CHAPTER – II
REVIEW OF LITERATURE

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2.1 STUDIES ON SLUMS

The government was concerned with promoting economic development. The approach, perhaps, was based on the premise that general improvement in the economic conditions would automatically lead to amelioration in the condition of the poor (Papola, 1984). However, over the period of time, it became obvious that the growth, by itself, was unlikely to eliminate and resolve poverty and other social issues confronting the society and the benefits of development were not being adequately reflected in the per capita terms due to unprecedented and uncontrolled growth in population, levels of unemployment, regional backwardness (Rajeev, 1999).

As the rate of urbanisation picks up, the rate of rural to urban migration also increases. The rural migrants, who migrate from villages and small urban settlements, for livelihood are the worst-hit. They are invariably drawn to squatting on unprotected public or private land, very often facilitated by slum dadas. In many instances, these neo-urban migrants also depend upon kinship, caste and regional network. According to official estimates, approximately 27.7 per cent of the urban population is below the poverty line. Urban poverty manifests itself in many forms and the most visible of these are the proliferation of slums and bustees, fast growth of informal sector, increasing casualisation and under-development of labour, crushing pressure on civic services resulting in the rise in crime ratio and group violence (Prashad, 1991; Bhattacharya, 1996).

The migrant class, which constitutes a significant proportion of the urban poor, moves from the rural areas to urban settings and by and large belongs to landless or marginal class and one of the prime
reasons of their migration is the search for better employment opportunities (Sridharan, 1995; Singh, and Kishore, 1993). A majority of them belong to the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, though a few of them also belong to upper caste families and are drawn from low income group (Kailash, 2000; Tewari, 1999). The male migrants arrive first and are subsequently joined by their families (Bapat and Crook, 1979). They depict the typical characteristics of a traditional rural family i.e. have a large family, are mostly illiterate or semi-literate. On account of this they attach low value to education, especially for the girl child, though children are regarded to be the greatest treasure by the family.

As organised sector in the urban area has its own limitations, and therefore is unable to offer employment opportunities to them, their absorption is, by and large, localised in the unorganised or informal sector (Pugh, 1995). This sector, on account of its diversity, offers a variety of jobs and has been playing a very significant role in supplementing the urban economy (Swamy, 1990)

The odd jobs the male members do range from pulling rickshaws, driving auto-rickshaws, working in dh abhas, restaurants or repairs shops while some of their female members find employment with urban households in which their children also provide assistance. Some of the other female members also work at construction sites, in brick kilns, other kinds of small business etc. The female members, who find employment in the urban households, do a variety of jobs, which range from cleaning of utensils, washing of clothes, cooking and even looking after the infants of the households. It has been observed that the girl child of these migrant poor families is often exploited on both fronts viz. by her parents as well as her employers. On the employers side, she is asked to work extensively for more hours than are stipulated in normal course and from her parental side she is denied education rights, are also expected to provide support in household, look after younger siblings and then is even married off at a minor age.
It is, therefore, expected that the urban poor migrants, who work with the urban households, are subsequently exposed to a new set of urban values and also learn to accept the importance of education, sanitation, health, environment etc. Such exposure, on sustained basis, is also expected to usher some changes in their attitudes and values. Thus it could be expected that these females also would translate these into practice and their children would get better opportunity to study, learn and obtain education.

Slums are a corollary of urbanization in nearly all societies going through transition from an agrarian civilization to an industrial one. Demographers describe it as the ‘Pull’ and ‘Push’ factors. Attraction for better jobs and the glare of the metropolis pull rural poor towards the cities and the surplus manpower in agriculture get pushed. Thus, the migrants are the unwitting victims of societal forces that push and pull them into the slums (Sneh Lata Tandon, 1998). Slum settlements also grow by accretion i.e. an increase by natural growth or gradual external addition reflecting particular historical circumstances (Roy, 1994).

All slums share certain common traits such as, dilapidated housing, lack of basic amenities, like water, electricity, health and educational facilities, unhygienic condition, filth and poverty. However, they may differ in size, nature of inhabitants, heterogeneity of housing standards and relative deprivation of the dwellers (Rajesh Gill, 1994).

Sneh Lata Tandon (1998) also states that slums are little worlds of their own, and can be defined as those areas of the city which when studied from the physical standards appear to be areas with inadequate housing, deficient facilities, overcrowding and congestion. From the sociological perspective it is a way of life, having a special character which has its own set of norms, values, health practices, deviant behaviour and social isolation. And from economic point of view having very low levels of income and standard of living, lack of education, unemployment, under employment and low paid workers.
Parliament discussion in the year 1973 stated that slum problem was not only a problem of shelter, but it was a problem of health and hygiene. A number of widespread epidemic diseases emanate from the slums. The slums are not only a nuisance and danger to the slum dwellers but to the rest of the population as well.

