and the influences of political and other environmental changes on the human being as an individual and as a part of a larger cultural social group. The Psychologists, on the other hand, study the development of personality and temperament as a result of both internal and external influences (Bhogle, S. 1978). The early research in child rearing practices which was mainly undertaken by (Sears, R. R., Maccoby, E.E., and Levin, H.R. 1957), Whiting, B.B. and Whiting, J.W.M. 1975) had its basis in social learning theory.

These authors attempted to find out the relationship of behaviour patterns of children with the learning environment existent at home and given by parents. It was assumed that the behaviour patterns established in the early formative years of a child will be more or less consistent through the adult life (Kusuma, 1997).

The line of thinking originated from Freud (1856-1939) and his psychoanalytic school of thought, where Freud emphasized the importance of the early years in the life of an individual child’s relationship with his/her parents (Kusuma, 1997).

On the other hand, the socio cultural experts maintain that a consonant relationship developed in the child in terms of the ethos of a culture. In other words, the socio cultural realities generate certain expectations, norms, values and so on, that shape the behavior of the children residing in the cultural milieu. Also exists a consensus that the
above view points are related through child rearing practices which a society adopts for the socialization of its members. It is, therefore, natural that investigators such as Carstairs (1971), Kakar (1978), Nandy and Kakar (1976), Murphy (1953), Spratt (1966), Taylor (1948), and others, while delineating the model component in the Indian character, also tried to trace the roots of these characteristics to child rearing practices.

Since a large number of investigators have shown interest in research on childrearing practices in the western countries, over a period of time three different approaches have evolved viz., the psychoanalytic, the cognitive and the social learning approach.

**PSYCHOANALYTIC APPROACH**
Psychodynamic theory emphasizes the importance of early experiences and the possibility that traumatic socialization practices may have life-long and possibly irreversible consequences. Freud’s theory is based on the assumption that maturational changes in the organism dictate personality dynamics, which in turn produce the developmental problem that must be resolved in each stage of development. But in addition to the maturational orientation, Freud acknowledged the important role of environment but these social influences were given greater attention by the Neo-Freudians, such as Adler, Fronm & Others (Erikson, 1963).

**COGNITIVE APPROACH**
The cognitive development perspective provides a dynamic view of the cognitive processes involved in social development. Piaget’s (1932) central concept of accommodation and assimilation refers explicitly to continuous interaction between the organism and the environment. Piaget’s developmental stage describes individual potentiality. Basically, his theory clearly demonstrates that these are regular patterns in cognitive development, experienced by everyone. In turn such understanding allows predicting for an individual, his or her modal and range of comprehension all along the course of his or her development.

**SOCIAL LEARNING APPROACH**
A third explanation of how the developing individual acquires his/her capabilities as well as the preferred modes of dealing with other people is offered in social learning theory (Bandura 1971). The social learning theorists are engaged in empirical
investigation of those sources of social influence that directly affects development. Social condition dictates the existence of developmental phases, regardless of variations present in individual's life circumstances where they are based on independent fact. Social- learning theory shares a concern for the present instead of seeking remote antecedent explanation for behavior.

Child-rearing practices thus emerge differently depending upon which approach is being followed. Whatever the approach, the focus is on the emotional arousal, equivalent to that part of frightening emotions, praise or others which are specific to a given cultural model for child rearing.

Child Rearing Practices are meant to elicit certain desired behaviours in children. This also leads to the development of certain Personality traits in them. Personality development arises from two sources, one being the individual’s biological inheritance with its potentialities and limitations and the other the individuals learning experiences. The latter may be considered in terms of (1) deliberate learning and (2) Involuntary Learning. Of these, the first concerns the mastery of facts and of techniques, both practical and social, which have been consciously formulated and are explicitly conveyed to the growing child. The second includes a number of deep-seated convictions, held on emotional and not on intellectual grounds, which have been conveyed implicitly in the constant give and take of relationships between the child and his/her care giver. The dynamic complexes into which instinctual drives are channeled during the individual's progress from dependent babyhood to maturity, find expression in his phantasy life, in his irrational quirks of behaviour, and in their concealed influence upon his supposedly rational decisions (Carstairs, 1957). From the dynamic viewpoint the formal patterns of behaviour adopted by a community can also be regarded as defenses against the expression of anti-social libidinal urges. The implicit, emotionally-charged influences are taken to be the more basic ones.

Personality Development depends also on the political and economic environment in which the child is brought about. The contemporary political and economic changes were thus being assimilated in a process of referring them constantly to what had gone on before, whether in public meetings or in the daily gossip of the bazaar. These represent instances of new learning imposed upon adults and children in a community/society. As a result of such bombardment at times, even those highly restrictive religious beliefs tend to undergo changes. In regards to this Carstairs (1957) pointed out
in the older men agreed that in their lifetime they had seen a casting-off of many religious restrictions, etc and they even deplored the process, which still continues.

There were some early ethnographic accounts that gave a credible description of a child’s life, as for example, Junod (1927), the first monograph to focus on child life was Margaret Mead’s study of preadolescents in Samoa in 1927. She, and those anthropologists who became interested in the field of culture and personality, produced some of the best early descriptions. In the last twenty years there has been a steady increase in the number of anthropological accounts of child’s life in a certain community.

**CULTURAL FACTORS AND CRP**

There is considerable emphasis in literature on the culture in which a child is born determines some typical personality traits of an individual belonging of that culture in varying degrees. Cultural traits are acquired and are not part of nature (Kusuma 1997). Children, who are brought up in a society with a single culture, may even imbibe many characteristics and traits based on the many events taken as natural, obvious and as a part of human nature and therefore not specially reported or considered as significant variables. It is only when it is observed that people from other cultures do not follow these practices attributed to human nature, that they are considered as important variables. In addition, even when individual variation among parents within Western society suggests the presence of an important variable, the range of variation is often small in contrast with its range in the societies of the world at large (Whiting 1954).

An example of such a variable is the age at which the child is weaned off from mother’s breast. Weaning from breast or bottle is a traumatic experience for the child and the abruptness or smoothness with which the weaning process takes place decides the typical Personality that the child would develop and how he would view the world and what type of attitude would he/she have towards the world etc. Thus it is obvious that this is as pointed out by Whiting (Year 1954) is meaningful Trans cultural variable.

A cross-cultural study of weaning now in progress at the Laboratory of Human Development, entitled “The meaning of weaning”, (1954) indicates that the Western culture is relatively unusual in determining the age for weaning by the calendar.
In a study by Whiting (1954) of the 106 societies studied, 30 of them used a maturational event as the basis for weaning. Five of these 30 weaned when the child began to cut his teeth, and the other 25 were distributed among such maturational events as crawling, toddling, walking, or talking. Neither age nor maturity of the child, seem to have provided the occasion for weaning in most societies. It appears to be determined, rather, by social events, such as the mother's pregnancy or by the birth of a younger sibling.

Thirty-three of the samples of societies weaned the child sometime during the mother's pregnancy and twenty-three at the time of the Birth of a sibling. If societies wean their children on the basis of maturational age, a reasonable estimate in terms of months can be established. If the reason for weaning is pregnancy or the birth of the next sibling, the conversion will be more difficult. Even with no conscious policy of spacing children, implemented by abstinence or contraception, the time to wean off abruptly or otherwise following pregnancy appears to be varied. The manner, in which the mother and other family members handle weaning vproblems faced by the child, goes a long way in determining how the child would emotionally develop. That is, would he be hostile towards his sibling or mother who cares for the sibling also. This interpretation needs much more careful checking before it is taken as an established fact (Whiting, 1954).

Thus the age of weaning, looked at cross-culturally, may depend upon various beliefs and socio cultural events and facts. The range of variation within any society and between societies regarding weaning off process is also much greater than could be imagined if one studied it within Western European society alone.

Whiting and Child (1953) in a cross-cultural study of child training and personality development collected materials, on the same variables as those used by Sears and Wise, from a sample of seventy-five societies distributed over the world. Data were available for age of weaning and emotional disturbance for thirty-seven societies. The Mean score for emotional disturbance on a seven-point scale for the seventeen societies in which the onset of weaning was at two years or less was 3.5, whereas the Mean score for the twenty societies in which weaning took place later than two years was 2.8. This indicates that weaning process is very important in Personality development.
Bronfenbrenner’s (1986, 1995, 2000) microsystem is the setting in which individual lives, which includes the person’s family, peers, school and neighborhood. It is in the microsystem that the most direct interaction with social agents takes place—parents, peers and teachers. The relation of family experiences to school experiences, school experiences to church experiences and family experiences to peer experiences all takes place in the mesosystem.

**HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION AND PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT**

An examination of households of a sample of 565 societies, representing a sample of world cultures (Murdock 1957), indicates that only slightly more than a quarter of them have the arrangement of parents and children living together under one roof. Various forms of extended family households, that is, in which either the married sons or the married daughters remain living in the house of their parents, are more common. The importance of household composition is more important when one defines both the number of people with whom the child interacts and the physical nature of the setting in which he/she is socialized. Status relationships among members of the household and their roles in socialization are important variables for child rearing for two quite different reasons. In the first place, the persons with whom a child has intimate contact and those who control the resources for him are the most important models for identification (Whiting, 1960). The frequency of mother child households in Indian society, particularly in lower-class groups, in which desertion is somewhat more frequent, is just beginning to be recognized and its effects are being studied.

Preliminary findings indicate that there are problems of cross-sex identification in such families (Miller 1958; Rohrer and Edmonson 1960).

In three communities in the Southwestern United States, differences in authority patterns have been shown to have an interesting effect (Whiting et al., 1966). In one group of Mormon origin, the father is clearly in authority. In a second group of migrants from Texas, matters of import are discussed between father and mother, and thus authority can be said to be shared. In the third group, the Zuni Indians, the authority in the household is vested in the grandmother. When preadolescent children in these three groups were asked, "If a magic man could change you into a mother, father, brother, or a sister, which would you choose to be?", most children chose to be a relative of the same sex as themselves. Several Mormon girls, however, chose to be a
brother, and several Zuni boys chose to be a sister. No cross-sex choices were made by Texan children. Thus the authority structure of the household seems to influence sex preference, and the kind of personality traits they would acquire in such households.

SLEEPING ARRANGEMENTS AND PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT

The number of people who share a household and the nature of the spatial arrangements amongst the members also have a significant effect on the timing and techniques of socialization and on the values that are to be transmitted to the child. The economic role of both men and women is a variable, which, in conjunction with household arrangements, seems to predict not only the age of independence training but the age of responsibility training. Among the Rajput mothers of Northern India (Minturn and Hitchcock 1963)”, where a married woman often lives with her mother-in-law and sisters-in-law in an enclosed courtyard and seldom leaves it and where there are lower-caste servants, the training in independence and responsibility gets delayed. Young girls do little housework, their mothers discouraging rather than encouraging the men. With the wide spread recognition of the importance of women in development, of rights, education, economic opportunity, of health and nutrition, there is an understandable rush to create projects and programmes to redress gender equity and the difference in narrowing Rohde (1991).

Not all child rearing, of course, is deliberately directed toward the goal of raising the kind of adults that parents and other socializers want to produce. Sometimes child rearing is just care-taking; sometimes it is instruction in knowledge that may be viewed as practical in nature and having little direct relationship to values. Often, also, it is dictated by external constraints, be they local environmental ones like keeping children out of the fire or away from the hot stove, or universal developmental ones like toilet training. To be sure, cultural values about the kind of adult parents strive to raise seep into even routine care-taking, instruction in practical knowledge, and the management of children’s security and development (Quinn 2005).

The ethnographic picture of the cultural models for raising children is one of a quite specialized task solution. This task solution engineers the child’s experience in four ways to make this teaching highly effective. Each of these four features of such models employs a different psychological mechanism, enhancing the developing child’s
capacity to learn in a different way. Together, these mechanisms appear to be critical to effective rearing of children in every community (Quinn 2005).

One final characteristic of child rearing everywhere is the early training of the child in some suitable emotional predisposition, one that primes the child for the lessons to follow and about the kind of adult he or she is expected to become. It is important to ensure that the child’s experience consistent, emotionally arousing, and subject to adult approval. So that the children inculcate the desired behaviour, probably this has to do with the difficulty of teaching children lessons that are abstract, complex, demanding, and intrinsically non-gratifying. Indeed, abstract, complex, demanding and intrinsically non-gratifying is a good description of the task of learning to be a valued adult in any society. Difficult lessons such as the ones mentioned earlier may well depend on the mastery of the language, the comprehension that the language brings, etc. For these reasons, child rearing everywhere first instills early in the child something more visceral – an emotional predisposition to learn the later, more difficult, and more language-dependent lessons at the later stage (Quinn 2005).

Once instilled, this predisposition acts as a secondary gratification for learning and enacting desired behaviors and, equally, learning not to act in undesirable ways. As Jean Briggs (1982: 125) noted with regard to put a limit on dramatizing behaviours.

The pattern of child rearing to which a child is exposed is even more regular because it extends beyond the primary caretakers and beyond the household to a larger community of child caregivers, all of whom share, to a great extent, a common cultural model for child rears and common strategies for its implementation. Within this community, the rearing that children receive from their mothers is also being received from their teachers at school, from their aunts, big sisters, and other relatives, as well as from neighbors and baby sitters.19 Addressing an academic readership, Mr. Quinn stated that the extent to which everyone as parent or surrogate parent, abides by the cultural model of child rearing are all shared in the community. Representing, as academics do, a highly educated, elite class, one tends to read, talk and think obsessively about child rearing during our parenting years, debating the pros and cons of different methods of rearing (Quinn 2005).

Because of the way child-rearing lessons are taught and learned, the self-knowledge that children gain from exposure to child-rearing practices is largely implicit
knowledge. It has been observed for instance, how these lessons are so often embodied in the disapproving glance or the habitual aversion of the parents gaze leaving an infant alone in his bed in the morning, or teasing a child about his/her relatives have an untold impact on the child’s personality. As central as these implicit lessons are to cultural models for child rearing everywhere, they are augmented with practices of another sort that is parents also have occasion to label children’s behavior for them, or otherwise call attention to it, explicitly. The most effective way parents can discourage what is culturally defined as bad behavior, and encourage what is culturally defined as good behavior, is to couple their approval or disapproval of the given behaviors with labeling or other markers, so that the child understands these aspects within (Quinn 2005). In this context Lutz (1983: 255) describes how ‘the label metagu is used in profusion to describe the child’s reaction’ to the ghost who has been called to frighten an especially recalcitrant child. For another, more general, example of labeling, Mfantse beatings are often accompanied by the admonition, ‘bad child’ (abofra bɔn); the assertion that the child has ‘hard ears’ (aso dzɛn), meaning that he hasn’t heard what has been taught him; the accusation that he fears nothing (nsuro adzɛ); or the mock allegation that he is a witch (anyɛn),27 because witches, with their supernatural powers, are considered to be unafraid of the consequences of their acts (all leavened with various derogatory if less didactic insults – ugly ugly head, ugly mouth, big ears, dirty body, useless person, you look like a thread, your father is a drunkard, and so forth).

For still another, contrasting, example of such labeling closer to home, one may consider the exaggerated happy cry of ‘Good girl!’ or ‘Good boy!’ (Wierzbicka, 2004) that rings out in middle-class American/Indian households, said in a special praise-giving voice and accompanied by an exaggerated expression of delight and often by a little clap, to mark parents’ extravagant praise for the toddler’s every new accomplishment.

The child-rearing behaviors of mothers significant for the positive deviance in developmental status of 1-5 years old boys and girls were studied under three categories namely, ‘responsiveness to child’s cues’, ‘consistency in disciplining’ and ‘emotional stability’. These behavioral categories were found to be significant in several studies on positive deviance in nutritional status of infants and preschoolers (7,14-17). Greenspan (1981) described the psychological developmental agenda of the
infant between birth and two-and-a-half years which, according to him, was also linked to the nutritional agenda over the same period.

Although malnutrition and retardation of the psychological milestones have been associated, it is assumed that human development follows a species-typical path and most of the stages of development are not culture-specific. Their expression however may be defined by the culture. There are specific tasks and capacities of infants and young children, which develop during infancy and preschool age. These include: (i) mother and infant attachment achieved through breast feeding and frequent affectionate nursing, (ii) reciprocal communication leading to supplementary feeding, (iii) behavioral organization and initiative as child starts to feed self by eating adult food, and (iv) representational capacity when the child is able to understand cultural rules and behaves appropriately (Greenspan 1981).

CHILD REARING ACROSS CULTURES AND THE IMPACT

Child Rearing in the United States of America (USA)
American child-rearing practices have roots in certain sects of Christianity. Sunley (1955) reviewed early American literature to learn how children were raised during the mid-nineteenth century. He attributes reasoning for infant depravity and infant conversion to the doctrines of Protestant-Calvinist sects. Following such tradition, "complete obedience and submission were thus requisite if the child was to be kept from sin and evil (p.159)." While contemporary American teachers and mothers value independence of children (Shigaki, 1983; Hess, et. al., 1986), this seems to go in a completely different direction. There seems to be a paradox in regards to what is expected of American children.