Wiebe (1975) studied the ways in which the members of a slum in Madras socially organize their lives and relate themselves to their various environments. The main objectives of the study are simply to gain some appreciation of (a) the dimensions of poverty and the problems of slums in India, and (b) the nature and quality of the materials on life in slum.

Parveen Nangia et al., (1996) in their piece of work studied the prevailing conditions of slums in Thane and the policy of the government towards tolerance of these slums. They have also suggested measures which could improve the living conditions of slum dwellers and eventually help the cities in getting rid of these settlement blots.

They further state that the rapid population growth increased the problem of housing in Thane. Since there was no high powered agency to provide shelter, informal sector housing activity started along with proliferation of slums. There are two types of urban poor settlements in Thane—where living conditions are very bad because of the old age of buildings; the kind of material used; unplanned and chaotic development of the area; lack of basic amenities like sewage connections, piped water, and so on. Most of the old villages which have been engulfed by the Municipal Corporation in its new boundary fall in this category and have been declared as slums. The second category deals with squatter settlements, which consist of huts made up of inferior quality material, generally used by the poor for temporary stay because such settlements emerge on someone else's land. A large number of urban poor settlements in Thane fall in this category.
The layout of huts in a typical Thane slum is apparently haphazard and adapted to the terrain and barriers like roads, rail lines, *nallahs* (storm-water drains), buildings and so on. The alleys are narrow and irregular and end abruptly at places. The alleys between the two winding rows of huts serve the dual purpose of a passage as well as a drain. The public toilets are located in the periphery. Different sources of water are available within the slum. There are some public taps and private taps, too, apart from some hand pumps and wells located in different parts of the slum. A typical slum in Thane is electrified. Most of the huts have got electric connections. A majority of the houses, in the irregularly arranged rows, are single storeyed. Their walls are made up of bricks; the roofs of asbestos sheets or baked tiles; and the floors are plastered. The houses of comparatively poorer people are made up of dead wood, polythene sheets and gunny bags. The ‘pucca’ and ‘semipucca’ houses, which appear as a single room from outside, have a partition in the inner part. The room/portion at the backside is used as the kitchen and store, while the room in the front side is used for living. In the ‘kuccha’ houses, which generally have a single room, one corner is used as a kitchen, the adjoining area for washing and the rest of the place for living.

Somewhere in a corner of the slum, a school or *balwadi* is set-up by the Municipal Corporation or a voluntary organisation or by an enterprising person to give basic education to the slum children. Some shops are also located in the inner parts of the slum. All the necessary items for the day-to-day needs of the residents are usually available here (Parveen Nangia *et al.*, 1996).

For this study the list of 160 urban poor settlements, commonly known as slums, was obtained from the Municipal Corporation Office. It was found that some of the listed slums had disappeared and some new ones had appeared which were not listed. The old slums whose names appeared in the Thane Municipal Corporation records were called the ‘registered slums’ and new ones which were not listed were called...
‘unregistered slums’. During the survey 155 registered and 21 unregistered slums were found in Thane. It was found afterwards that most of the Thane slums are provided with basic civic amenities. However, water in 2 percent, toilets in 8 percent and electricity in 10 percent of the slums are not available. In rest of the cases, the supply is not adequate and people have invariably complained about the inadequacy of civic amenities and the lack of their maintenance. Nearly one-third of the slums (32%) have schools and 11% have vocational training centres. Some of them also have balwadis and anganwadis. However, in nearly half of the slums (48%) no educational facility is available. Nearly two-fifths (42%) of the slums are served by mobile health vans and more than half (51%) by private doctors. It is found that the level of development of a slum (provision of various facilities) depends upon its duration of existence; the ownership of land on which it is located and; the place of origin of the first settlers (Parveen Nangia et al., 1996).

Lakshmi Lingam (1998) in one of her study, 'Migrant women, work participation and urban experiences', stated that the qualitative differences in life situation of women living in slums, pavements and construction sites demonstrate the subtle stratification of the urban poor and the experiences of women as migrants and as urban poor. Women living in settled slums expressed that their domestic life was comfortable in Mumbai as compared to the life in the villages. They mentioned: ‘we do not have to walk distances to collect firewood and fetch water. We cook on kerosene stoves and water is available at the doorsteps’. Women engaged in remunerative work outside the house clearly articulate the need for child care services. They leave small children in the care of older siblings or at home alone with an assurance from a neighbouring woman.

The differential allocation of household resources, specifically education and market skills, places young girls and women at a significant disadvantage in the urban job market. Girls are socialised to
accept inequality. They carry out or share most of the domestic work along with their mothers and other female siblings. It has been also observed that adolescent girls are either kept at home with several controls on their movement and interactions, or sent to the village for being socialised to the ways of living in the village, such as fetching water, collecting fuel wood, learning agricultural work and cooking food on wood fuel stove rather than on the kerosene stove. Girls, who have migrated with their families to Mumbai or have been born there, hope to be married to an individual living and working in Mumbai. The pavement dwellers leave their adolescent girls in the village. Migrants who work on construction sites do not bring their adolescent girls. When they bring them, they work under the watchful eye of the mother or an older kin group member. They are never left alone. Women from settled slums mentioned: ‘We do not want our family to be blemished by the bad name a daughter can bring. We interact with our neighbours but we do not want our daughter to marry a boy from another region, religion and caste’.