Americans of the professional class do represent a child-rearing community, albeit a dispersed one. The middle-class Americans are unlikely to question the practice, common in middle-class American preschools, of keeping portfolios containing samples of each child’s artwork, a record of the child’s chosen classroom activities, and written examples of things the child has said – often commentary on the pieces of artwork, elicited from the child by the teacher. Portfolios express the uniqueness of the child’s self, and we subscribe unthinkingly to the notion that this is a good thing for any child to learn (Quinn 1997).
By contrast, individual achievement, self-confidence, autonomy, and curiosity are the values upheld by U.S. parents, particularly those of middle and upper socioeconomic status (Bornstein, 1991). As would be expected, Ispa (1994b) found that U.S. mothers and teachers valued inquisitiveness more, and valued obedience and peer orientation less, than did Russian mothers and teachers.

Characteristics of the child may increase the likelihood of severe discipline or abuse, especially when other risk factors are present. Wolfe has reported that the average age of abuse victims in the United States tends to be younger than the average age of all children (Wolfe, 1987).

Others have found age related discipline practices, with parents more likely to physically discipline younger children and more likely to use nonphysical discipline techniques including verbal abuse with older children (Jackson et al., 1999). Children perceived as being difficult to parent or manage have been identified as being at higher risk (Blackson, Tarter, & Mezzich, 1996; Korbin, 1991; Youssef et al., 1998), especially when the mother is depressed and has few available supports (Hetherington, 1989). Poor health and handicapping conditions have also been found to be associated with child abuse (Dubowitz, Hampton, Bithoney, & Newberger, 1987; Youssef et al., 1998), possibly because the child is perceived as different or as the source of increased stress (Kotelchuck, 1982). Low maternal education was an independent risk factor for the severest forms of discipline. This finding is consistent with study results in the United States and elsewhere that show low maternal education to be associated with reported child abuse (Kotch et al., 1995), physical punishment (Kelley, Power, & Wimbush, 1992), and attitudes toward physical punishment (Oasim, Mustafa, Kazem, & Shah, 1998).

Separate analyses of the Indian data revealed that low maternal education is also a risk factor for spousal violence. These results suggest that increased educational opportunities for women may have the added benefit of reducing tolerance for husband’s drunkenness and spouse abuse, while concomitantly reducing the mother's propensity for using severe discipline methods with her children (Hunter et al., 2000).

Health has become even more problematic since the late 1980s as the economy has deteriorated (“ACritical Diagnosis,” 1997). In the United States, parental focus on neatness/cleanliness is associated with low socioeconomic status and valuing of
conformity (Kohn, 1977). In Russia, however, this focus might be equally great in all social strata.

**CHILD REARING IN JAPAN**

Japanese child-rearing philosophy has been more permissive since its origin in ancient Japanese folkways. In pre-modern Japanese folklore, children were thought to be close to the gods' world. An ancient Japanese saying, "nanatsu made ha kami no uchi [until seven years old, (children are) in the gods' domain]", reveals that the origin of this belief. Iijima (1991) laid out discussion on this theme in reviewing literature of Japanese folklore.

According to Iijima (1991), with support of other pieces of literature in the field, the existence of children before seven (actually, before they turn six years old in the Western age counting system) is not regarded as of this side of the world, where living things reside, nor of the other side of the world; rather, children were thought to belong to subspace, or marginal space between the two worlds. Therefore, children were allowed to be free from any social restrictions. Formal initiations have been imposed after these years in the old Japanese folk society, taking the form of formal visit to local Shinto shrines, or being granted a membership of the children's group in the village.

Generosity in the attitude of Japanese parents toward children was also reported by Benedict (1947), coupled with the description of freedom given to the old. She compared how restriction and freedom were imposed during different periods of life in the United States and Japan. In Japan, "it is a great shallow U-curve with maximum freedom and indulgence allowed to babies and the old (p.254.

Yamaori (1982) also observes this U-curve in the Japanese life cycle. He speculated the symmetry of the images of children and the old in various Japanese myths. In these stories and metaphors, children and the old are treated as figures representing a whole life span, existence without gender difference, and personhood holding innocence. These two periods are both at the edge of life cycles; children are close to the creation of life, and the elderly are close to the closing of life. In the Japanese belief, which includes reincarnation as its crucial component, life cycles do not begin or end at one's birth or death, but continue beyond those points.
Combining these elements of life cycles in the Japanese belief system, the following model could be presented:

Suppose the sine curve represents one's life cycle. The plus side of the y-axis can be regarded as "kono yo", this side of the world, the realm of living things, and the minus side, as "ano yo", the other side of the world, and the realm for the dead and spiritual existence. Even though the distinction of Heaven and Hell had appeared in some Buddhist view of the spiritual world, more indigenous folk beliefs do not incorporate such a view. From this perspective, a dichotomy of adult versus child would lose its distinction, since every individual would be situated at some point in the reincarnation cycle.

To juxtapose the Western view of life cycle(s), the following model could be presented:

Images of God in monotheism such as Christianity often hold characteristics of perfection, almightiness, or completeness. Human beings are considered to be imperfect, powerless, or incomplete compared to God. This dichotomous image of God and the created human beings can be transferred to the dichotomous positions taken by adults and children or by teachers and students. Authorities of adults and teachers would be rationalized in this perfect-imperfect theorem.

Comparing the Japanese and American countries' child-rearing practices, mothers would be the most significant socialization agents among the family members. As parents, they all hope for their children's well-being; however, there are slight differences in mothers' expectations regarding their children's development between
two countries. For instance, American mothers tend to expect infants to be more independent by putting them into separate beds, while Japanese mothers try to develop strong ties between her and children by sleeping with their children in the same bed (Caudill & Ploth, 1966).

This kind of sleeping pattern, however, can be seen in many other cultures. In a cross-cultural study by Barry and Paxson, cited by Konner (1991), among 173 societies, 76 were reported as having mother and infant sharing a bed, while the United States has the middle-class cultural ideal that infants should sleep in a separate room. In the Japanese patterns of co-sleeping among family members, fathers are the ones who sleep in a separate room or bed, if there is not enough room for him (Caudill & Ploth, 1966). This implies that ties between children and mothers are stronger than ties between wives and husbands in the Japanese society.

Given these different patterns, it may be stated that Japanese mothers do not regard independence of infants as an important aspect of their early developmental tasks. Doi (1962) delineated this structure using a Japanese word "amae", often translated as dependence or indulgence. In the Japanese context, "amae [dependence]" is not an undesirable trait of children; rather children should have right to be dependent on their close adults. Therefore, mothers are encouraged and expected to hold their infants as much as desired, so that those infants will have emotional security which is essential for their future social development (Peak, 1991).

For American mothers, it may not be true that children should have such dependency. As stated before, Hess et al. (1986) revealed that American mothers expected their children to be independent at an earlier age, while Japanese mothers expected them to be emotionally mature. In this sense, American mothers and Japanese mothers appear to be different in different aspects of children's social development. Such differences are witnessed in teachers' perspectives also in the later years of children's lives.

From the viewpoint of psychoanalysis, Roland (1988) compared forms of self in India and Japan. His theory summarized the different patterns of self, the familial self, individualized self, and the expanding self. He specifically observed that the family and other group with whom children interact, play important role in forming their perceptions of self in both India and Japan.
The self in the Japanese context seems to emphasize the group-self (or we-self, using the Roland’s term). In the Western societies, particularly in the American society, the individual self coupled with one's own rights and interest appear juxtaposed with the group or society as a dichotomy. Such a collective self-concept would not be as readily accepted as in Japanese society. The high context cultures such as Japanese society see no dilemma or discontinuity between individual interest and the society to which that person belongs. This is also true for the concept of self-esteem. For Japanese people, it is the group that gives joy and grief to the individual. Thus one observes considerable differences between American and Japanese child-rearing and educational practices. In summary, the American practices seem to focus on development of individualism, and those of Japan seem to emphasize the development of group consciousness and strong interpersonal bonds. Such differences would come from societal and cultural expectations, which may be rooted in their historical and religious backgrounds. Without an understanding of these aspects, it may be difficult to detect the reasons why these two countries follow different paths (Benedict 1947).

Researchers of child-rearing and educational practices would benefit from comparative perspectives, particularly the studies of Japanese schools by American researchers that demonstrated the advantages of being outsiders of the target culture. On the other hand, a few studies have looked at the American educational practices through the eyes of an outsider. Anthropological perspectives need to be implemented to studying not only of non-Western cultures, but of those of Western cultures as well (Suzuki 2000).

The Japanese educational system recently received the benefit of being observed by people with other perspectives. For example, problems concerning "kikokushijo [returning children from abroad]" had been reported in various Japanese schools since the 1970's (Tokyo Gakugei).

Discrimination against such students arose because Japanese children who had been carefully socialized both explicitly and implicitly felt that returning children from abroad who look the same as they did act like untrained, foreign children was unacceptable. Tolerance of different opinions and behavior was never in the agenda of Japanese socialization. In the Japanese style of socialization, as reviewed in preceding sections, much of the institutional effort is dedicated to the early stages of a child's school experience. This results in tremendous difficulty for children, who are entering the Japanese educational system at any point after preschool and the lower primary
grades. It is nothing but unfortunate for those returning children; however, ironically, they contribute to the Japanese society by acting as a mirror, reflecting the current system (Suzuki 2000).

**Child Rearing and Morality**

White (1987) claims that the Japanese kind of social norms, called "Japanese common sense," is most evident in the subject area, moral education, which is a component of the Japanese national curriculum. Even though moral education has not been implemented as a subject area in Japanese preschools, such common sense itself is the main purpose of early childhood education. As Peak (1991) described, preschools in Japan have the important responsibility of preparing children for their forthcoming group lives in the society outside of their warm, nurturing homes.

Another point is that one should have a broad perspective regarding the structure of culture. For example, classic works of Kohn (1959, 1977) reveal that conformity and individualism in parenting are traced to class differences. Even though a part of his study was done in two different countries, Italy and the United States, the same relationship was found between parenting style and class difference. Since culture and society are both dynamic phenomena, one should be aware of the change in societies, such as in the economy, or in the political climate. Common features across cultures should also be addressed. A discussion about the context of culture described by Bennett (1990) would be feasible in comparative studies. Most importantly, these cross-cultural studies in education would be beneficial not only to the cultures compared, but also to all other societies that value education is an important asset for their own people.

**Child Rearing in China**

In collectivistic Chinese culture, aggressive behaviour is strictly prohibited, and there are many sociopolitical constraints imposed on this prohibition (Kessen, 1975). Achieving and maintaining social order and stability are the primary goals in both traditional and contemporary Chinese societies. According to collectivistic principles, the interests of the individual must be subordinated to those of the collective. Individual behaviours that may threaten group functioning and the well-being of the collective are clearly not allowed; almost all types of under controlled behaviours, including
aggression and disruption, are viewed as highly problematic and “abnormal” (Cen, Gu, & Li, 1999; Ho, 1986; Luo, 1996). Children are required to learn how to control and suppress their impulsivity, frustration, anger, and defiance from the early years (Chen, 2000).

Aggression and other externalizing problems in children have been a particular concern in recent years since China implemented the “one-child-per-family policy in the late 1970s, as the Chinese believe also that only children may have more negative behavioural qualities including impulsiveness, selfishness, aggression, and lack of constraint (e.g., Jiao, Ji, & Jing, 1986; Tao & Chiu, 1985). Consistent with the cultural sanctions against aggressive behaviour, it has been found that aggressive children in China experience a variety of social, school, and psychological difficulties (Chen, Rubin, & Li, 1995c; Chen, Rubin, & Li, 1997b; Chen, Rubin, Li, & Li, 1999). Furthermore, aggressive children are likely to be rejected by peers and regarded as incompetent by teachers, and thus manifest learning problems. Moreover, unlike their North American counterparts who tend to overestimate their social competence and develop biased self perceptions (Asher, Parkhurst, Hymel, & Williams, 1990; Boivin, Hymel, & Bukowski, 1995; Rubin, Chen, McDougall 2002).

Aggressive children in China perceive themselves negatively, and report a higher level of loneliness and social dissatisfaction than non-aggressive children (Chen, Rubin, & Li, 1995a, b). Indeed, aggressive children are the most depressed group, compared with others (Chen et al., 1995b).

This may be because children’s social behaviour and performance are regularly and publicly evaluated by teachers, peers, and self in Chinese schools, which may make it difficult for aggressive children to develop inaccurate self-perceptions of their social status. Given this background, it is obviously important to investigate personal and socialisation factors that may be responsible for the occurrence and development of aggressive behaviour in Chinese children, especially in early childhood. Investigation of predictors of children’s aggression in the early years may help us understand developmental origins of aggression, and, at the same time, design effective prevention and intervention programs for aggressive children before they establish behavioural patterns that are resistant to remediation efforts. Despite the importance of the phenomenon in collectivistic cultures, however, there is relationship less empirical investigation of aggression in Chinese children, especially from a developmental
perspective. However, one study in the early 1970s, by a group of American psychologists who visited some preschool nurseries in China had observed that Chinese children did engage in a few aggressive and disruptive behaviours (Kessen, 1975). But, these observations were not conducted systematically, and thus no attempts were made to explore developmental processes of aggressive behaviour.

Chinese culture emphasises self-control and compliance to the authority from a very early age (e.g., Chen, 2000; Ho, 1986; Luo, 1996). In Western cultures, since the development of autonomy and self-reliance is a primary socialisation goal, parents needed to help their young children learn to balance the needs of the self with those of others (Edwards, 1995; Kobayashi-Winata & Power, 1989). Consequently, children’s disobedient behaviour, particularly during toddler hood, may be considered normal and acceptable (Edwards, 1995; Kuczynski & Kochanska, 1990; Maccoby & Martin, 1983).

Compared with Western cultures, Chinese culture values and emphasises compliance in a more consistent and absolute manner (Chao, 1995; Chen, 2000; Ho, 1986). Non-compliance and defiance to parents are viewed as a serious violation of “filial piety”, the primary principle that serves to regulate children’s behaviours in the Chinese family. Not only are children encouraged to comply with parental demands, but also to understand and accept more general social expectations and requirements concerning their conduct (Chen, 2000). These understandings may be the basis for the control of aggressive behaviour from a long term perspective.

Parental child-rearing attitudes and aggressive Behaviour, In addition to child characteristics, parental child-rearing styles are believed to play a critical role in social development (Parke & Buriel, 1998). Thus, whether parental child-rearing attitudes contributed to the development of aggression in Chinese children, was examined, it was found that the Chinese parents were often characterised as authoritarian and controlling in parenting (e.g., Chao, 1994; Lin & Fu, 1990; Steinberg, Dornbusch, & Brown, 1992).

Compared with their North American counterparts, Chinese parents tended to endorse the employment of high power strategies such as physical punishment in child rearing and appeared to be less sensitive and affectionate to their children (e.g., Chen et al., 1998; Kelley, 1992; Lin & Fu, 1990; Wu, 1981). Given this background, development
of aggression in Chinese children, appears quiet natural and were in line with Whiting & Whiting (1975)’s findings.

Early noncompliance indicates the child’s poor ability to direct his/her behaviour according to adults’ expectations and requirements (Kopp, 1982; Maccoby & Martin, 1983). It has been suggested that compliance and noncompliance may tap the self-regulatory aspect of temperament (Kochanska, Murray, & Harlan; 2000; Rothbart & Bates, 1998).

According to Rothbart and Bates (1998), child reactivity represents emotional and behavioural responses (e.g., approach, inhibition) to challenging social situations, self-regulation may serve to modulate reactivity and, thus, is relevant to the appropriateness of behaviours in social interactions. It has also been argued that socialisation including child-rearing practices may play an important role in the development of self-control (e.g., Maccoby & Martin, 1983; Schaffer & Crook, 1980). For example, how self-control is emphasised in culturally prescribed socialisation goals and practices may affect the display of compliant and noncompliant behaviours (Chen, 2000).

Regardless of the different views on the nature of child compliance, it is commonly believed that individual differences on this dimension, which clearly emerge during late infancy and toddlerhood, may have significant impact on the development of various social and behavioural functions including aggression (e.g., Kochanska et al., 2000).

This belief was supported by the results found elsewhere. It was found that child noncompliance in mother-child interactions at 2 years of age was a significant predictor of aggression in peer interactions two years later. It should be noted that this two-year period represents a major transition from toddlerhood to childhood in which extensive changes occur in children’s social, cognitive, and motor abilities. The significant predictive associations between noncompliance and aggression across social contexts indicated the developmental coherence of social functioning and contributions of child early socio behavioural qualities to aggressive development.