Singh (1984) describes the conditions of Allahabad slums as chaotic, which were accentuated by over-crowding and insanitation. Several of them had sprung up suddenly on vacant land, private and nazul land, in an unauthorised manner, which with the passage of time, had sprawled into big bustees. A marked feature of these slums was the paucity of roads. The lanes passing through them were narrow, winding and unpaved in nature that was often obstructed by frontage encroachment. The acute housing shortage found its manifestation in overcrowding. And from health and hygiene angle, the slum environment was highly uncongenial and depressive.

Sinha (1985) traces the genesis of Patna’s slums to over-crowding. According to him, most of the dwellings in central and eastern Patna were semi-pucca or mud walled with tiled roofs. With the passage of time, when these areas became commercial centres and population increased rapidly, the expansion of houses could not take place
vertically because of the poor foundation of buildings; instead, horizontal expansion took place in a haphazard manner and at every available space, leading to an extremely congested and insanitary condition. The main reason of the rapid growth in population has been the migration from surrounding rural districts. The other problems associated with Patna's slums are: (a) overcrowding; (b) unplanned and haphazard growth; (c) lack of public utility services; (d) inclusion of rural pockets within municipal limits; and (e) poverty and cultural backwardness.

Dasgupta and Laishley (1975) in their study of migration, come out with the fact that while unequal distribution of resources in the villages may have been the key factor triggering the process of migration, it was not necessarily the landless or the poor who migrated. The study, which was based on forty Indian villages, also shows that a majority of the migrants were adult males and were educationally more advanced than their fellow villagers.

Reddy et al. (1992) have studied the inequality in the utilisation of and participation in education in the rural areas of Andhra Pradesh. The study presents an analysis of the difference in the gross involvement ratio between different economic groups and genders. The findings of the study reveal that gender bias was prevalent, irrespective of the socio-economic positions. However, it was more pronounced among the rural poor families. Inequality in education, according to the study, is not an educational problem alone, it rather cuts across the entire social, economic and political fabric of a nation.

The study of National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT) (1993) which covered 818 households, 558 school going-children, 114 dropout girls and 185 never-enrolled school-girls from twenty-one Jhuggi Jhopri Settlement (JJ Settlement), selected randomly shows that the literacy levels and educational status of the population in the slum were at worse than the literacy levels of rural areas of Delhi. The average size of the households in slums was also
high and about fifty eight per cent of the total population in the slums belonged to 0-14 years age group.

Balakrishnan (1994) in “The sociological of girls schooling: microperspectives from the slums of Delhi,” seeks to study the special circumstances which foster schooling among Indian girls from indigent households. It also highlights why some girls of impoverished families go to school, which others do not.

Nautiyal (1993) attempts to analyse the magnitude of the slum population in Delhi, the state of literacy and elementary education facilities available to them, on the basis of some micro-level studies that were carried out with the support of United Nation's Children Fund (UNICEF); Disability Discrimination Act (DDA); State Council of Educational Research and Training (SCERT); and NCERT. According to him, the dismal performance of non-formal education programme in the slums of Delhi has been largely due to the failure of the support system and other institutional services.

Kailash (2000) focusses on the deteriorating urban environment in Madhya Pradesh where the scale of socio-economic disparity is large and spread across its vast geographical area. As ninety per cent of the slum population here, is concentrated in class one towns, the study, therefore, covers notified slums of twenty four class one towns. It is based on the 1981 and 1991 census data. According to him, the large scale physical and economic displacement of tribals and dalits has increased the magnitude of urban migration. Slum proliferation has also been on account of industrialisation, which has created 'land oustees' mainly from the deprived sections which has led the people to migrate to towns in search of employment. The study, further observes deterioration in the slum environment which was likely to continue as migration from rural to urban area was unlikely to be checked because of retardation in job market in the farm sector.
Bhattacharya (1996) studies the problem of slums and the approaches which the government has adopted to address it with primary focus on Bombay slums. According to him, slums are the result of accelerated urbanisation and outcome of the inability of the city to provide land and shelter to all its citizens including those who provide service to the society. The poor migrants, who migrate from villages and small urban settlements for the livelihood, are worst hit. To understand the magnitude of urban poverty, one has to understand the conditions of life in urban slums and squatters with regard to basic services like safe water, health care, nutrition, housing, sanitation, drainage and income. Education gets a low priority, here. The study observes that in every big city dual economy persists between formal and informal urban sectors. The decaying tenements of slums and pavement dwellers are the most pervasive symbols of urban poverty. Squatting grows cumulatively and as they grow in number and size, their influence and resistance to ouster also grows due to 'vote bank' so valuable to politicians. Tracing the steps and initiatives taken by the authorities in Bombay to grapple with the menace of slums, it feels that most of the programmes could touch only the fringe of the problem and were totally overtaken by the massive growth that has taken place. The number of slum dwellers has been increasing faster than the general population growth and, in the process, creating two worlds in the same city. The decision of the government, according to the author, to construct free houses for millions of households through private sector was a big step forward and at the same time a big challenge.