From a socialisation perspective, it is important for Chinese parents to understand the significance of their child-rearing attitudes for child’s social development. It has been noted that, due to the cultural emphasis on parental authority, Chinese parents are less likely to appreciate affective involvement in child rearing and be less responsive and affectionate, compared to their Western counterparts (Chen et al., 1998; Kelley, 1992;
Further, Chinese parents tend to be more restrictive and controlling, endorsing the use of high power strategies (Chao, 1994; Lin & Fu, 1990; Steinberg et al., 1992).

Child Rearing Practices in Germany

Schneider (1994, p. 294) describes the paternalism of the GDR, which “in its endeavours to prioritise its own definition of welfare in a socialist society, imposed ever reater restrictions on its citizens’ opportunities for personal evelopment” (own translation). In the GDR, the individual as not only subject to social discipline and control, but also experience social protection, care, and integration (Trommsdorff, 994; Wald, 1995). Compared with the West, there is not much of a variety of socially accepted role models. On the ontrary, Germany citizens had to adapt to a more standardized life (Schneider, 1994; Walper, 1995) and to prepare their children to lead such a life. Indeed, the prevailing child-rearing ideology defined the primary goals of parenting as conformity and fulfilment of duty, observance of rules and norms, and assumption of responsibility for others (Ahnert & Lamb, 2001; Trommsdorff & Chakkarath, 1996).

Schneider and Nauck (1995) argue that younger GDR citizens, in particular, compensated for their dissatisfaction with extra-familial life by focusing more strongly on the family. Indeed, contrary to the intentions of the ruling Socialist Unity Party, the family became more and more of a niche in GDR society (Keiser, 1995). Within the confines of the family, people felt less threatened by the secret police and thus were more able to criticize within their family unit, the political regime (Glees, 1999).

For decades, families in West Germany had been shaped by a liberal-democratic environment. In comparison to East German families, they were often described as more strongly individualised, i.e., particular emphasis was placed on the personal development of individual family members (Bertram & Hennig, 1995). At the end of the 1960s, the former FRG and other Western cultures began the process of critically examining state, university, and private power structures. Asymmetrical distributions of power were viewed as suspect; demands for grassroots democracy were made. It seems reasonable to assume that this process also impacted on parenting behaviour, with greater emphasis subsequently being placed on children’s rights to develop their own personality.
This is reflected in the fact that the parenting goal “independence and free will” was endorsed much more strongly in 1972 than in 1964, and that the reverse was found to be true for the parenting goal “obedience and subordination” (Pollmer & Hurrelmann, 1992). Many parents rejected controlling attitudes to child rearing as unreasonably authoritarian and sought new ways of repression-free childcare. Since the late 1970s, West Germans have had to face the threat of unemployment. In view of the dramatic changes in the world of work, parents saw little point in preparing their children to fit into a life pattern that was no longer stable (Lukesch, 1996). Rather, they felt it more beneficial to prepare their children to deal with multiple freedoms and uncertainties. Consequently, parenting goals such as “independence and free will” were even more strongly endorsed in the late 1970s and 1980s (Pollmer & Hurrelmann, 1992).

Freedom of speech, freedom to travel, and the plentiful new consumer market were particularly well received (Meyer & Schulze, 1992). Where child rearing was concerned, parents were confronted with new responsibilities. Decisions relating to schooling and training or to the organisation of children’s leisure time could no longer be left up to the state and school; parents and children now had to take an active part in the decision-making process. Some parents welcomed this new responsibility; others felt overburdened by it (Uhlendorff, 2000a).

The analyses presented above suggest that in the erstwhile East Berlin seem to have had parents have more protective attitudes to child rearing than their counterparts in West Berlin. East Berlin parents tend not only to shield their children from harm, but also to limit their sphere of experience. Furthermore, East Berlin fathers report somewhat more traditional, authoritarian attitudes than West Berlin fathers. Conversely, West Berlin parents endorse more permissive attitudes than East Berlin parents. As predicted, parents in East Germany indeed engage in more controlling parenting behaviour than their counterparts in the west. Because the present data were collected in East and West Berlin, caution should be taken in generalizing the results to East and West Germany. Nevertheless, the present findings are consistent with other comparative studies in which data collection was not limited to Berlin: Pollmer and Hurrelmann (1992) showed that parental expectations with respect to the discipline of their children were somewhat higher in Saxony East Germany) than in North Rhine-Westphalia (West Germany).
Zinnecker and Silbereisen (1996), who analysed data gathered mainly in rural areas and small towns, found that East German parents place greater emphasis on consistency and adhering to principles in child rearing than West German parents did. Furthermore, based on representative data, Schmidtchen (1997) showed that East German adolescents and young adults felt that more is demanded of them in the parental home than their counterparts in West Germany.

Further the parents in East Berlin maintained, closer relationships to their own parents than their counterparts in West Berlin (see also Diewald, 1998; Herlyn, Kistner, Langer-Schulz, Lehmann, & Waechter, 1998; Nauck & Schwenk, 2001; Uhlendorff, 2003). This strong family orientation has probably a lasting effect on the East Germans’ attempts to sidestep the state intrusion and interference that pervaded all domains of extrafamilial life in the late GDR era. Furthermore, it emerged that the differing levels of family orientation in East and West Berlin impact on the prevailing attitudes to parenting: Parents who maintain close relationships to their own parents as well as numerous supportive kinship ties (i.e., most often East Berlin parents) tend to endorse traditional, protective attitudes to child rearing more strongly than parents who describe their kinship relations as being less close (i.e., most often West Berlin parents). It seems reasonable to assume that family-oriented parents experience a great sense of security within the family, and wish to pass this on to their own children. These findings are in line with the East–West differences in controlling parenting reported above.

Where friendships are concerned, a contrasting picture emerges: Both mothers and fathers in West Berlin maintain larger circles of friends than their counterparts in East Berlin. This stronger friendship orientation is associated with less controlling attitudes to parenting: West Berlin parents grant their children more freedom to organise their own peer friendships, are less authoritarian, relatively permissive, and not overly protective. The less controlling attitudes to parenting endorsed by parents with more friends should not be interpreted as neglect, however. Another study showed that parents with large circle of friends were just as well informed about their children’s peer relationships than parents with fewer friends (Krappmann & Uhlendorff, 1999). Neglectful parents would not be expected to know much about their child’s friends. Furthermore, the perspective-taking ability (measured as a friendship concept after Selman, 1981) of children whose parents maintain large circles of friends has been
shown to be relatively well-developed (Uhlendorff, 2000b), again indicating that the above findings should not be attributed to neglectful parenting.

A different picture emerges where parental permissiveness is concerned. West Berlin parents report much more permissive attitudes to child rearing than East Berlin parents do. Parental permissiveness is not linked to the new sense of belonging in East German families or to the Wende-related weakening of social support systems, however. As such, the contrasting levels of parental permissiveness in East and West should be ascribed to differences in socialisation that were already effective before the Wende-to West German parents’ consideration of the ideals of antiauthoritarian and repression-free child rearing. For example, since the 1970s, parents have been expected to be tolerant, prepared to negotiate with their children, and to accord them multiple freedom, thereby enhancing their opportunities for personal development (Uhlendorff 2004).

**Child Rearing in Russia**

As mentioned in the previous section in this chapter, child-rearing ideas mirror cultural values (Bornstein, 1991; Kohn, 1977). During the 1960s and 1970s, when the Russian students were children, the Soviet Union was ruled by a totalitarian regime; accordingly, obedience and group-mindedness were important goals of child rearing, and inquisitiveness was little valued. Even the peer group was used in the service of authoritarian goals. Children were expected to submerge their own individuality in favor of loyalty to group goals (Bronfenbrenner, 1970).

Opinion data collected since 1991 suggest that, although a democratic child-rearing orientation is now favored among urban, educated segments of the Russian population, this change has not been universal. It is true that in many schools and child care centers, teachers have changed their goals and strategies to encourage children’s inquisitiveness and individual creativity, and some studies show that parents and the general public have supported this move away from strict control (Goodwin & Emelyanova, 1995; Ispa, 1994a, 1994b, 1995). Other studies, however, show lasting support for traditional ideas. For example, interviewing Russian teachers several years after the breakup of the Soviet Union, Carlson, Zvagina, and Sjolom (1997) found continued emphasis on authority and “solidarity with others.” Finally, cultural differences regarding neatness/cleanliness need discussion. U.S. observers have commented on the high concern for neatness/cleanliness evident in Russian child-rearing practices. It has been
argued that this emphasis stems from centuries of experience with health risks for children (Ispa, 1994a).

Thus, it was predicted that Russian students would view peer orientation and neatness/cleanliness as more important than would U.S. students. Other predictions were more tenuous. Before the late 1980s, one would have expected greater valuing of peer orientation, lower valuing of inquisitiveness, and higher valuing of rule conformity among Russians than among Americans. Ispa’s (1994b) comparison of mothers and teachers in the two countries would support that expectation, as would the fact that the Russian students in the current study were children at a time when few educators recognized ideas favoring individuality and inquisitiveness (Ispa, 1994a). In the present day Russia students seem to be among the most liberal segments of the population, the same does not appear to be true in the United States, where a rise in political conservatism has been apparent on college campuses since the 1970s (Kleiber, Major, & Manaster, 1993). Thus, although contrasting traditions would suggest more democratic attitudes on the part of Americans as compared to Russians, it was difficult to predict how students from the two countries would compare, especially in terms of the valuing of obedience.

From the above account of CRP in Russia, the child-rearing goals held by these Russian and U.S. students give interesting insights into the values held by young educated women in the two countries during the early 1990s. Students in both countries gave inquisitiveness their highest importance ratings. Curiosity has long been valued in the Western child-rearing literature. Its importance to the Russian students suggests a change relative to past Soviet generations (Ispa, 1995). Arguably the most intriguing finding, however, was the higher valuing of rule conformity by U.S. students than by Russian students. This difference appears to reflect both the conservative swing among U.S. students and the anti-authoritarian attitudes in Russia that helped to topple the Soviet government.

Conservatism among U.S. youths during the 1990s has been reflected in studies of political change on American college campuses (Kleiber et al., 1993). Of course, the liberal attitudes prevailing among Russian students during the early 1990s should not necessarily be taken as representative of the views of other segments of Russian society. For one thing, the current results indicate that, even among students, valuing of obedience was positively correlated with age. Goodwin and Emelyanova (1995)
similarly found that younger Russians were more likely to value individual determination, whereas older respondents emphasized the collective good.

As predicted, Russian students valued peer orientation more than did U.S. students. The Russians’ attitude probably is more a reflection of the close relationships characteristic of Russian life (Johnson, 1990) than of an influence of Soviet teachings regarding group loyalty. An indicator that peer orientation was not associated with Soviet philosophy was the absence of a correlation between peer orientation and rule conformity.

Also as expected, Russian students accorded neatness/cleanliness greater importance than did U.S. students. In fact, Russian students valued neatness/cleanliness more than they valued rule conformity, whereas the U.S. ratings were in the opposite direction. Part of the explanation probably lies in the fact that middle income Americans can better afford to take for granted the availability of health-promoting conditions for children (“A Critical Diagnosis,” 1997).

Child Rearing in Turkey

Studies in Turkey, as well as in other societies, have pointed to low levels of environmental stimulation in low income urban, semi-urban areas and especially in rural villages, as evident in the scarcity of toys, books and other reading materials, as well as little logical verbal reasoning and communication oriented toward the goal of supporting the child’s intellectual growth and language development. This may be due, at least partially, to the limited vocabulary and verbal competence of the parents in the poor setting, with low levels of formal education. It may also be due to a lack of conscious child centered approach as children are considered uneducable until school age (Kagitcibasi 1989).

An early study in a Turkish village by Helling (1966) noted that the prevalence of a parental teaching style based on demonstration, imitation and motor learning rather than verbal reasoning. Revisiting the same village thirty years later, HeUing’ did not observe any appreciable change in this non-verbal orientation of “teaching by doing”. These child rearing orientations may negatively affect children’s language and cognitive development. Some research, indeed, points to substantial rural-urban and socio-economic status differences in children’s intellectual performance.
Semin (1975) found large differences in the vocabulary of middle and lower class children in Istanbul, and Ataman and Epir (1972) found children from low income families in Ankara to form concepts of lower level complexity compared with middle class children. In a study conducted in and around Bursa2 in the urban centre and rural villages. When the performance of 5th grade children on the Figure Drawing test was analyses one observed a clear linear relationship between the SES or the level of development and intellectual performance were noted (the level increasing in the order of most remote and least developed village, medium level village, nearest most developed village, urban low income and urban middle income areas) (Kagitqibasi, 1979).

Research findings, such as the above point to diversity in the degree to which the immediate environment of the child is supportive of his/her intellectual development. In Turkey this diversity is mainly based on the level of socio-economic development of the area of dwelling. A national survey was conducted on the value of children for parents (VOC), whose level of development was operationalised as a complex index and the sampling framework was based on this index (Kagitcibasi 1982).

The results of the study on value of children to their parents showed that basic values attributed to children in the family also changed according to SES and the level of developments of the area of dwelling. Specifically, utilitarian economic values (including old age security value) appeared more widely attributed to children in rural and less developed areas, and psychological values of children were found more prevalent in urban and in the developed contexts (Kagitcibasi 1989).

Family interdependence is a general value shared by widely differing groups. This interdependence first takes the form of the child’s dependence on parents and then, in old age, the parents’ dependence on the grown-up offspring. The child’s dependence, rather than independence is valued, as apparent from a question asking about the desired attributes of children. Sixty per cent of the respondents endorsed the child’s obeying his parents; as the most (or second most) desirable attribute of a child, compared with 18% who endorsed the child’s being independent and self-reliant (Kagitcibasi 1989).

When this is considered together with the highly salient future desired attribute of “being good and loyal to parents”, we see a home environment conducive
to the socialisation of familistic and communal values of mutual support rather than individualistic achievement. What appears to happen with increased urbanisation and socioeconomic development is a decrease in material interdependencies. With better social security systems alternative old age security resources emerge and the elderly do not have to depend on their offspring for their livelihood. In urban contexts children become more of an economic burden than an economic asset. Nevertheless, emotional interdependencies appear to continue, with closely-knit familial ties being highly valued and reinforced (Duben, 1982; Kagitqibaşi, 1985 a). While on the one hand familial ties and a culture of relatedness (Kagitqibasi, 1985 b) appear to provide valuable interpersonal support, dependency pressures on children may impede their competent functioning in the changing social system. This problem has been noted in research, mainly done with adolescents (e.g., Eksi, 1982; Geqtan, 1973). It has been observed widely in the home as well as in educational settings, where dependency and obedience to parents is encouraged to be transferred to the teacher. A related problem concerns the development of external control in the growing child. In line with the expectations of obedience and dependency from the child, he/she grows up under the absolute authority of parents, especially the father (Kbknel, 1970; Jaquette & Erkut, 1975). Usually what is expected from the child is not autonomous action or decision making and carrying the responsibility for the decision, but rather to obey the parent.

Thus, the child is constantly controlled from outside, which does not allow much room or need for internal control. In the closely-knit extended family-community context other adults, in addition to parents, are also in close proximity to the child, and they also have the possibility and the right to control his/her behaviour (Kagitcibasi 1989).

In developmental psychology the establishment of internal control is considered to be of key importance and toward this end, the type of discipline used in child rearing is emphasised. Specifically, frequent use of power assertion, where the parent uses his physical power to control the child is found to lead to weak (internal control and reliance on external control) (Hoffman & Saltzstein, 1967). On the other hand, induction, i.e., reasoning with the child and making him aware of the consequences of his actions for others is found to develop higher internal control (Hoffman & Saltzstein, 1967; Sampson, 1976; Kohlberg, 1969).
Observations in Turkey show that physical punishment is a part of child rearing, especially in the traditional family set-up. Verbal reasoning with the child is not common, as mentioned earlier. Together with the close control of the child by parents and other adults, the type of discipline used in child rearing, thus, further produce dependency and reliance on external control. In this type of child rearing environment the child would constantly refer to others for control of his actions acceptance, evaluation, and approval. Self-control and self-evaluation may not develop adequately (Kagitçibasi 1989).

This is, indeed, the general conclusion to be drawn from numerous early intervention study results in the world, reviewed elsewhere (Kagitqibasi, 1983). Other common results are: programmes which involve parents and the family and have a community integrating comprehensive approach are found to be more successful than programmes involving only parent education or only work with children away from home. Short term programmes are not as effective as follow-through programmes. Comprehensive longitudinal fostering programmes can produce sustained results; otherwise initial gains are later lost. Some of the failures of early intervention programmes that are reported in literature appear to be due, at least partially to the common practice, in research and application, of abstracting the child from his environment and treating him in isolation from his natural setting. There is much evidence of the importance of supporting the immediate social environment of the child, and especially helping the mother (Smilansky, 1979; Woodhead, 1985; Halpern & Myers, 1985; Lombard, 1981).

In general, in preschool intervention programmes initial IQ gains are achieved with exposure to the directive cognitive approach (Smilansky, 1979). However, if this cognitive development is not supported by the induction of corresponding growth of the child’s self-confidence, autonomy and initiative, it would not be self-sustaining after the completion of the programme. This would be especially the case if there were no fostering of the child’s immediate social environment, mainly the mother, which could have provided the child with continued support. Thus, it is possible that some of the disappointing results of intervention programmes in producing lasting IQ gains or cognitive development may be due, ironically, to the exclusive concern of these programmes with cognitive growth.
Thus in Turkey, the CRP has indicated that there are positive effects of mother training their children in terms of school grades even after only one year of training, with higher grades achieved by this group in all subjects though not reaching significance levels. After the second year of mother training, the effects increased overall, and significantly better grades were obtained in Turkish and nearly significant in social studies. Furthermore even a year after the end of mother training the increasingly positive effects on children’s school achievement continued with the mother training group having a higher academic average ($F = 4.5; df = 1.80; p = .037$) involving better grades in all subjects (Kagitcibasi 1989).

Overall, the impact of mother training and mothers’ training, and interacting with their own children is truly noteworthy. The experimental group of children exposed to home intervention through their mothers surpassed the control group of children on all measures of cognitive development and achievement, significantly so on many of them (Kagitcibasi 1989).

Finally, mothers exposed to the enrichment programme were found to verbalise (communicate verbally) with their children more than non-trained mothers. This was apparent in both expressing satisfaction and dissatisfaction with the child and especially the latter, compared with greater use of physical punishment among non-trained mothers (Kagitcibasi 1989).

**Child Rearing in Pakistan**

(a) Pakistan’s Social Structure Even though Pakistan is considered a democracy, in reality and in practices it is an oligarchy. The elite, the civil servants, the politicians, the lawyers, the industrialists, the educators and the military officers together determine the fate of the people (Sheikh, 1973).

The majority of these ruling groups have a vested interest in the success, stability and permanence of things as they are. They tend to be conservative. Generally they are the first to oppose any change in the social system which might benefit the masses. Public interest is totally opposed to their immediate personal gains and security. Perhaps one in ten thousand will be a member of this influential group (Wilber, 1964).

There is another educated class in Pakistan, which does not live well, mostly consisting of clerks in local, district and provincial offices, or district courts and various regional
offices, with a monthly salary barely sufficient to meet the cost of living. Urban and economic conditions are very harsh on this group. An overwhelming proportion of Pakistanis can be placed in a third category (Wilber, 1964). About 90 to 95% perform all kinds of menial and manual tasks, living in isolated villages or urban slums, they tend to have a higher death-rate, and those who survive function at a marginal level. Due to frequent attacks of disease and sickness their energy is sapped. Their maternal and infant mortality rates are 440 to 680 per 100,000 births and 120 per 1000 live births respectively (Wilber, 1964). They merely struggle to exist. Their way of life has not changed through the centuries, nor is it likely to change in the near future. Their main concern is survival. They are too engrossed in obtaining the basic necessities of life to worry about politics or to press for a meaningful change.

In the cities, where changes are more likely to come about, power and wealth is tightly interwoven with the concept of ancestry. As the present Pakistani social system protects the educated and the privileged, it is extremely difficult for an individual without family and wealth to contemplate upward mobility. Educational qualifications plus the capacity to manoeuvre may lead to a higher status (Sheikh, 1973).

(b) Pakistani Family Structure

The family structure in Pakistan is patriarchal in nature. A typical household contains an extended kin-group: husband and wife, their married and unmarried sons and daughters, widowed sisters, aunts and sometimes grandparents. Authority is vested in the men and is organized hierarchically by respective relationships. Males are considered inherently superior to females. Sometimes women may 'have their way, but ultimately it is the men who are responsible for direction and discipline. c) The Pakistani Family and the Child.

The paramount influence on personality formation in characteristic family life is the absolute authoritarian control of the eldest male. He directs the affairs of the family, protects its interests and exacts obedience from its members as a religious and ethical obligation (Wilber, 1964). Complete submission is expected from children, and it is almost impossible for them to question his decisions. In the Pathan tribal areas the father holds the power of life and death over the family members. He is charged with disciplining the child and making him God-fearing and obedient. Waywardness is
immediately punished by physical chastisement, as it is considered a threat to the father’s authority. Punishment, often ‘harshly meted out by the father, the uncle or the older brother, is considered essential in shaping the boys (girl’s) character. Punishment is inflicted at the whim of the authority figure. The child is encouraged to be docile, modest, obedient and above all unassertive (Wilber, 1964).

Pakistani children are at the mercy of their fathers, who hold complete economic control over the family property and income. They constitute themselves censors of such behaviour of family members as affects prestige in the community. Those receiving the father’s disapproval are likely to get severe punishment, whether young or grown-up, and may be threatened with disinheritance and banishment from the family (Sheikh, 1973).

In a country where social standing and livelihood are so closely connected with family status, this is no idle threat. The very great economic and social control by the father has resulted in the emergence of the authoritarian family structure. A woman turns to her father or brother for assistance if abused or divorced (Sheikh, 1973).

In short, in a joint family system members owe respect to the head of the family, and the individual is considered important only as a member of the group. Individual actions affect family prestige in the larger community, so that each one is brought up to value the good name and the traditions of the family (Sheikh, 1973).

To children, authority is synonymous with respect. The eldest male is the one to be obeyed. This attitude has led to development of submission, at least on the surface, as no disagreement is allowed economic and emotional deprivation (Sheikh, 1973).

In Pakistan there is a common belief that every human being has a certain station in life (Rizk) which has been apportioned by Allah, and that there is nothing that an individual can do to change except to pray for more blessing. It is the responsibility of that individual to seek and fulfil this destiny. If after all his effort the portion is small, this destiny (Kismet) is accepted as gracefully as possible. This passive resignation is so deeply ingrained that it militates against the introduction of new ideas. In some sections of the population there is more leeway for the individual to manoeuvre and improve his lot. In the end it is Allah rather than man who decides the destiny of the individual (Sheikh, 1973).
This fatalistic attitude is more dominant in the poor and in the religious leaders, particularly in the face of mass destruction like flood or famine. A large numbers of Pakistanis do not earn a satisfactory living. Although estimates vary, a typical family of six or seven persons is believed to 'have an income of about two rupees per day or, at the present rate of exchange, a little more than 20 cents. Assuming conservatively that an adult consumes up to a pound of grain daily at a cost of approximately half a rupee, half the family income goes for cereals, wheat or rice, which provide the necessary sustenance. Another half may be used to buy pulses, meat, eggs, milk, fish, fruits and spices. Little is left for shelter, clothing and miscellaneous items, and nothing for medical services (Sheikh, 1973).

Any nation-wide programme to provide economic necessities for the poor and rations for the hungry involves expenditure which seems beyond the capacity of this country. Few attempts in the areas have been made; limited benefits have primarily occurred in the cities and adjoining towns. In Pakistan people are compelled to live in an extended family because of poverty, economic interdependence and lack of housing facilities. An average family has 6.5 children, and the father has to work hard to support them. Consequently he cannot give love and affection to his children. This tends to create the atmosphere of a psychologically broken home. The mother has manifold household duties, and is apt to spend little time in providing intellectual stimulation for the optimum growth of her children (Sheikh, 1973).

Children are left unprotected and unguided in their daily activities, mostly at the mercy of prevailing circumstances. They do what they want, create their own play activities, and roam about aimlessly, since in most cases no effort is expended by the adults to provide a growth-producing environment. Relatives are helpless in their own situation. Many of them live and work at a mere subsistence level, and others are unskilled and unemployed. For all of them poverty is a nagging problem, and economic catastrophe lurks round the corner. A flood, a shortage of rice or flour creates an immediate problem (Sheikh, 1973).

In fact their lives are a series of hardships, punctuated by episodes of death, disease, hunger and lack of shelter. They have little access to medical facilities. They seek to protect themselves with amulets to ward off evil. Their nutritional standard is pretty low. Its effect is more profound on infants and children, thereby affecting their productivity in later days. They cherish manifold delusions and absurdities. Their
ignorance and fear leads them to resist the progress of scientific thought. Traditions and old customs dominate their way of life. Most of them live as their fathers did. These circumstances do not present a favourable climate for the children. They live in this suffocating atmosphere, growing up in precarious health without acquiring good habits. No doubt their bare physical needs are at least partially met, but scant attention is paid to their emotional requirements. The older children look after the young ones, and adults seldom pay heed (Sheikh, 1973).

Parents and significant others play an important role in shaping their children. In Pakistan, parents are generally not aware of their influence on the personalities of their children. Some tend to be loving and kind, while others are harsh and domineering (Sheikh, 1973).

Only a few, however, are thoughtful about their relationship with their children or the values they are inculcating in them. Children do not inherit personalities. They become cooperative, loving or hateful, submissive, aggressive or amiable according to the treatment meted out to them. Experiences at school and in the neighbourhood affect their personalities, but none is as influential as those at home (Sheikh, 1973).

The Pakistani system stresses obedience as a major goal for children. However, excessive demands for obedience at home and school kill self-direction and creativity. When children are not allowed to question and understand the rules by which they are governed, they become subservient rather than reasoning human beings. Girls suffer more from this than boys (Sheikh, 1973).

Many grown-up girls and women tend to remain childlike, because they have never been permitted to think or choose for themselves. Both boys and girls who blindly obey their elders for too long lack initiative and responsibility. They are deprived of the solid support of the very people from whom they have a right to expect it. This cheats them of their chance to find out what reality is. Insistence on strict obedience arouses hostility and hatred, which in turn may cause a wholeseries of pathological symptoms in adult life (Sheikh, 1973).

Because of the patriarchal culture, parents prefer their sons to their daughters. The latter feel unwanted and unloved, which is one of the primary causes of neuroticism, matadjustment and delinquency. It seriously threatens the emotional health of many girls, and prevents most of them from adjusting well to married life or facing men
confidently. Due to the preferential treatment of sons, greater importance is given to them. This over-indulgence leads to dependency on other family members. This generally exists for an abnormal length of time, retarding growth and development. This may not be obvious through physical symptoms, but may manifest itself through emotional deprivation or neuroses, which represent an unconscious tendency to return to the happy infantile stage (Sheikh, 1973).

In this pattern of child-rearing, a child is constantly helped and directed, not only in cases of real difficulty but also in instances where, with the expenditure of a little additional effort, it could perform the task or activity unaided. Since assistance is given indiscriminately, the child acquires the habit of relying upon the help of others whenever it faces a difficult situation. This habit may persist throughout life (Sheikh, 1973).

The way children are brought up affects in the development of a sense of individuality. Pakistani children lack the capacity of self-determination, since they have been guided too long and too much. Normal development implies a change from dependence upon others to dependence upon self (Sheikh, 1973).

Generally parents do not encourage creativity and self-reliance, but tend to impose their decisions on their children. Almost all their work and play are regulated. Their free-spirited quest is impaired. In some cases this imposition of parental whims lingers on from early childhood till married life or even later, thus giving rise to family strife and marital disharmony (Sheikh, 1973).

During childhood it is easier to carry out the instructions and commands of others obediently and skillfully. In adulthood one may be baffled by the stress and strain brought about by the social and economic decision-making process in life (Sheikh, 1973).

**Child Rearing In India**

India is a vast country with many sets of culture, and sub-groups within each cultural groups. Therefore, regardless of how child rearing is viewed, important aspects of cultural differences between groups make the dimensions of considerations father wide. It addition, every society has some set rules that the growing infant is required to
conform to. Each group in turn also differs in techniques that are used for enforcing and reinforcing conformity (Kusuma 1997).

When the Constitution of the Republic of India came into force on 26 January 1950 with a pledge to 'secure equality of status and of opportunity’ for all citizens, it meant revolutionary changes in the social stratification of Hindu society. Traditionally, the Hindu society was composed of many different but interdependent groups, known as the Castes, each of which performed certain specific functions (Anant 1967).

Several factors, besides the Constitutional provisions, had affected some changes in the compartmentalisation of the caste functions, but these changes were rather peripheral. In spite of the changes in functions through the passage of time, people still use stereotypes when thinking of the former traditional caste divisions, the Varnas, and of the Harijans, the ex-untouchables. Thus it is believed that a Brahmin is a pious, religious-minded person; a Kshatriya, a brave warrior, well versed in warfare, and well trained in aggression and self-assertion; a Vaishya, a prototype of timidity, parsimony, and vegetarianism; a Sudra, a submissive, subservient type of person; and a Harijan, an unclean, untidy person, mere contact with whom would pollute the other castes. The underlying belief is that there are inherent differences in the personality pattern of the various Varnas and the Harijans. We hope to examine these beliefs critically in the following pages and see how far they are supported by observations and theory (Anant 1967).

**Personality enhancement traits**

Whenever we make an attempt to study the personality pattern of a group of people, be it a caste group or a nationality group, we must carefully delimit our objectives. There could be two different yet complementary approaches to the study of the personality pattern of a group of people. One approach could be to emphasize the modal personality of that group. In this approach those personality traits which are modal or common to the members of that group have to be studied. These are the actual personality traits of the members of the group. Another approach could be to determine those personality traits or characteristics which are best suited for a certain culture (Anant 1967).
These personality traits are required in the members of that group for maximal adjustment. There may be a discrepancy between the modal personality of a group and its socially required personality. The gap, if any, between them could be an index not only of the individual’s adjustment to that culture but also of the changes in the personality of the members of the group. In actual analysis of the personality patterns of a group, however, it is difficult to maintain a clear distinction between the two at all stages. There are often thin and vague lines of demarcation between them and in many instances they widely overlap (Anant 1967).

Some of the researchers studied about the practices related to marriage and child birth among the non-tribals. Minturn, L. and Hitchcock, J.T. (1964) conducted a study on Rajputs of Khalapur and found that the girls were generally married at 16 or 17 years and boys at 18 or 20 years. Taboos during pregnancy were observed and they included the avoiding of milk, cold rice, a pulse dish, food which is either excessively ‘hot’ or excessively ‘cold’ and spicy foods such as pickles. Devadas, R.P. (1968) reported that in some South Indian villages, no special food was given to pregnant women, but the quantity of rice and milk were restricted from fear of the foetus becoming ‘big’ and making the delivery difficult. The lactating mother was given extra milk, ghee, garlic rasam and jaggery water for increasing breast milk. Lahiri, S. (1970) findings in urban India showed a very great preference for sons in all sectors of population.

The reasons for preference of sons expressed by them were as follows: 1) they are responsible for the perpetuation of the family name 2) sons take the responsibility of looking after parents in old age; 3) parents feel that sons are a great asset to help in their work; 4) son should perform all religious rites like the lighting the funeral pyre and performing death ceremonies. He also reported that generally 3 or 4 children were considered ideal by a large proportion of population (Kusuma 1997).

The purificatory and name-giving ceremonies were found to be a common practice among other communities in India. Minturn, L. and Hitchcock, J.T. (1964) reported that Rajputs of Khalapur performed specific ceremonies namely Bahari, Jasutan in connection with the male child’s birth in addition to the Chotili (purificatory) and Mundan hair-cutting ceremonies. Aphale’s, C. (1976) study in Poona revealed that the Chaula or tonsure ceremony was performed by a majority of Scheduled Caste families and that the naming ceremony of girls was not celebrated as that of boys. Reddy, A.B. and Reddy, S.B. (1977), Saibabd, K. Reddy, S.V.B. and Reddy, S.P. (1979) carried out
some studies on life cycle ceremonies in lower classes in different parts of Andhra Pradesh, and noticed that all of them performed naming and cradling ceremonies in association with each other though the age at which these ceremonies were performed were found to be different in different communities. They noticed that the tonsure ceremony was performed as per their convenience either at the 1st year, 3rd year, or 5th year after delivery. Usha Rani, K. (1980) studied the life cycle ceremonies of males in Chittoor district and found that on the day of purification (11th day) the child was put in a cradle and was given a name. This study also revealed that they performed tonsure ceremony in the 11th month or after an age of 3 years of during on any odd year of the child. Mukhopadhyay, R. (1984) reported about child birth among the Chenchus of Andhra Pradesh. The purificatory and name giving ceremony was performed on the 21st day after child birth. Prathusha, S.K. (1985) study reported that namakaranam and cradling ceremony was carried out on the day of ‘purudu’ (purificatory) or 11th day after birth by the Harijans of Chittoor district. Name was given to the child by looking at the horoscope and birth star. Tonsure ceremony was conducted in the 9th or 11th month or in the 3rd or 5th year after birth on an auspicious day.

According to the Grihasutras every stage in the life of an individual is marked by some sort of rituals. Tribals perform their birth-rites and rituals associated with their various beliefs and practices (Kusuma 1997).