Tewari (1999) studies the occupational features, income expenditure pattern and some other economic aspects of slum dwellers in the city of Kanpur. The slum dwellers, according to him, are largely concentrated in the informal sector, which is considered to be not as productive and remunerative as the manufacturing and other sectors of the economy. As the slum dwellers tend to belong to lower income groups, their capacity to save and contributing to economic system is
also considered to be limited. However, the study comes up with the finding that despite their poverty, most of the slum dwellers are employed in various occupational activities, thereby contributing to the process of production in many ways. A significant proportion of them are self employed, which requires some capital and entrepreneurial quality, and belies the proposition that they lack entrepreneurial skills or do not have savings. On the contrary, their involvement in various kinds of economic activities strengthens the stand that they are functional and well integrated with the larger socio-economic system. Their linkages with urban economy would be further strengthened with the passage of time.

Spodak (1983) examines the situation of slum dwellers and squatters with regard to housing for the poor, assess the activities of slum dwellers and government through a series of five case studies from Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta, Hyderabad and Madras. According to him, the problem of squatters and urban slum in India, historically, has not been a new one. However, its intensity and scale has been more acute in larger industrial cities. He identifies three factors, besides natural increase, that have contributed to the growth of cities since 1921, namely political unrest, push from over-populated countryside and pull to industrial and service jobs of the urban economy. On the basis of the five case studies, he concludes that the government has started perceiving squatters and slum dwellers from a new perspective. Earlier their places were considered to be a blight and an obstacle to a more profitable use of land. But now they are seen as achieving the best available solution to housing problems in adverse conditions and also as a political force to be reckoned with.

Urban poverty has been basically perceived as a problem of slum improvement and low cost housing. No serious consideration has been given to the fact that squatter settlements were the outcome of socio-economic forces than engendered inequitable sharing of benefits of development and access to resources, including land and housing,
corresponding to the needs of human development. According to him, the squatters' settlements and slums, in the sixties and seventies, were perceived as areas of overcrowding that lacked sanitation and other basic services and consisted of dilapidated buildings, huts and other structures whose continued existence was considered to be injurious to public health, safety, moral, etc. Hence the government efforts were aimed at clearance or demolition of squatter settlements. However, the relocation programme aimed at providing accommodation to those evicted, in tenements subsidised rents and also developing open plots sites and services in resettlement colonies did not succeed in benefiting the slum dwellers as they were unable to pay even subsidised rents because most of them did not have regular source of income. Hence, most of the relocates returned to the sites from where they were evicted and formed again the squatter settlements (Majumdar, 1998).

Migration to urban areas is largely because these areas offer more income opportunities than the rural areas. The study also points out the contradiction prevailing among the town planners who believe that the urban population could pay fifteen per cent of their income towards housing. The lower rent paying capacity of the urban poor also reduces the standard of buildings and resource cost if these are to be provided by the private sector. Human dwellings, as the evidence shows, attach great importance to basic essential services like water supply, sanitation and drainage but have to depend upon local administration for ensuring them. Hence it is crucial that the provision of these services be included in the formulation of housing programme (Bapat and Crook, 1979).

Das (1996) portrays the growth of slums in Surat City and highlights some of the major features related to their physical and dwelling characteristics. According to him, the changing industrial landscape and economy of the district has not only attracted a substantial amount of capital but also a large proportion of migrant population from within the state, and also from other neighbouring and distant states.
Singh and Kishore (1993) have studied the socio-economic status of slum dwellers in Indore. The city, during the last few decades, has been responsible for generating extensive industrial growth, on account of which the population density has increased tremendously and has resulted in social imbalance. The heavy migration has also led to the creation of jhuggi-jhopri or slums where the living conditions remain very poor, and the migrants also suffer from deficiency of socio-economic, health, educational and other cultural facilities. The reasons for the concentration of people in slums are varied and often too complex. However, hope of getting employment and shelter occupy the foremost place, as a result of which they occupy any available open space.

Swamy (1990) studies the development of the urban poor from the policy perspectives. According to him, the urban rural disparity has been a major causative factor for more migration from rural to urban areas. As a result there has been an agglomeration of the 'rural poor' and development of slums and squatter settlements and a section of population which is living below the poverty line.