Dube, L. (1949) reported about pregnancy and child birth among the Amat Gonds, Raipur district and stated that the Chhatti (purificatory) and name-giving ceremony were performed on the sixth day after delivery. Birth of the first child and specially that of the first male child was celebrated with great enthusiasm (Kusuma 1997).

Sarker, A., Choudhari, N. and Sankar Ray, G. (1955) collected case histories among the Oraons of Chaha village in the district of Ranchi, Bihar State. They found that on the sixth day after delivery the Chatti ceremony was performed. On that day the whole family mother, child and all the members in the family had a purificatory bath (Kusuma 1997).

Jha, M. (1963) studied the Ollar who are mainly concentrated in Koraput district of Orissa and found that Name-giving ceremony was performed after about 2 weeks of the birth of a child. The name was given according to the days of the week on which the
baby was born. Sometimes the names were given as per the instructions of the Disari (Priest).

Bahadur, K.P. (1977) reported about the purificationary ceremony among the Banjaras of Andhra Pradesh, when a child was born. The period of impurity for the mother was reckoned as five days. On the sixth day the purificatory ceremony was performed by washing the feet of all the children of the hamlet and giving them food to eat.

The bringing-up of the children in different caste groups differs in many significant ways. These methods of upbringing or socialization processes have a profound impact on their future personality. If due to some reasons there is a change in the process of bringing up of a child, his personality also does not show the pattern peculiar to his own caste. Thus two things are clear. First, due to some inherent differences in the socialization of various caste groups, modal personality patterns develop. These personality patterns are common to the members of a caste. Second, when the usual process of socialization is interfered with for some reason, the personality of that member may not show the pattern common to his caste group (Anant 1967).

Recent years have witnessed a growing interest in the culture-specific patterns of modal social behaviour in India. J.B.P. Sinha (1970), Chttopadhya (1975) and Pareek (1968) found that Indians have excessive dependency. Similarly, Sinha (1979) and Kothari (1970) reported that Indians have a tendency to arrange all interpersonal relationships into a hierarchical order, which then determines the subsequent interaction and other social and political behaviour (Sinha).

Investigators have been predominantly influenced by the psychoanalytic traditions only in researching human development (D. Sinha. 1983). Carstairs (1971) and Spratt (1966) set the ball rolling and others tend to elaborate upon the basic conclusions outlined by them. According to Taylor (1948), the basic personality in Hindu orthodox culture is characterized by low aspirations, passivity and conformity. The family, he writes, “develops the acute sense of dependence by its extreme emphasis on subjecting to parental authority, it minimizing the opportunities for personal initiation in socially significant field of action, its inculcation of clear sense of subordination to social and religious sanctions which transcends even parental authority”.

Carstairs (1971) described Hindu personality as permeated by paranoid reactions of mutual distrust, emotional insecurity, ambivalence and indecision. These results from
what carstairs calls “betrayal by the mother” of the child after initial indulgence. According to Spratt (1966), the father is an unimportant figure in Indian child rearing practices. He is identified by his son more due to the narcissistic orientation. Narain (1957) described the Hindu character as mild, passive, dependent, nonmaterialistic and dominated by the values of renunciation. Minturn and Hitchcock (1963) have also reported a lack of encouragement of adults in independent behaviour. Murphy (1953) has also supported this contention.

The Indian family structure requires that the child submits to the authority unconditionally. Carstairs (1971) argues that this is the reason for the unquestioning obedience to authority of Indians. This contention is substantiated by the scholars such as Ramanujam (1978), who finds, “almost a nostalgic desire for approval and sanction of the father at every step” (pp 51). Kakar (1978) provides a detailed view of how a family structure determines a part of the Indian personality. He contends that an Indian views every relationship in terms of superior and subordinate.

A Hindu child is either born in one of the Varnas or in a Harijan family and all these, we know, are arranged in rigid stratification. Consequently, we might expect some differences in the personality patterns of various Varnas which mainly result from their social situations. Also, when these situations change we might expect a personality which is different from the usual personality pattern of that caste group. We have made an attempt to determine two things in this paper. Firstly the modal personality or the personality pattern which is common to the members of the four Varnas and the Harijans with a psychoanalytically oriented interpretation of the reasons behind those personality traits. Secondly, the impact of the changing Indian scene on the modal personality (Anant, 1967).

Although the ideal approach would have been to determine the personality of individual members of each Varna and the Harijans by some personality test and then find out the modal personality traits for each of them, the method followed here is mainly based on the critical analysis of the literature on personality patterns of various castes. Several people have studied the personality patterns of different caste groups and have found interesting differences, particularly Carstairs, Maher, and Steed (Anant 1967).
The Rajputsa Since the hereditary role of the Rajputs was to rule and to fight, the importance of authority and obedience, of personal fortitude, of price and self-assertion was stressed. As the eldest son inherited the title of the father, there used to be much conflict between elder and younger brothers, and between father and sons. Here we see a real social situation which may give rise to hostility and intensify the conflict, which are usually attributed to the Oedipal situation and sibling rivalry by the psychoanalysts. We do not know how much of this conflict comes from the Oedipal phase, and how much from the realistic social situation (Anant 1967).

Quite contrary to some of the principles of Hindu religion, stress is laid on their license to take life, to drink alcohol and eat meat, and to keep concubines. Thus, there is a conflict between a Rajput’s caste rules and his religious rules. To resolve this conflict they use denial, by emphasizing that one should take alcohol only in medicinal doses, which could do no harm. The use of this defence is in line with Swanson’s’ (1960) reasoning that in denial the person ‘tries to demonstrate that the transgression which took place never occurred.’ Sometimes they even quote the authority of the Shastras which permits relationships between men of upper castes and women of lower castes. At the present time, when these Rajputs are no longer rulers and even their dominant position as a caste is endangered by the new policy of the government to give equal rights to all castes, even to untouchables, Rajputs usually use various defence mechanisms to resolve this difficulty situation (Anant 1967).

They consider the caste system as necessary (because without this system their dominant position is challenged) and regress into fantasy to explain away the results of the new changes. ‘When the Congress rule ends, there will be a rule of Devils. The untouchables and the lower caste will rule, and they will trouble the Rajputs and the Brahmins ... Then God (in man’s form) will be born. Then he will start castes all over again (Anant 1967).

How the changes in their social situation would affect changes in their personality patterns is very evident from the life history of Indra Singh (a Rajput) as studied and described by Steed.33 Indra Singh was not raised in his father’s home, and did not develop many g I have used Rajputs as a typical example of the Kshtriya caste, as the traditional Kshtriya roles are easily visible amongst Rajputs (Anant 1967).
This is Freudian theory, based on the Greek drama of Oedipus Rex, that the child falls in love with the opposite sex parent, and develops hatred for the same sex parent and siblings, who are rivals for the attention of the loved parent of the personality traits expected of a Rajput. He was always in a conflicting situation about his true nature and the social role he was required to fulfill. In a Rajput child’s upbringing there is an explicit stress upon patterns of authority and submission (Anant 1967).

Carstairs (1957) explain show, in spite of the customary generous mothering, the Rajput child develops these traits. Owing to, the Rajputs’ strict observance of purdah (veil), there is a sharper differentiation between the woman’s world, where the child is king, and the man’s world, where the head of the household rules dictatorially. As soon as he can walk, the boy spends much of his time in the male side of the house ... where he is looked after by Rajput or servant-caste attendants, who instruct him in his future role. From their example and teaching, he learns to address his elders with proper deference, and to demand the subservience of members of the lower castes.

This stress upon patterns of authority was absent from Indra Singh’s upbringing. The Brahmins share with the Rajputs the belief in the superiority of their caste; but whereas a Rajput has to win his place by the qualities of aggression and self-assertion, a Brahmin’s pre-eminence is accepted by virtue of his birth and his observance of the religious obligations to perform religious ceremonies. Great stress is laid upon early morning defecation, followed by careful bathing and performing ‘Sandhiya’ three times a day, with ‘Gaitri Mantra’C and offerings of fire, and worship of the gods. Their children learn to adopt ‘an attitude of formality and respect, rather than one of affection or indeed of intimacy of any sort, towards their fathers (Carstairs 1955).

In another study, Carstairs (1955) shows how feelings of guilt and sin engender chronic anxiety which these people want to wash away by their bathing. ’They find release from pilgrimage and bathing in one of the many sacred lakes or rivers which have the property of washing away one’s sins ...’ Carstairs does not indicate the sources of this guilt, and also forgets that a daily bath is considered by most of the people in India as necessary for cleanliness. It is possible that ceremonial baths express such a release from guilt feelings, which might arise from unconscious impulses to play with the faeces during infancy. These unconscious impulses probably are closely connected with environment of a Brahmin’s home where strict toilet training, avoiding contamination
from the touch of low caste people, and taking baths in order to perform religious ceremonies, are greatly emphasized.

Although property is divided equally among all children and there should be no tension between father and sons and between brothers, yet we find expressions of hatred against father in the interview conducted by Carstairs (1957).

Here is a typical example from the responses of Himat Lal: ’When my father died, it was just before my wedding, so I might have expected to feel badly, but I didn’t. I only wept one day ... but when our Mahatma Gandhi died, I wept for two whole days, and then I was really wretched.’ It seems that due to a formal relationship with his father, the son is not able to develop a real love relationship, neither could he express open hostility (innate) to ’a leader of the country’ (who was also known as the father of the Nation). Because of his innate hostility, Mahatma Gandhi’s death aroused in him feelings of guilt, not only for the death of the leader, but also for wishing the death of his real father. So he feels ’wretched’ and mourns more because of his guilt (Carstairs 1957).

The Brahmin is respected because of his learning, and his indispensability in performing religious ceremonies. Even the poorest Brahmin is respected by other castes. Whereas the Rajputs get free outlets for aggression, a Brahmin’s social role demands from him complete repression of aggressive impulses. Probably, this is the reason for Brahmanical condemnation of alcohol and meat, as it represents a threat to their customary defenses against aggression (Anant 1967).

Carstairs (1957) gives quite a farfetched interpretation of vegetarianism among the Brahmins, by relating it to the sacrifice of the male goat before the goddess (Mata). He writes ‘the goat is sacrificed to appease her (Mata’s) devouring rage, and then her worshippers unite in eating its meat.’

According to Carstairs, this act ’means symbolically that the child feasts with his demon mother upon his father’s blood. To take meat meant to eat the father’s penis and so acquire his virility ... The orthodox Hindu ban on eating meat, and the stress on Ahimsa (not taking life) can thus be interpreted as a reaction formation against repressed Oedipal feelings and hostility against the father ...’
This kind of interpretation seems to be quite far-fetched and unwarranted for two reasons. Firstly, most of the Brahmins are vegetarians and they never take meat even though it has been sacrificed to the goddess. Secondly, although there may be people belonging to a certain sect of worshippers who take meat in this fashion their number is so limited that any generalisations based on that would mostly lead to erroneous conclusions. Since it is not applicable to the Brahmins in general, it is hardly relevant for our discussion regarding their modal personality (Anant 1967).

The Vaishya
Like the Brahmins, the Banias strictly observe Ahimsa, respecting and sparing all forms of life, sometimes even more strictly than the Brahmins. As their social role requires wealth, they worship money. The urge to become rich is stronger than all other urges, even of supporting one’s kin. There is a stereotype belief about them that a Bania would prefer to part with his skin than to part with his penny (Ananth 1967).

The protection of one’s own business interests takes precedence over any question of loyalty to one’s caste. They are very much despised and yet are indispensable members of the village. The other castes hate them for charging high interest, and profiteering on their gains, but often run to them to borrow money in any kind of emergency (Anant 1967).

Although with the opening of co-operative banks for the villages, from which the villagers can borrow money at a nominal interest, the Bania’s role as a money lender has lost much of its importance, they are still pretty indispensable in the village (Anant 1967).

Their timidity and fear seem understandable in view of their being the most wealthy community. They are always afraid of theft or a dacoity or revenge from some person, whom they might have exploited. Anybody can imagine that a child brought up in such a social situation of timidity, mistrust, and collecting wealth would develop some of these traits in his personality. As the aim of a Bania family is to amass as much wealth as possible, the wife usually helps the husband in his work or in the shop. Sometimes, when she is busy with this work, the child may want to be fed or to eliminate but is forced to postpone it until she is free to attend to him. This postponement of feeding or of defecation may give rise to frustrations in the child (Anant 1967).
The anal frustration may later develop into a symptom of a continuous and repressed aggressiveness, sometimes as revenge against oral frustrations. The oral frustrations are natural in view of the mother’s social role described above (Fenichel 1945). This leads to the trait of mistrusting people. The generosity in a Bania may be a reaction formation against retention of faeces. A Bania’s contribution to the upkeep of temples and schools may be considered an example of this reaction formation.

How the change in the social situation and in their social roles is creating a conflict in their thinking and how they are unable to commit themselves either to a career of materialistic self-interest (conforming to their caste roles), or to its complete renunciation, has come out in some of the studies. These feelings of ambivalence are also seen in their relationship with the father. One of Carstairs (1957) Bania informants, Puranmal Mehta, is torn between his constant desire to move ahead by winning over the influential figures of authority, and his resolve to devote part of his time to altruistic public service. He seems to be pre-occupied with fears of impotence and of loss of semen, which is interpreted by Carstairs as the outcome of childhood anxieties about castration.

Today most of the people from this caste are turning to careers in politics and in civil administration in the hope of being able to narrow the gulf between their ideal and their actual roles in daily life. This same trend is visible in Maher’s Bania informant who identified himself with the caste policy of the Congress party very well. In spite of his belief in the new caste ideology, he cannot free himself from the traditional notions: The sweeper is greatly lowered. It is dependent on his Karma (action), the job he does. He does low work, gathering dung and dirty things ... if he changes his work or Karma, then he can become higher (Anant 1967).

**The Sudras**

We would expect that the personality pattern of the Sudras would also differ in some respects from that of the higher castes. If the research on authoritarian personality of Adorno (1950) and later works in this direction are any indication of the differences in personality patterns of authoritarian and non-authoritarian persons, we would expect these castes to be more authoritarian than the higher castes.
This assumption is based upon Adorno’s inclusion of constant fear of not being like all others’ and ‘inclination to submit blindly to power and authority’ as authoritarian characteristics.

This is further demonstrated by a study of inter-caste relationships in Orissa, where the lower caste people were more conforming to existing caste norms, had a stronger sense of inferiority, and were more rigid and intolerant about caste reforms than the upper-caste (Rath & Sircar 1960).

It is natural in view of the Sudras’ social situation as compared to that of the higher castes. A recent social psychological theory of authoritarian personality helps to explain this situation. According to this theory, ’the degree of authoritarianism manifested by a particular individual’ is, on the average, inversely related to the number of social roles he has mastered, and ’authoritarianism is most likely to appear among people who are reared in established social surroundings that inhibit the development of role-taking and role-playing ability (Steward & Hoult 1959).

Each caste could take up the functions of the caste just below it in rank in an emergency. Thus, more than one (at least two) roles are open to all members of the higher castes. But this situation changes with a Sudra. He cannot take on the functions of the untouchables, who are outside the caste-hierarchy, nor can he aspire to look upward. In this manner, his social roles are fewer than all other castes in the hierarchy. This limitation of his social roles coupled with his need to submit to higher castes creates in him much more prejudice and hostility against the untouchables and develops in him the feelings of inferiority. It is possible that some Sudra castes, such as the Kayastha, and the peasant castes, for example the Kurmi and Ahia, are not quite so limited (Anant 1967).

In line with the authoritarian theory of Adorno (1950) and others, the Sudras would have greater dependency needs which would be satisfied by a stratified social system. As soon as this hierarchy is disturbed, most of these castes tend to lose their support. Their dependency needs arise from their childhood training, when all attempts to imitate the higher caste children would be frustrated and they have to fall back on the parents for support. This dependence on the parents would be later displaced to higher castes for whom these people work and get grain or wages in exchange for their services. Strong identification with the authoritarian father is transferred to strong
identification with the aggressor (the higher castes). This conformity to the standards of caste hierarchy gives the individual an emotional security which he does not want to loose. This is what one expects to find in accordance with theory and it accords with the stereotype, but no field work has been done to support it ((Anant, 1967).

The Harijans
The situation with the untouchable castes is still different. These people, through centuries of suppression, have developed such strong feelings of inferiority that they themselves remind the higher caste people about the norm regarding untouchability. Even when they were given equal opportunities by some social reformers, they would prefer to stay at a distance. Now, when the constitution and law provides for them not only the equal rights with all other castes, but also special privileges, many of them prefer to maintain the status quo (Anant, 1967).

Their caste membership has become a kind of privilege for them because of the special reservation of jobs and legislature seats. Thus they have begun to like their separate caste position outside the caste hierarchy, as it gives them security and preferential treatment. Like the Sudras, they have strong dependency needs, but these dependency needs are now met by turning to their own castes, the membership of which gives them (the Scheduled Castes) preference over higher castes (Anant, 1967).