Dubey et al. (1999) studied the socio-economic profile of slum dwellers in Chandigarh and attempts to provide an insight into the increasing migration and proliferation of slums. According to them, the genesis of slums could be traced back to the origin of the city and as the level of construction work picked up, large clusters of thatched huts sprang up at the adjoining major construction site. The study shows that since 1971, there has been a seven fold increase in the number of jhuggies (huts) over the last two and half decade. As the city of Chandigarh was developed in two phases, there was a continuous flow of labour force, which resulted in the rapid growth of slums in the periphery of the city with a majority of slums encroaching on the government land. The survey of 45 colonies, of which 19 were authorised and 26 unauthorised, shows that the sex-ratio in authorised colonies, was higher than the one in unauthorised colonies, with wide
disparity in the family sizes. The major beneficiaries, from various government welfare schemes launched to improve the living conditions of the poor, were the inhabitants from the Subsidized colonies, while the only benefit the inhabitants of unauthorised colonies got was free medical aid. It was also found that the quality of life was quite deplorable in the unauthorised slums. An attempt has also been made to assess the actual situation by measuring the level of deprivation in these colonies with the help of deprivation index. The reasons for increase in population of slum migrant were availability of better job opportunity, possibility of getting a subsidized shelter etc. It was also felt that the administration should frame a suitable strategy for their permanent settlement in unauthorised colonies through construction of vertical building plans.

Ravinder Kaur (2004) in a research paper examines some of the environmental problems which the city of Chandigarh is facing today owing to slum. The study analyses the chronology, location, quality of life in the slums and the environmental problems caused thereof in Chandigarh.

2.2 STUDIES ON SOCIALIZATION

2.2.1 SOCIALIZATION AS A PROCESS

Socialization has been described and understood in several ways by various social scientists and anthropologists. According to the Oxford Dictionary, “It is the process by which we learn to become members of society both by internalizing the norms and values of society, and also by learning to perform our social roles. Socialization is no longer regarded as the exclusive preserve of childhood with primary agents being the family and school. Socialization continues throughout the life-course. It is also recognized that socialization is not simply a one way process in which individuals learns how to fit in society, since people may also redefine their social roles and obligations. Socialization must therefore take account of how the process relates to social change. In
this sense some schools of sociological theory imply an allegedly "over socialized conception of man in society", in that they over-state the extent to which values are internalized and action is normative in orientation" (Marshall, 1998).

Anthropologists and sociologists use the concept of socialization to describe the fundamental processes by which individuals develop the attitudes, expectations, behaviour, values, and skills that coalesce into roles. Simply speaking, socialization is that set of mechanisms and processes through which society trains its members to take their place as full-fledged social beings.

Socialization is the process of shaping the behaviour of a child. It is through socialization that an individual acquires character, attitudes, belief patterns, and most behavioural traits. The process of developing individual conformity to group norms of behaviour is another part of the process called socialization. Society is the governor which is responsible for the orderliness of human. At birth, society assigns the child certain positions and begins the child’s training in the proper performance of the associated roles. This training is part of the process called socialization. It is the process by which human behaviour is established (www.tamu.edu).

Elkin (1960) wrote: “we may define socialisation as a process by which someone learns the way of a given society or social group so that he can function within it”. Wrong (1961) states socialisation may mean two quite distinct things; when they are confused on over-socialised view of man is the result. On one hand socialisation means transmission of the culture, the particular culture of the society an individual enters at birth; on the other hand the term is used to mean the process of becoming human, in acquiring uniquely human attributes from interaction with others. All men are socialised in the latter sense but this does not mean that they have been completely modulated by the particular norms and values of their culture.
According to White (1977), socialisation is more than just formal education, for it includes the acquisition of attitudes and values, behaviour, habits and skills transmitted not only in school, but through the family, the peer group and the mass media. Moreover, the contents of the various forms of socialisation are not mutually exclusive, nor are the agents of socialisation necessarily working in harmony, so the process actually experienced by the individual is exceedingly complex, and will vary markedly both within and between societies.

It includes both the systematic as well as the random experiences society generates to encourage people to behave in ways that protect the continuity of group life. It occurs through explicit and implicit training by agents of socialization—parents, teachers, peers, and public figures (Lipman-Blumen, 1984).

Banerjee (1986) in his book, 'Socialization: An ethnic study', relates the pattern and process of socialization of an ethnic group the immigrant Bengalis in Delhi. He also wrote a book (1987) 'Child development and Socialization' which focussed on child socialization practices in three communities, namely, the Sikligar, the Bazigar, and the Jat Sikh, from a North Indian rural set up.

Mala Khullar (1990) in the write-up “Values of primary socialization: A case study from rural Delhi”, seeks to examine the transmission of values in process of primary socialization, mainly from the girl children of village are understood. These are patterns transmitted to children in their homes and the village, and are distinct from what has been called secondary socialization, which refers to processes of internalizing institutional or institution-based ‘sub-worlds’. The latter is always preceded by a process of primary socialization, whereby an individual becomes a member of her/his society.

Socialization refers to all processes by which an individual learns the ways, ideas, beliefs, values, and norms of his particular culture and adopts them as parts of his own personality in order to function in his...
given culture (Schneewind, 2001). However, the anthropologists regard socialization as the process by which cultures are transmitted to each new generation.

Socialization is the process through which individual’s behaviour, attitudes and values are shaped by the individuals and social institutions to which they are exposed (Steinberg, 2001). According to Parke and Buriel (2001), socialization is the process whereby an individual’s standards, skills, motives, attitudes, and behaviour change to conform to those regarded as desirable and appropriate for his or her present and future role in any particular society.

### 2.2.2 STATUS OF THE GIRL CHILD IN SOCIETY

Socialization for the development of appropriate sex traits and roles starts from childhood. Different culturally determined sex-role standards and social expectations guide the socialization process and set the girls apart from the boys. As has been noted by Aries (1962), “boys become children while girls remain little women”. If the little girl gets dirty, her mother fusses over her to keep her ‘pretty little dress clean,’ and when she is clean, rewards her with praise such as “now she’s mama’s little lady” (www.tamu.edu).

Studies have focussed on the influence of social class on the independence training of boys and girls. Amongst Rajasthanis, there were sex and social class differences in independence training (Saraf, 1972). On the contrary, a study done on Syrian Christian Kerala residents in Delhi did not show any sex differences (Mathai, 1972). A similar result was found in a study on Sikhs in Delhi (Bawa, 1972). However, the upper-middle class girls in this study received independent training to a greater extent than did the lower-middle class girls.

For centuries the status of women in general and that of the girl child in particular has been pathetic. To be born female has been a curse because of the indifference, neglect and ill-treatment met out to
the female by society. She has been living a life of dependence and servitude, devoid of self-esteem. A sloka from Atharvaveda also depicts the preference for male child over the female child. It says, “the birth of a girl child, grant it elsewhere. Here grant a son.” It is a well known fact that inspite of so called modernity, industrialization, literacy and equality, parents still pray to be blessed with the birth of a son (Subhashini Channa, 1991).

She further states that, despite the fervent prayers, girls are still born. There are several types of evidences that show the discrimination against the girl child. In a Bombay Clinic in 1984, out of 8000 abortions performed, 7999 were that of female foetuses and only 1 was that of the male foetus. Studies show that in our country daughters are breast-fed less often and nursed for shorter duration than sons. More nutritious food is served to sons and daughters live on leftovers. The health care provided to the girl child is also discriminatory. The data from a Delhi hospital showed that 65% of the children admitted were males and 35% were females. It is also a well-known fact in the Indian society that a girl child is initiated into household chores like dishwashing, fetching water and fodder, looking after sibling, working in the fields, cooking and so on.

She further pointed out that year 1990 was declared the ‘Year of the Girl Child’ by SAARC, so that some concrete steps could be chalked out for the upliftment of the girl child by creating opportunities for her to grow into a healthy confident adult, unfettered by traditional stereotypes and, thus, to be integrated into the mainstream of nation building. This requires a socio-cultural change vis-a-vis the discrimination and neglect by parents and society as a whole. However, in India, the diversity of the cultural and social factors, lack of education and strong community traditions are possibly responsible for such a state of the girl child.

According to Malini Karkal (1991), the root of the problem of discriminatory treatment being met out to girls lies in the status of
women in society, and their expected roles. Males are seen as the providers and the roles of girls are circumscribed around marriage and motherhood, with little chance of their ever attaining individual identity outside the married identity. Girlhood is just a period when a woman is trained for the role she is expected to play. The age at marriage is, therefore, indicative of the status assigned to women, and the roles of home-making and motherhood, assigned to them. She further states that the girls are subjected to conscious and subconscious neglect. They get a lower allocation of food within the family and the time and money spent on their health and education. Boys are seen as old age insurance for parents and are thus fed well and protected from illness. Adolescent girls have fewer opportunities of recreation, healthy physical exercise and even exposure to fresh air.


Vinaya Prabha V. Baligar (1999) has described the status of the girl child in India as far more inferior to that of the boy child. “In a culture that idolizes sons and dreads the birth of a daughter to be born female comes perilously to being born less than human. Today, the rejection of the unwanted girl can begin even before her birth: Prenatal sex determination tests followed by quick abortions eliminate thousands of female foetuses before they can become daughters. Those girls who manage to survive till birth and beyond find that the dice is heavily loaded against them in a world that denies them equal access to food, health care, education, employment and simple human dignity”.