In spite of all these constitutional provisions, the untouchables are still dependent upon higher castes for animals, food and other things in most villages. The untouchables these days are, however, aware that there are many Brahmins and Rajputs so poor that they cannot eat well, while many sweepers are much better off (Maher). How the strong village ties and dependency needs prevent them from reporting any injustice is clear from Maher’s informant’s remark that ‘we have to live in the village, so we don’t want to make reports and turn them against us. This fear of reprisals is not evident in the attitudes of educated Harijans.

In a study of the caste attitudes of the Harijans, Shanker (1966) found a significant difference in the caste Hindu stereotypes of the educated and uneducated Harijans (Shanker, 1966). He found that the total number of stereotypes as well as the number of unfavourable stereotypes was significantly larger in the educated group. It appears that ‘education brings about a cognitive reorganization. People become aware of their
conditions and things around them.’ Though the level of aspiration of the educated group is quite high, and the goal of economic prosperity is also cognitively within reach because of equal rights, there are numerous obstacles in the form of some actual social barriers and personal inadequacies. The aggression and hostility resulting from the obstacles in the attainment of a valued goal seem to be directed toward the caste Hindus, whose attitude has been perceived as having been hostile toward the Harijans.

**Concluding note on this section**

It is apparent from the foregoing review that the personality patterns of the Vaishyas and the Harijans do show some differences which are most likely the result of different techniques of socialization prevalent in different caste groups and of the effects of the changing social scene in India (Anant, 1967).

Although we often find the Kshatriyas (Rajputs) to be more dominant, the Brahmns to be more devoted to religious duties, the Vaishyas to be more parsimonious and the Sudras to be more authoritarian in their beliefs than other caste groups, whenever the usual mode of socialization in a caste group is interfered with due to a changing social climate, the personality pattern of that group does not seem to conform to the usual pattern prevalent in his caste. Thus, we may find a split between the sub-group pattern and the pattern of the group as a whole. This type of split is becoming more and more evident at the attitudinal level (Anant 1967).

We have earlier referred to the difference in attitudes of educated and uneducated Harijans towards the caste Hindus. We presume that similar splits in attitudes would be observable in the members of higher castes, with the difference that the educated among the higher castes would be more liberal in their attitudes. Besides education, several other factors, for example, industrialization (bringing the members of various castes together in workers’ unions), Community Development Schemes (requiring the co-operation of all the villagers in the attainment of a common goal), and increase in the general mobility of the population (leading to less visibility of caste distinctions) have contributed to bring down the caste barriers to a certain extent. There is an urgent need for research studies designed to assess the effect of the above factors on the attitudes and personality patterns of the members of various castes. Research is also needed to study the effect of child training practices on the development of personality patterns, traditionally associated with various castes (Anant 1967).
In Kerala Caste is probably more often than not something known but not spoken. There are programs that might be likened to affirmative action plans in the United States for the lowest castes to get an education. Lower castes are often in the lowest paying jobs. Despite many reform efforts to abolish the untouchable castes and strip a kind of caste authority, the position in a high caste still holds some degree of power.

Religion is not taught systematically, but rather is picked up piecemeal. As in the West, most people are content to leave philosophy and theology to those who have a professional interest in those subjects, and rub along with an imprecise, unsystematised collection of beliefs. The most basic of these concerns the inevitability of fate, the need to acquiesce in all that comes, calling upon God's name. This is learned from the repeated examples of older men's sayings. More specific beliefs are picked up as a result of listening to the songs in praise of particular gods and goddesses which are sung at their several feast days and to the dissertation with which they are accompanied (Carstairs, 1957).

As an onlooker at the temple, the villager soon learns the gestures of obeisance, and the modes of address proper to these gods. Sometimes he will have an opportunity to listen to a Brahmin reading aloud from the sacred poems (which only members of the three high castes are supposed to hear); sometimes he may see incidents from the Ramayana or Mahabharata enacted in popular versions by travelling players. Part of this religious life is common to all, but much of it is conducted separately-in each caste's panchayati nohera or meeting place. That of the Brahmins was in a Vishnu temple; the Banias had two noheras, each a miniature caravanserai with rooms to accommodate those of their wandering “saints “who elected to stay in Deoli during the four months of the rains. Rajputs met together in the Ruler's palace, and each of the lesser castes had a temple of their own which was their place of assembly (Carstairs, 1957).

They learned to accept a time-scale, and an impersonal ordering of existence which minimised the importance of individual existences; and to regard the material world as maya, a shifting illusion. In this teaching morality was linked with abstinence, with celibacy, and with a disengagement from desire of sensual or emotional gratification. Selflessness and equanimity were the qualities which they came to identify with progress in the religious life. In repeated instances they were told that the way to enlist divine help is to abase oneself unreservedly before God and to call on him with faith-
because such an entreaty, if it is earnest enough, never remains unanswered (Carstairs 1957).

The inhibition of any open expression of affection between fatter and son means that the former's instructions are usually negatively phrased, in terms of admonition and reproach rather than of encouragement. In particular, there is a reiteration of the demand to be controlled in behavior, never to betray a spontaneous emotion — "like animals" — until this is firmly impressed upon the growing boy. To a Western observer high-caste Hindu children seem unnaturally well-behaved (Carstairs, 1957).

In family life as in religion, great stress is laid on submission, resignation and obedience. Emotional relationships are played down, but one's obligations towards other family members are underlined. Security consists, within the family as in the society as a whole, in an acceptance of one's limited role with the knowledge that all one's kin will participate in every crisis of one's life (Carstairs, 1957).

Raiput mothers in a northern Indian village believe that the fate of a child is written on his brow at birth — that not only his physique but his temperament and behavior are predetermined (Minturn and Hitchcock, 1963). Mothers in a small New England town, on the other hand, report the belief that an infant is born "a bundle of potentialities" and that his personality and behavior are the result of the molding of these potentialities by parents, teachers, and peers (Fischer and Fischer, in Whiting 1963).

Mothers should seek to discover the latent potentialities and should be attuned to every indication the child gives; should look to the school psychologists and his battery of tests, and to any other available information so as to know how to help the child to realize these potentialities (Whiting, 1963).

It is not surprising that the child-training techniques employed by the Indian mothers differ from those of the New England parents or that the interest in and anxiety about child rearing is far greater among the New England mothers. The Indian mothers showed little interest in the questions asked by the ethnographer and found it hard to believe that anyone would travel so far to do research about such a subject. They were laconic in their answers and had few rationalizations or justifications for their actions as compared to their New England counterparts, who were eager to discuss the subject and anxious for new insights and advice (Whiting, 1963).
In the field of learning, mothers also held different beliefs. Indian mothers believe that their children learn from observation and that direct tuition or verbal communication is not necessary. New England mothers put great faith in the spoken word and in demonstrating with constant verbal statements and explanations. Related to these belief systems is the greater use of reasoning and lecturing by the New England mothers and the more frequent use of physical punishment and threats by the Indian mothers (Whiting, 1963).

Physical punishment as administered by the Rajput Indian mothers and the Mixtecan mothers of Juxtlahuaca, Mexico (Romney, in Whiting, 1963). In discussing such punishment, the Rajput mother is apt to justify striking the child because of her own anger at misbehavior. The Mixtecan mother, on the other hand, more often justifies the punishment in terms of teaching the child how to behave. Furthermore, the Mixtecan believe that the emotion of anger causes illness. The Indian mothers, although claiming to disapprove of the expression of anger, are constantly fighting among themselves and yelling at their children. The differences in beliefs, and the consequent difference in expressiveness, undoubtedly explain to some degree the differences in the aggressive behavior of both Mixtecan and Rajput children and adults and suggest that isolated behavior out of the context of the total custom complex may be less predictive of behavior (Whiting, 1963).

My informants were unanimous in declaring that it is a child's mother who plays the greatest part in determining what he will be like. Her influence is at work throughout the period of gestation, when she should take rich food and indulge in rhythmical exercise such as churning butter and grinding corn in order to make him strong. The Rajputs would have her take alcohol, “to give the baby flashing eyes”; and Girdari Lal prescribed an elaborate course of music and religious verse, so that the child would be born already equipped with some classical knowledge. “If the mother gives way to bad temper while she is pregnant”, said Chandmal, “her child will be bad tempered too” (Cartsairs, 1957).

During the first days after birth, mother and child remain secluded in an inner room. The mother is ritually impure, as she is during menstruation, and must avoid all contact with the other members of the family, but especially with the hearth and cooking utensils. After six days or so there is a ceremony called Suraj ki puja (Worship of the Sun) conducted by the family Brahmin, who tells the parents five names which will
accord with the child's horoscope, and they choose one. At this time the house is cleansed, and all soiled clothes are either destroyed or taken to be washed. The mother does not resume her full activities until forty days have passed, when she will worship the water of the well bathe and change her clothes and shed her state of impurity (Cartsairs, 1957).

High-caste Hindus regard the colostrum as unhealthy, and like to express it before giving the child the breast; but not all remember to do this. It is important for a mother to suckle her own child-" jaisa than vaisa shan " is the customary saying: "It takes its nature from the breast ". Devi Singh attributed his own low resistance to infections to his mother's having -been in poor health while he was a baby: "It was because she was sick that her milk did not nourish me properly. . . . In everything, I am generally weak from my childhood because we take our strength from our mother's milk-isn't that so, Sahib? "Suckling is moderately prolonged, weaning taking place usually at about two and a half years. By this time, the child is eating quite a generous diet, and the surrender of the breast might not seem too violent a wrench. Still, I was told, it usually provokes many days' crying and anger, because the child has not been accustomed to being thwarted. - The mother may cover her nipples with a bitter paste until weaning is established or rarely she may leave the child for two or days (Cartsairs, 1957).

The parents are supposed to abstain from intercourse during the last four months of pregnancy and for some months (variously given as 1, 3, 4, 6 and 9) after a child is born. If a second pregnancy soon follows, the previous child will be weaned early, and fed with ass's or goat's milk, as it is thought injurious to the foetus for a mother to continue suckling while she is pregnant. On the other hand, the youngest child of a family may have a prolonged suckling period. The mother of one of my informants (Bhagmal) told me that he still occasionally took the breast when he was six years old (Cartsairs, 1957).

When a Hindu mother carries a small infant, she holds it with its back reclining against her left upper arm, her fore-arm supporting its buttocks and legs. This leaves her right arm free, and also keeps the baby in a position where it can readily take the breast. At an early age-in many cases, before the infant is six months old-it is transferred to sit astride its mother's left hip. Quite small children soon learn to grip with their knees in order to help sustain this position. In later childhood it is a common sight to see older
children, particularly girls, with a younger brother or sister perched astride their left hip and held with a supporting arm round their back (Cartsairs, 1957).

During the first two years of life, a child is seldom separated from its mother, and it is never allowed to cry for long. Crying, it is said, will make it weak, will make its eyes become infected. A good mother will pick the child up at once and let it have her breast whenever it complains: "Balak aur badsha barabar hain ", a child is equal to a king", said jaimal; and he went on to emphasise how a mother will uncomplainingly clean up her infant's mess, and how at night, if it wets the bedclothes, she will lie on the damp place rather than let her baby suffer discomfort (Cartsairs, 1957).

When not in its mother's, or another relative's arms, the baby lies in a cradle consisting of a shallow wickerwork basket which is hung from the rafters, or from the branch of a tree (Cartsairs, 1957).

Understandably, the word mata (mother) carries a very strong affective charge. It is invariably linked with the sacred cow, gau-mata; and it is as a symbol of motherhood, succouring, gentle and the antithesis of violence that the cow is liable to be worshipped with a show of feeling which leaves non-Hindus embarrassed and bewildered. Mataji, also, is the generic name for the Mother-goddesses, whose shrines are to be found in every village in Rajasthan. In Deoli, there were several Matajis, the principal one being called Vijayshan-Mata; and Hindus of every caste consulted her when they were in distress. Even the Rao, who scoffed at bhopas as relics of superstition-"Though it may be that some of them are genuine article ", consulted her in 1944 about his Rani's barrenness; and when an heir was born in the following year, he had a handsome temple built to replace her former dilapidated hut (Cartsairs, 1957).

During its prolonged suckling the child sleeps with its mother who is separated from it only when she has intercourse with her husband; and then only temporarily. In principle, Hindu parents are enjoined to abstain from intercourse as long as the mother is suckling, but in practice it is quite uncommon for this abstinence to be prolonged for more than six months. Husband and 'wife, in households such as those of my informants, sleep on adjacent beds, with the youngest child either in its mother's bed or in a cot at her side. Small children are considered too young to be aware of adult sexuality, so no attempt is made to prevent their being, witnesses of their parents' intercourse. From the dawn of his ability to distinguish between persons in his
immediate world, the Hindu child is confronted with this recurrent experience which cannot fail to be profoundly moving although imperfectly understood. Here it encounters a new aspect of its hitherto exclusively attentive mother, and sees in its father an overwhelming rival claimant for her love (Carstairs, 1957).

As will be seen below, the presence of the grandparents in the joint household profoundly modifies the behaviour of the child's own parents. Neither father nor mother may fondle their own child in their elders' presence. Tension is acute between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law. The latter is obliged by strict custom to defer in all things and to obey her mother-in-law's orders without question. She must look on impassively while the grandmother makes much of her child-unless the child begins to cry. Only then is she entitled to assert her first claim to "mother" her baby, by clasping it in her arms and giving it the breast (Carstairs, 1957).

In this setting the pattern becomes established that a mother is an attentive but pre-occupied person whose feelings only become apparent when the child cries to her in distress-and then she hurries to supply all his wants (Carstairs, 1957).

Here children are indirectly exposed to Western ideas, because both the principles and the content of the teaching curriculum were inspired by the example of the British educational system, upon which the Indian schools were based. This was evident in the bias in favour of practical accomplishments-still, the apparent aim of the majority of students who reach matriculation is to become government clerks-and received open expression in the fact that higher students trained for the "Cambridge entrance examination. Even so, certain peculiarly Hindu modifications entered the system: for example children were taught to know the names, and to admire the example, not only of celebrated teachers of Hinduism, but also of the Buddha, of Mahommed and of Jesus Christ. It is open to question whether a n equal degree of tolerance is inculcated in classes of religious instruction in the West. Because the school is now an institution of the Congress government, and its teachers are for the most part "new men ", the curriculum emphasises national history and new ideals of social progress (Carstairs, 1957).

It is women, also, who give a boy his early toilet training, first by attending to his needs and later by teaching him how to cleanse himself. In later years he comes to see that this learning is especially related to his high-caste status. From his mother and his
substitute-mothers, a boy learns also how and what to eat, how to dress, what constitutes good manners and what is to be avoided as indecent or shameful. Their example as well as their warnings impresses upon him the obligation to defer unconditionally to the male head of his family. Even in families where the husbands were reputed to be bullied by their wives, the public behaviour of each member of the household always confirmed to the “proper” pattern.

From his mother, grandmothers and aunts a child learns the concrete details of religious observance at all the multitude of holy days in the calendar. Women are said to be more conservative than men, and to insist on the performance of such duties. A part of the experience of every child in Deoli is to be taken by his mother to a bhopa when he is sick: he is made familiar from an early age with the belief in possession by witches and evil spirits, and in their exorcism by the power of the mother-goddess. As he grows older, the possibility of such occurrences will be confirmed by the magical healers who are consulted in cases of sickness in the family. From them, as from all his older relatives, he will learn of the many supernatural dangers believed to exist in his surroundings, and how to circumvent them (Cartsairs, 1957).

A high-caste Hindu presents a seeming triumph of deliberate self-control over spontaneous impulse. This is conspicuously the case with the religious ascetic, who learns to subordinate all sensual promptings to his deliberate aim of cultivating non-attachment; but it is also seen in the decorous, restrained behaviour to which all adults aspire. Behind this facade, however, irrational impulses are at work, betraying themselves indirectly in a number of ways—for example, in a map's attitude towards his wife, and women in general (Cartsairs, 1957).

Ideally, woman is regarded as a wholly devoted, self-forgetful mother, or as a dutifully subservient wife, who is ready to worship her husband as her lord. In fact, however, women are regarded with an alternation of desire and revulsion. Sexual love is considered the keenest pleasure known to the senses: but it is felt to be destructive to a man’s physical and spiritual well-being. Women are powerful, demanding, seductive—and ultimately destructive. On the plane of creative phantasy, everyone worships the Mataji, the Goddess, who is a protective mother to those who prostrate themselves before her in abject supplication, but who is depicted also as a sort of demon, with gnashing teeth, who stands on top of her male adversary, cuts off his head and drinks his blood. This demon-goddess has the same appearance as a witch—and that brings her
nearer home, because any woman whose demands one has refused is liable to be feared as a witch who may exact terrible reprisals (Carstairs, 1957).