2.2.3 GIRL CHILD SOCIALIZATION: THE GENDER BIAS

Before a newborn baby leaves the delivery room, a bracelet, its family name, is put around its wrist. If the baby is a girl, the bracelet, is pink; if a boy, the bracelet is blue. These different coloured bracelets
symbolise the importance our society places on sex differences, and this branding is the first act in a sex role socialization process that will result in adult men and women being almost a different as we think they “naturally” are.

The first question we ask after birth “Is the child healthy?” Is it a boy or girl?” we are really saying, “What will be its position in society—that of male or female?” Upon the classification by sex will also depend the character of the child’s interaction with others, the behavioural expectations of the child, and life chances. In our society we expect a little girl to keep cleaner than a little boy; to give more attention to clothes; to be sweet, not tough. The interaction of father and daughter is the first step in teaching the little girl the female role in relationship to males. By watching children receive training in the role of their social position as members of a sex group, we can begin to understand how behaviour is shaped. Children playing house provide an example of little boys and girls who have observed the roles associated with mother, father, husband, and wife and are practicing for the time when they will occupy those positions (www.tamu.edu).

Socialization in the context of women seems to be heavily weighted in favour of tradition, and the social institutions of family, kinship and marriage. It is closely intertwined with the process of role socialization of boys and girls which eventually leads to the dichotomising of masculine and feminine roles or to gender asymmetry. Social and cultural differences are seen to be based on biological differences and therefore viewed as natural. In this way the difference between the biological, natural and social is obliterated through the process of value internalization within the sacred confines of the family and kinship group. These further reinforced through religious ideology, myth and ritual.

There is a distinction between the projective system and maintenance systems of culture. The projective system include magic, art and religion (Kardiner, 1945) and the maintenance system includes
the economic, political and social organization of a society—the basic customs surrounding nourishment, sheltering and the protection of its members (Whiting and Child, 1953). In any culture socialization was assumed to be an effect of maintenance systems and a cause of projective systems. Thus, this model assumes that in so far as socialization affects the habit structure or personality of the members of a society, it becomes one of the mechanisms by which culture is integrated.

In a study of 13-15 year old children paternal disciplinary techniques were found not to vary significantly for boys and girls, but mothers were more love-oriented and less power-assertive with boys than with girls (Sud, 1975).

Indian society, like other societies of the world, also distinguishes between behaviour considered appropriate for males and females. In a traditional family, the values of patriarchy and male supremacy largely determine the differential socialization and reinforcement of a separate set of behaviour for boys and girls. The socialization of a girl is guided by traditional concepts or proper feminine behaviour and by fact that her actions are inextricably linked to family honour and prestige (Jacobson, 1977).

Pandey (1977) in his study, “Child Socialization in Modernization”, focusses on the values and behaviour in child rearing as an aspect of individual modernity and traditionalism. In his study, he gives a rare opportunity to see how the processes of change work across the generations.

Mussen et al. (1979) also pointed to a differential socialization of girls and boys with greater emphasis on achievement, competence, independence and assumption of responsibilities in sons and in interpersonal relations in daughters. This view held true even for modern educated mothers who, though encouraged their daughters to
be self-reliant and less dependent, wanted them to serve family interests and non-dominant (Mehta, 1979).

It is important to study the socialization of the girl child as early socialization is the beginning of discrimination against her. The differences between males and females that appear early in life are reinforced and maintained through differential socialization of boys and girls (Hyde and Rosenberg, 1980).

Besides the encouragement of sex-typed traits and behaviour, it has been found that the socialization process also conveys the idea to the children that certain activities or tasks are done by members of sex and a different set of tasks or chores are executed by members of the other sex. Studies have indicated sex-typed preference for various occupations and activities among pre-adolescent and adolescent groups (Gettys and Cann, 1981; Archer, 1984). In another study Eccles (1985) reported that fathers encourage boys in mathematics and girls in interpersonal skills.

There are number of research studies which point out that boys and girls are different in their physical strength, abilities, interests, temperaments, attitudes and values. For example, Bee (1978), Parke and Stabby (1983), Bhogle et al. (1986), Bhogle (1990), Eagly and Steffen (1986), Bandura (1986), Perry et al. (1989) have reported that boys are more aggressive than girls. Beene (1980) found that females have a more positive self-concept, but Bharathi (1984) reported that girls have a low self-concept. Some interpret these differences as being due to differing grooming and socialization by the parents, the community, the school, the peers and also other modern agents of socialization such as radio, television, films and advertisements.

The specific child rearing practices of the family, inculcated in the child through rewards and punishments, pep talks, modelling, observations and identification. However, Stephanie (1987) in her book, "Gender", discusses the biological factors that are considered more
influential in shaping gender roles rather than cultural values learnt
during socialization. Orkley (1981) also believes that gender differences
are much more important than class differences. Boys are encouraged
for independence, freedom and are left unsupervised in younger ages,
while girls are encouraged for cultural conformity and dependency
(Pandey, 1987).