In endeavouring to interpret these implicit emotional reactions to women in general, one looks to -the child's first relationship with a woman, with his mother: because the feelings associated with that relationship will frame the expectations with which he approaches all subsequent heterosexual relationships. What I found in Deoli was that Hindu children, almost without exception, begin life with an abundantly rewarding experience. During their first year, they are never separated from their mothers for more than a short time, and they are given the breast generously, whenever they feel hungry or upset. An infant's mother is his willing slave, and he becomes something of a tyrant (Carstairs, 1957).

This pattern of mothering is if anything too good. Child analysis in the West suggests that infants may be alarmed by their own seeming omnipotence, fearing that the bullied mother may one day turn and rend them (like the devouring witch) in retaliation for their own momentarily intense wishes to destroy her by biting and eating her up. In the West a child experiences greater amounts of deprivation, in the cause of “training”, and is able to test out his fits of hostility towards his mother, taking reassurance from the fact that she not only survives them, but still loves him. In the Hindu family, because he experiences so little frustration, the child develops an assurance that support and succour will never be denied him-hence his constant (and even unrealistic) optimism in later life-but his aggressive phantasies remain rudimentary, imperious and unmodified by the experience of minor deprivations-until, at the age of 1½ or 2, new experiences occur with bewildering rapidity (Carstairs, 1957).

There is a corollary to this catastrophic reversal of the infant's early blissful situation. In order to recapture it in phantasy he must become a helpless child again as he does when prostrating himself before the Mother-Goddess; and ' this is also the essence of a Hindu's attitude towards his father and his Guru, and in his religious worship. In each of these situations he stresses on the one hand his utter helplessness, his unlimited appeal, and on the other his utter helplessness of his own sexuality, and with his sensual gratifications. When confronted with this complete surrender, the deity, the father and the Guru are compelled to offer help; the tyranny of early childhood reasserts itself. This is seen also in the universal compulsion, in Hindu society, to give alms when they are begged. People give to beggars not because they enjoy giving (though for some it
can be a pleasure as well as a duty) but because they feel intensely uncomfortable and guilt if they fail to do so; and this occurs not only in public, when they might be thought to be coerced by social pressure (as we feel obliged to conform with our neighbours on flag days) but also in their private thoughts (Cartsairs, 1957).

Infants do not have a monopoly of infantile phantasy, which rewals itself in adults in similar irrational feelings. Fathers can be unwittingly jealous of their small sons, as well as sons of their fathers. It may well be the father's guilt at his suppressed hostility to his infant rival which obliges him to overcompensate for this,' in accepting his obligation to support his son, provided the latter has demonstrated his complete submission (Cartsairs, 1957).

The confusion in interpretation arose from their verbal insistence upon faecal cleanliness. In the West, over-strict toilet training is believed by psychoanalysts to result in accentuation of those obsessional traits of punctuality, neatness and conscientiousness which comprise the “anal character", and which are favoured in our culture. In contrast to the Hindu pattern, Western obsessionals are seriously distressed if they are not able to carry out their routines with precision; and they cannot discuss anal topics without embarrassment. That Hindus are unobsessional and yet pre-occupied with this topic of faecal contamination is attributable to the fact that in infancy their training in cleanliness is gentle, leisurely and unemphasised: it is only after the age of two, when verbal instruction comes into play and when the oedipal conflict is at its height, that their attention is focused upon this functions (Cartsairs, 1957).

The pious Hindu's repugnance for alcohol is perfectly standable, because of its notorious disinhibitory properties. Alcoholic intoxication militates against that subjection of the self which is seen to be the principal emphasis of the religious life, just as its the accepted way of dealing with a surcharged oedipal situation. If one looks into the associations linked with wine, its use is seen to be permissible to Rajputs in order to nerve them for their aggressive role. It is also associated with the two terrible aspects of the phantasied parentfigures, the Mataji and Bhairav, who exemplify the explosive discharge of all the violent passions which a man normally keeps rigorously under control; but never with Shiva the ascetic, or Vishnu the mild sustaining ally of mankind. It is those castes, the Brahmins and the Banias, who are denied any approved aggressive outlet (such as Rajputs enjoy in hunting, concubinage and war) who
condemn alcohol with especial emotional vehemence, because it presents a threat to their customary defences against their own severely repressed emotions: a threat, and perhaps also a temptation which they must at once repudiate (Cartairs, 1957).

There are, of course, some foods which are associated not with threatening, but with gratifying phantasies. The preoccupation with loss of semen, which is a very common source of neurotic anxiety among Hindu men, can be palliated by eating certain exceptionally good, health-giving foods, namely wheat flour, rice, milk and butter, honey and white sugar. These substances have two valuable attributes: they are “cool” foods, that is to say they give nourishment without inflaming the passions, and they have the property of building pure and unspoiled semen (Cartairs, 1957).

The idea of slapping a small child because it soils within the house was rejected by all who discussed this with me - How can it know, before it is old enough to understand? "-but it was agreed that children of 3 and 4 were often reminded of their duty to go outside, with threats: " The Babaji will carry you off! “Or, “The tiger will get you! “and not infrequently with slaps given by its mother, who is now distinctly less indulgent than is its grandmother. It is a stereotype of domestic behaviour in these households for the grandmother to scold her daughter-in-law for being too harsh towards her grandchild; and my informants suggested that she secretly welcomed these scoldings, as evidence of the grandmother's concern for the child of the house (Cartairs, 1957).

A subsequent study that used the Conflict Tactics Scale (Straus, 1979) to investigate the discipline practices of middle-class professionals in India found that 57% engaged in "normal" corporal punishment (spanking, slapping), 42% in "abusive" forms of discipline (kicked, bit, or hit with fist; hit or tried to hit with something; beat up child), and 3% in "extreme" forms of violence (threatened with, or used, a knife or gun on child) (Segal, 1995). Segal observed that these relatively high rates of harsh discipline may reflect societal sanction of violence toward children and the perception that physical abuse has fewer detrimental effects than other forms of abuse.

Yet some parents, like those in Poffenberger's study (1981), may resort to practices that they feel are inappropriate and potentially harmful. Identification of risk and protective factors related to different levels of severity in discipline practices used in India may help address the question of whether severe practices are normative or whether they, at
some point, cross a line to become unacceptable or abusive. In this study, risk and protective factors have been conceptualized using an ecological model that attributes family interactions (including child abuse and other family violence) to characteristics of the nested social ecology including the larger society, the local community, the family itself, and finally the characteristics of the involved individuals (Belsky, 1980; Cicchetti & Lynch, 1993; Garbarino, 1977). As in all societies, the treatment of children in India is likely a function of deep-seated cultural norms. Few would deny that there is societal tolerance for the use of corporal punishment, a cultural factor theorized as a risk factor for physical abuse (Zigler & Hall, 1989). In addition, India is a patrilineal society in which the spiritual, economic, and social norms of everyday life reflect an extreme preference for male offspring and a corresponding denigration of female children. As a result, female children have been at higher risk for selective feticide, infanticide, poorer nutrition, poorer health care, poorer educational opportunities, kidnapping, and forced prostitution (Poffenberger, 1981; Wadley, 1993).

However no data indicate that females are more likely to experience harsh parental discipline than their male counterparts. Although Singh and Kaur (1981) found that rural Indian mothers felt that girls need more instruction and discipline than boys, they did not analyze the harshness or severity of actual childrearing practices by gender. In north India, women in Punjab have limited inheritance rights, little access to economic resources and few opportunities to work (Sathar and Kazi 2000). In the north India, where women’s autonomy is more constrained, than in the south, where women have more freedom to maintain ties to their birth families (Das Gupta et al 2003). In south India, kin marriage and close natal family ties ensure that women are not cut off from their birth families to the same extent as in north India Jejeebhoy and Sathar (2001). In China, another country where sons are venerated because they are seen as insurance against old age and poverty, boys are more strictly disciplined, perhaps because the stakes connected to their behavior and success are much higher (Ho, 1996; Tang, 1998; Wu, 1996). It is reasonable to expect that the same family dynamics might contribute to harsher punishment of sons in India.

Indian children are not discouraged from playing in the nude or very scantily dressed until they are 6 or 7 years old. This effectively prevents morbid curiosity about the physical difference between the sexes and enables adult Hindus to discuss the physical aspects of sexuality without false embarrassment (Cartairs, 1957).
In striking contrast to all this attentive mothering, the child’s father is an aloof, seemingly unwelcoming figure. The reason for this is that a man, so long as he remains under his own father's roof, must keep up the fiction of denying that he leads an active sexual life of his own. Not to do so is to be disrespectful. Consequently, a man and his wife can never talk to each other naturally, in his parents, presence; nor is it proper for either of them to show affection for their own children in front of their elders (Cartsairs, 1957).

Infallible and a confidence that by thus subordinating his will to that of the father-figure, he will be set on the true path. A father's teaching and example is invariably idealised. He stands for self-control, disciplining of the passions and the emotions for everything that is formal, restrained and correct (Cartsairs, 1957).

It is not surprising that in these Hindu families, sex is never discussed between parents and children. The latter learn the facts of sex, and the pleasures of erotic stimulation, from each other at an early age. The informants agreed that most children masturbate, and indulge in heterosexual and homosexual play for years before puberty: but they know that this is disapproved of by their elders, so it is done secretly. Masturbation and homosexual practices among children were condemned as "weakening" (although Birmal maintained that the passive partner would thrive, being enriched by the other's semen) but they did not give rise to strong feelings of antipathy (Cartsairs, 1957).

Hindu mythology is baffling in its profusion. If this is true of the voluminous written texts, it is no less true of the multitude of local legends which are to be found in every village, because these villagers have a gift for myth-making, and a keen appetite for the miraculous. Even educated Indians do not like to reject the most improbable stories without the saving clause – “And yet there may be something in it (Cartsairs 1957).

Kakar (1978) goes into the details of the childhood experiences of an Indian and how such experiences shape his or her personality. A child in the Indian family is treated with extreme indulgence. There is a total indulgence on the part of the mother for her infant’s wishes and demands, whether these be related to feeding, cleaning, sleeping, or being kept company. Moreover, she tends to extend this kind of mothering well beyond the time when infant is ready for independent functioning in many areas.

There is no forcing of pace regarding cleanliness, walking, talking, or weaning. By and large, minimal demands are placed on Indian infants to master the world around them
and to learn to function independently of the mother. Given the experiences of mother’s immediacy and uter responsiveness an Indian generally emerges from infancy into childhood, with a staunch belief that the world is benign and that others could be counted on to act in his or her behalf (Kakar, 1978, p. 82).

As soon as the infancy is over, say around the age of 5, the mother’s indulgence is abruptly withdrawn (Asthana, 1956). In a psychosocial sense, the world of Indian childhood widens suddenly from the intimate cocoon of maternal protection to the unfamiliar masculine network woven by the demands and tensions of the men in the family (Kakar, 1979, 35). Such a reversal of a previously indulgent relationship has a profound effect on the child’s later development. His or her image of a good mother turns into a image of a “fickle mother” who mysteriously withholds her caresses and attention from time to time. His or her confidence is shattered, and he or she starts mistrusting everybody. This is the reason according to Nandy and Kakar (1976), for the strong “mother complex” in an Indian child. Mother is like Goddess “Kali”, who nurtures as well as destroys the child. Father is a distant onlooker and is a “co-victim” of the whimsical mother. This leads to a positive “we feeling” between a child and his father, which persists until adulthood in the form of Oedipal alliance rather than Oedipal complex (Nandy & Kakar, 1976).

Roland (1978) provides a psychoanalytic perspective of personality development in India and discusses differences between Indian and western child rearing practices and family structure as they affect personality development in each culture. According to this thesis, in contrast to the western emphasis on individuality and personal autonomy, Indian culture stresses symbiotic modes of relating. Roland sees the Indian indulgence of childhood symbiotic striving and abrupt curtailment of assertiveness during the period of separation, individualism, is normally accomplished in the west, as contributing to the symbiotic emphasis in Indian social structure.

Neki (1976) emphasized the significance of child rearing practices in the development of dependency in the Indian context. He compared the prevalent attitudes of western and Indian culture towards dependence. Western child rearing encourages early independence. Indian childrearing, on the other hand, fosters dependence. In the Indian family the mother and the infant have a virtually uninterrupted, close physical contact and the infant receives prolonged and indulgent attention from both the biological mother and several mother surrogates in the extended family.
At the community level, social isolation, lack of social support, and social change, such as migration away from family of origin, have been identified in the United States as risk factors for child abuse (Egeland & Brunquell, 1979; Garbarino & Gilliam, 1980; Starr, 1988). In studies outside the United States, Levinson (1989) found that child abuse is less likely in extended family households where child care responsibilities can be shared.

Increasing mobility of Indian families and movement away from extended family structures may increase the parenting stresses once absorbed within the joint family (Sinha, 1984). Other types of stresses that occur at the family level (e.g., alcohol abuse, marital conflict or violence, large family size, and parent psychological problems) have been shown to increase the probability of child abuse (Whipple & Richey, 1997).

In a 1985 survey of American families, Straus and Gelles (1990) found that mothers who were victims of partner violence were at least twice as likely to physically abuse their children as mothers who were not.

The children who are getting good child-rearing age practices are found to be highly participating, warm hearted, active, obedient, mildly assertive, happy, less realistic, vigorous, zestful, placid, self assured, self disciplined and controlled while on the other hand the children who are reared poorly are found to be reserved, active, tacitum, realistic and vigorous. Sex also affected the child's various personality factors (Gyanani & Kapoor, 1994).

The boys were found to be emotionally less stable, active, mildly assertive, dominating, sober, restrained, forthright, natural, selfassured, placid and relaxed. While girls are found to be emotionally less stable, less active, relaxed, energetic, worrying and shy. The results are indicative of the fact that childrearing practices influence the various personality factors of boys and girls differently. The interaction effect of child-rearing practices and sex is found significant in relation to the personality factors. The boys and girls who were reared under good child rearing practices differ significantly in their various personality factors (Gyanani & Kapoor, 1994).

It indicated that the boys who are getting good child-rearing practices are found to be emotionally less stable, active, aggressive, socially bold, precise, less relaxed in comparison to the girls who are getting good child rearing practices. The girls who are getting poor child-rearing practices are found to be emotionally less stable, serious, shy,
slightly tender minded, unwilling to act, shrewd and socially controlled in comparison
to the boys who are getting poor child rearing practices (Gyanani & Kapo
or, 1994).

The boys of such mothers are found to be careless, untidy, aggressive, and stubborn and
of low integrity whereas the girls are submissive, shy, timid, restrained, tense and self-
disciplined. It is observed that there is no significant effect of child-rearing practices
on the personality factors of boys but personality factors are found to be statistically
significant. This shows that boys who are getting poor child-rearing practices are found
serious, careless and tense in comparison to the boys who are getting good child-rearing
practices. In case of girls, the personality factors are found to be statistically significant
which indicates that girls who are getting poor child rearing practices are found to be
submissive, serious, unwilling to act, individualistic, slightly restrained and calculating
in comparison to the girls who are getting good child rearing practices (Gyanani &
Kapoor, 1994).

Child rearing and Academic Performance

A collection of ethnographies and other qualitative studies suggests that regardless of
their socioeconomic background, many immigrant students find themselves in a family
environment that is strongly supportive of achievement. Parents as diverse as those
from Central America, Indo china, the Caribean, and India place a great importance on
the academic success of their children (Caplan et al., 1991; Gibson, 1991; Gibson &
Bhachu, 1991; Suarez-Orozco, 1989; Waters, 1994).

They believe education to be the most significant way for their children to improve
their status in life. Many parents encourage their children to overcome the difficulties
they may face in school because the educational opportunities in the United States

The encouragement and aspirations of immigrant parents may be the most important
ways they can influence their children’s education. Because of their long work
schedules or discomfort with speaking English, foreign-born parents are less likely to
become involved in their children’s school lives through more formal mechanisms such
as volunteering at school (Kao & Tienda, 1995).

Asian-American students, the majority of whom have foreign-born parents, are more
likely than other students to be a part of an achievement-oriented peer group (Steinberg,
Dornbushch & Brown, 1992). They report the highest level of peer support for academics and are more likely to study together and help each other with difficult assignments. The role of peers in the academic achievement of children and adolescents has been highlighted in numerous studies e.g. (Epstein, 1983).

Asian students from immigrant families outperform their counterparts from Latin America, Africa, and the Caribbean (Kao & Tienda, 1995; Rumbaut, 1995). In addition, the academic success of immigrants, relative to non immigrants, may be the most common among Asian adolescents; Kao and Tienda (1995) did not find the same generational variation in achievement among Hispanic Youth, and it appeared to be only slightly evident for black students.

Sharing the academic orientation of their parents and peers, the students from immigrant families placed a higher value on learning mathematics and English, as well as on succeeding in school. They aspired and expected to attain higher levels of education beyond high school. Together, the parental expectations, peer support and academic attitudes possessed by the first and second generation adolescents were manifested in these students doing homework and studying for tests for 2-4 more hours each week than their third generation peers (Fuligini 1997).

Students with East Asian and Filipino background reported having higher parental expectations and aspirations greater peer support, stronger academic attitudes, and more frequent studying than those with Latino and European backgrounds (Fuligini 1997).

Students from immigrant families received higher grades than those with native-born parents in both their mathematics and English was especially surprising, considering that this language was spoken less frequently in their homes. Other researchers have also reported that these students perform well in their languages, arts classes despite having more difficulty with standardized tests of reading and English (Rumbaut, 1994).

Regardless of their ethnic or socioeconomic background, the adolescents from immigrant families evidenced a strong focus on education that was supported by their parents and peers. These students consistently indicated higher values of schooling and educational success and expended substantially more time and effort on academic endeavors than their third generation peers (Fuligini 1997).

As reported by Gibson (1991), Matute-Bianchi (1991), and Suarez-Orozco (1989), the initiative of these adolescents was fueled by a perception that their parents placed great
exceptions for their eventual educational attainment. Students from immigrant families believed that their parents would not be satisfied with merely average grades in school and that the parents hoped that their children would continue their education well beyond high school. Helping adolescents to convert these expectations into actual success was a network of friends who assisted each other with homework, studied together for tests, and generally encouraged each other to do well.

**Child Rearing practices and Morality**

Piaget’s theory explains in how children and adolescents think about moral issues (Piaget, 1932). He observed and interviewed children from the ages of 4 to 12 and watched children play marbles so as to understand how children used and thought about the games and their rules. He also asked children questions about ethical issues such as theft, lies, punishment, and justice. Piaget concluded that children think in two distinct ways about morality, depending on their developmental maturity. He talked about two types of morality (1) Hetronomous & (2) Autonomous.

Heteronomous morality is the first stage of moral development in Piaget’s (1932) theory, occurring between 4 to 7 years of age. Justice and rules are conceived of as unchangeable properties of the world, removed from the control of people. Autonomous morality, the second stage of moral development in Piaget’s theory, is the display by older children (about 10 years of age and older). The child becomes aware that rules and laws are created by people, and that, in judging an action, one should consider the actor’s intentions as well as the consequences. Children 7 to 10 years of age are in transition between the two stages, evidencing some features of both.

LeVine and his colleagues drew attention to the degree to which cultural models for rearing children is to be valued and how were adults invested with ‘moral direction’ or ‘moral rectitude’ (LeVine et al., 1994).

The moral dimension to beliefs and practices surrounding child rearing should not be surprising, given that this task engages adults in the active consideration and reproduction of their closed held values. It is this moral force that is reflected in the proclivity, noted by LeVine et al. (1994: 255–6) and others (Tobin et al., 1989 Miller et al., 2001), and exemplified in the reaction of the working-class preschool.
At the same time, this moral force makes child rearers insistent about their own child-rearing goals and practices, and hence persistent and consistent in enacting them. Adults may, for example, feel morally justified in imposing practices earlier in the child’s life than they otherwise might (LeVine and Norman, 2001: 84; Strauss and Quinn, 1997: 106). The German mother is likely to be more willing to leave her infant son alone in his bed from the earliest age; because she believes that she is doing so not just for her convenience, but to develop the virtue of Selbständigkeit.

The child is being taught a highly valued trait – to be fearful of justified anger in the Ifaluk case, quiet and undemanding in the Gusii case, or self-comforting and hence unspoiled in the south German case. The teaching and learning of such behaviors takes on an even greater moral import because the behavior is conceived of as instrumental to a larger goal of raising the child into a culturally desirable adult. In my German anecdote about not crossing against the light, the broad moral implication was not self-evident. The matter is a moral one to Germans, we might surmise, because it is perceived as crucial to children’s safety. The practice may partake, though, of an even deeper, more distinctive moral value that Germans tend to place on rule-following more generally – (as LeVine and Norman (2001: 91–2) put it, the German virtue of ‘Ordnugslehbe, “love of order”), which means both self-control and learning to comply with the demands of existing regimes of schedule and discipline’

The socially desirable responses, which emerges may be more pronounced in older than in younger children. Younger children give more hedonistic reasons for their decisions than older children (Eisenberg, 1982).

Younger children may be less conscious of the presence of an adult during the interview. Their role-taking capacity is less developed than the role-taking capacity of older children and therefore, they do not realise that the interviewer may judge particular answers as less desirable. Older children have already learned not to refer to hedonistic motives. Thus it is possible that they have concealed their egocentric motives to help, or not to help (Jannssens 1997).

Child Rearing and Stress

According to family systems theory, when the married couple has conflict and can not solve it in a constructive way, they are likely to involve their children in the conflict to
release some anxiety and tension between them (Wang & Crane, 2001). Child is physiologically vulnerable to everything going on between his parents. Tension and conflict in the family induces emotional arousal in the child, triggering physiological and psychological responses (Wang & Crane, 2001). These findings suggest that this analysis supports the nature of child-rearing stress (also see Kohnstamm et al., 1998) as a tenable family environment characteristic. First, the childrearing stress construct, initially developed for clinical research and practice by Abidin, (1995), is also applicable to parenting in community settings. Secondly, it is relevant not only to parents of young children but also parents of adolescents. Thirdly, although there were grounds for positing that child-rearing stress was relevant mainly to mothers, it has been demonstrated that it is pertinent to both mothers and fathers.

**Child Rearing Practices and Negative Emotionality**

Negative emotionality refers to irritability, negative mood, (un)soothability, and high-intensity negative reactions, and it can be differentiated into distress to limitations (anger proneness) and distress to novelty (fearfulness; Sanson, hemphill, & Smart, 2004). Negative Emotionality is considered to be the core dimension of difficult temperament concept (Bates, 1989; Lee & Bates, 1985; prior, 1992; Shiner, 1998).

Negative Emotionality forms part of the temperament construct, which refers to the behavioural style exhibited by infants or young children in different context in response to a range of stimuli (Zeanah & Fox, 2004). Putnam et al., (2002) found that more adaptable, easy to soothe or sociable children are expected to elicit warm and responsive Parenting. Children who express positive emotion or lower levels of negative emotion tend to be liked by peers and to be relatively well adjusted (e.g. Denham, 1998; Sroufe, Schork, Motti, Lawroski, & LaFreniere, 1984).

The appropriateness of emotional displays depends on the context, and individuals who are very high or low in their expressivity and are likely to be perceived as socially unskilled, which puts them at a social disadvantage, (Gottman, Katz & Hooven, 1997; Halberstadt, Denham, & Dunsmore, 2001). Indeed, it is logical to predict that high or low expressivity sometimes occurs because of difficulties in individuals’ emotion-related control. Consistent with this idea, Cole, Zahn-Waxler, Fox, Usher, and Welsh (1996) found that preschoolers who were highly expressive or nonexpressive (rather than showing modulated expressivity) while viewing a film designed to induce negative
mood were prone to externalizing behavior problems. Nonexpressive children also showed depression and anxiety but 2.5 years later. Similarly, Eisenberg, Losoya, et al. (2001) found that expressive children who had difficulty hiding their feelings were prone to externalizing problems. There is initial evidence that children’s effortful control is related to low levels of negative emotionality (Eisenberg et al., 1993; Kochanska, Coy, Tjebkes, & Husarek, 1998) and modulated (rather than high) levels of joy (Kochanska, Murrary, & Harlan, 2000).

However, it is also possible that over controlled children elicit warmth and positive emotion from their parents, perhaps because their parents become over solicitous in response to their child’s inhibition or want to “bring out” their socially withdrawn child. Indeed, the findings were equivocal in regard to the direction of effects between parenting and child variables. The longitudinal child-driven model fit the data well, with children’s ego control predicting both their expressivity and parenting (Eisenberg et al. 2003).

**Child rearing and Prosocial Behaviour**

According to Eisenberg’s theory about prosocial development (Eisenberg 1982b; Eisenberg & Miller, 1992), children’s reasoning about prosocial moral conflicts is ordered into developmental stages or orientations, with each stage involving a more advanced cognitive structure of social concepts than the prior stages. At a lower level, a child is concerned with self-oriented consequences of behaviour. At higher levels, a child takes the other’s perspective or includes internalised values in his/her reasoning.

With regard to the relationship between child rearing and prosocial behaviour, previous research indicates that there are positive relations between, parental support and prosocial behaviour (Feshbach, 1975; Hoffman, 1975; Mussen, Rutherford, Harris, & Keasey, 1970; Zahn-Waxler, Radke-Yarrow, & King, 1979), positive relations between authoritative control and prosocial behaviour (Feshbach, 1975; Grusec, 1982; Hoffman, 1975; Hoffman & Saltzstein, 1967; Zahn-Waxler et al., 1979), and negative relations between restrictive control and prosocial behaviour (Hoffman, 1975). We hypothesised that these relations become stronger with age.
Child Rearing and Maturity
Block and Block (1980) hypothesized that children’s ego overcontrol and undercontrol would be associated with very low versus high levels of expression of emotion, respectively. Children who are undercontrolled rather than overcontrolled are likely to express their feelings – perhaps because they pause to think about the appropriateness of such expressiveness. In contrast, school-aged children who are over controlled may be expected to be relatively lower in the overt expression of emotion because of their inhibition, although they are also likely to be predisposed to internalizing Cumberland, et al. 2001; Watson et al., 1999). Perhaps because emotional expressivity is affected by a variety of factors, including individual differences in emotional experience, emotion-related regulation or control, and familial and cultural emotion related training. Block and Block (1980) found only modest correlation (at best) between a battery of behavioral measures of ego conrol and adults reports of children’s expression of emotion.

These findings appear consistent with the view that parents who are warm and express positive emotion contribute to the development of ego control in their children, which in turn affects the level of children’s expressivity. More specifically, warm, positive parents may promote overcontrolled behavior in their children, which may foster in children (Park et al., 1997; Rubin & Burgess, 2002).

Child Rearing and Creativity
Parental warmth and nonrestrictiveness were not reliably associated with creativity (Richard Koestner, Marie Walker and Laura Fichman 1999). Results revealed significant relationships between the quantity of parent-child reading interactions and the child's level of vocabulary development. Children's creativity was related to the quality of parent-child reading interactions, and children's perceived competence was related to both the quantity and quality of parent-child reading (Hamill el.at 1996).

Another study by Koestner el.at (2002) revealed that parental conflict was significantly and positively related to later adult levels of creativity.

Child Rearing Practices and Conscientious
A child’s conscience emerges surprisingly early in development. Its foundations are laid in the first 3 years of life, and its development is intimately related to the growth of
other competencies including self-awareness, self-control, psychological understanding of others, a network of self-conscious emotions (e.g., guilt, pride, shame), and a sensitivity to standards (Kochanska & Thompson, 1977). Especially important in the development of early conscience are a child’s early relationships within the family because it is in the context of these family relationships that children have their earliest experience with the behavioral and moral standards of the social world (Thomson 1998). The work on autobiographical memory suggests that the content, structure, and style of parent-child conversations about a child’s past behavior may have consequences for a child’s early conscience development (Fivush 1993).

**Child Rearing Practices and Openness to Experience**

Siegel (1988) noted that the lack of research work regarding culturally influenced parental beliefs, values, and behaviours pertaining to child rearing and concluded that child-rearing practices are not generalizable across cultural groups, and hence there is a need to explore with people of different cultural groups their beliefs in regard to raising children. It is essential, however, to be aware that cultural values are the foundation of people's biases, their perceptions, and how they view parenting should be conducted (Brown, 1997).

**Child Rearing and Social Warmth**

The children in the average category were found to show characteristics such as obedience, sharing, happy, alert, cooperative etc. the children in the high competence category were likeable by the teacher, very obedient, caring, cooperative and sharing. They were found to be alert and active excelled in academics and teachers reported their parents to be very cooperative with them and their child. The children who had lack of compatibility in their home and school environment as was reported by the teacher, confirmed that in other studies carried out in Jammu (Sharma, N., 1999; Sharma, S., 1996).

**Child Rearing and Maturity**

Nurturant parents who are secure in standards they hold for their children provide models of caring concern as well as confident, assertive behavior. They are also more effective reinforcing agents, praising children for striving to meet their expectations and
making good use of disapproval, which works best when applied by an adult who has been warm and caring. As a result, high self-esteem and mature, independent behavior are fostered (Kuczynski et al., 1987).

Authoritative parenting, compared to all other styles, was related to significantly higher means in adolescent maturity. Authoritarian and neglectful styles were almost always associated with lower psychosocial maturity, whereas permissive and mixed parenting styles were more advantageous than either authoritarian or neglectful parenting (Cowane; 1998).

Child Rearing and Sensitivity
Mothers whose behavior toward their preschool children is responsive, nonpunitive and non authoritarian have children who have higher levels of affective and cognitive empathy and prosocial behavior (Eisenberg, Lennon, and Roth 1983; Eisenberg-Berg and Mussen 1978; Kestenbaum, Farber, and Sroufe 1989; and Zahn-Waxler, Radke-Yarrow, and King 1979).

Reasoning with children, even quite small ones, about the effects of their behavior on others and the importance of sharing and being kind is effective in promoting empathy and prosocial behavior (Clarke 1984; Kohn 1991; Ladd, Lange, and Stremmel 1983; and Zahn-Waxler, Radke-Yarrow, and King 1979).


When children have hurt or otherwise caused them distress, research supports the practice of giving explanations as to why the behavior is harmful and suggestions for how to make amends (Kohn 1991; and Zahn-Waxler, Radke-Yarrow, and King 1979). Parents encouraging school-age children to discuss their feelings and problems are positively related to the development of empathy in those children (Clarke 1984).

The whole gamut of child rearing practices in different part of the world has clearly shown that CRP has a strong influence on the development of personality of individual. If this is so, it should be applicable within a country too where extremes of climate, environmental, different ways of living, different life style, different culture, different
religions etc one may come with typical personality traits, that are characteristics of that region. An attempt has been made in this research to find out if CRP plays a role in child’s Personality and to what extent.

Concluding note and the rationale for the present research

The present chapter traced through the various child rearing definitions and Practices and attempted to understand the various issues related to child rearing and personality development. Thus the type of child rearing practiced by the families appear to definitely influence the development of personality in children. But it is also shown that these child-rearing techniques are highly influenced by the cultural norms, values, belief system, environmental climate, religious orientation, and many more factors.

Also the child rearing practices may range from complete indulgence to complete authoritarian nature, which in turn would impact the personality of an individual. The various important studies in this regard and the theoretical explanations clearly show how a child’s personality may get affected by the typical upbringing he or she has had in his or her family.

It is also learnt that most of the child rearing techniques are transferred from generation to generation and the mother brings up her child the way in which she was brought up by her mother. Many roles that the children learn to play in life, their concept of self, their self image, their ambitions and aspirations, their confidence and their performance to a very large extent depend on the way the children are brought up.

It is also learnt that these rearing practices vary the world over, with highly individualistic orientation in rearing in the USA, with high authoritarian upbringing in China and other countries in the East, and within India, the children show different personality pattern if they are from Maharashtra, or Tamil Nadu, or Punjab or Kerala or Andhra Pradesh or Orissa. Each of these regions has their own impact on children’s personality as many factors of differential nature converge to produce the differences in the personality of children. It is indeed true that religion also plays a significant influence in the development of personality of children, particularly the rituals followed and the religious beliefs that are inculcated in children by the family etc.
One finds in the general society as well as in schools, children behave extremely differently from each other with high or low confidence, with high or low self concept and with courage or cowardliness, and with no fear or high fear of authority figures and the extreme need to follow the rules and regulations of their cultural norms, religious values and strict belief systems. These in one way or the other affect the children’s performance in the school and also they develop different type of personality.

At times one also finds that the child who has been brought up in a culture, religious set up for some years, go over to another state for studies as the parents get transferred. Similarly there are many who have migrated from India to the US and to many European countries. Many are born in the US to the migrated parents, and adapt to the cultural norms of the US or other countries to which they have migrated.

Within India too, children from extreme north go over to extreme southern part of India and vice versa. Do these changes bring about a change in their personality? If one takes children from different schools run by a particular states like Kerala, or Punjab in Delhi, do these children show personality traits of Delhi culture or that of their own culture? Do children staying in their own state and studies in a school show different personality traits as compared to children studying in Delhi in a school run by the particular state government. That is Kerala school in Kerala and Kerala school in Delhi; Punjab school in Punjab and Punjab school in Delhi.

Keeping the above in view the present research has embarked on a research study to ascertain the typical personality traits of children from two extremes of State in India, that is Kerala which in the Southern most corner and Punjab which is in the northern highest part of India. Both states have their respective schools in Delhi as well as in their own states. An attempt has been made to take up children from Punjab school at Punjab and Punjab school at Delhi, and Kerala school from Kerala and Kerala school in Delhi, in order to ascertain if they show any personality traits variation and if so in which areas.

The next chapter presents the methodology used for research study.