Failure to consider children’s gender may obscure patterns,
especially if sons and daughters are treated differently (Johnson, 1988).
Ample evidence of different treatment in India also exists, particularly in
differential mortality rates (Bennett, 1991). In addition to active
discrimination against girls, they may simply be ignored and neglected.
In a study of 290 pre-school boys and girls and their parents, Bhogle
(1991) found the boys to be more aggressive than the girls.

Purnima N. Mane (1991) in her article, “Socialization of Hindu
Women in their childhood: An analysis of literature,” wrote that
socialization is known to differ by sex. It is well-known that Indian
women hold a poor status in Indian society. Traditional norms forbid
them from indulging in activities visualised as masculine, including the
taking of formal education that prepares them for roles other than their
traditional roles. Simultaneously, however, it is in India that the Hindu
religion, mythology and folklore, uphold the woman especially as a
mother and a wife, and attribute several qualities to her that are highly
lauded like patience and tolerance, obedience towards her elders,
especially husband after marriage and parents prior to it, her readiness
to sacrifice for her loved ones. The image of Hindu woman apparently
seems almost contradictory. The woman is supposed to be a weak,
passive figure willing to submerge herself into anonymity for others,
especially for the males in her family. Son is considered both socially
and religiously necessary, to ensure salvation for the father via funeral
rites and to support the parents in their old age (Cormack, 1961).

Shalini Bhogle’s (1991) article, “Child rearing practices and
behaviour development of a girl child,” deals with development of two
types of behaviour namely, aggression and dependency in girl children and related these behaviour to the discriminating child rearing practices. It was found in this study that the major discriminatory areas were, age of sending to school, choice of school and future aspirations of the girl child. The girls were noted to be dependent while the boys were aggressive and independent.

Girls are socialised for marriage also. In 19th century prepubertal marriages were the norm with the girl's virginity as an essential condition. Both sexes could not reach salvation i.e. heaven, without being married, but for the woman, it was important to be married, also in terms of its social implications (Cormack, 1961; Dube, 1963). Being unmarried was seen as a curse for women, and it was only marriage that conferred some status upon them. Mothers trained them to be good wives, mothers and daughters-in-law. The overall impression gathered is that mothers did not socialize the girls for rosy future. Rather, they seemed to prepare them for a life of hard work and problems (Purnima N. Mane, 1991).

Socialisation regarding menstruation, the onset of sexual maturity was also discussed by Mane. Girls were made aware of the relevance of menstruation and its implications to some extent due to their observation of older women in their childhood. During this period, women sat apart from others, cooked only their own food, did not touch others, or cooking utensils, and others could not touch them. The general impression gained by the younger girls was negative since women, during menses, were considered pollutants and others shunned them.

The early socialization of a girl in the family eventually moulds her into stereotyped person of her gender. This process of gender socialization however is discriminatory towards the girl child. Gender socialization, as pointed out by Poonacha (1993), is a violation of basic human rights as it attempts to control a woman’s autonomy and
her independence of thought and action. It makes her meek and subservient.

Kaushik (1993) found that parents and other elders in a traditional family allowed more freedom to boys then girls to move around in the physical environment without special permission or adult accompaniment.

Solonia Neerja Kuckreja (1994) in her study seeks to demonstrate that discriminatory burdens are borne by girls globally. Even where poverty and survival are not over-riding concerns, the gender-factor inhibits equal opportunity for girls. Constraints on girlhood, therefore, are not unique to poor and developing societies. They offer a transparent lens into the reality of girls on a situational analysis.

Usha Nayar (1994) studied the harmful practices related to the health of women and girl children; customs, practices and beliefs that are derogatory to the dignity of women and girls, modern practices, technologies and institutions which are more potent and lethal in their negative impact. She emphasises that son preference, early marriage and violence against women and symptoms of a larger malady-the unequal and further deteriorating numbers of women and their poor self-esteem and self-hatred, which is making them a party to destroying their own species.

As long as the preference for boys over girls prevails and unless our values are overhauled, nothing is likely to change. Until the girl is taught to value herself and her contribution to society and unless society recognises that contribution, the cycle of neglect, indifference and conscious discrimination will continue unabated with all its ugly manifestations.

In many societies, though not universally, there is a tendency towards socialising girls to adopt nurturing, care-giving roles, and for boys to adopt protector roles. This notion is conveyed through the family, peers, schools, the community, the media and virtually every
social institution. Girls are more typically encouraged to conform to social imperatives regarding how they should look and what they should wear to appear more desirable to boys. They are socialized to prioritise personal characteristics that increase their affinity and capacity in the relationship domain. Girls are more apt to internalize contradictory impulses and responses that seem incongruous with ‘being nice’. This internalisation is implicated in the array of physical and emotional health problems, including eating disorders, depression, anxiety, and low self-esteem, found with disturbing frequency among girls and young women (Jiwani, 1998).

Yasmin and Helene (www.harbour.sfu.ca) also discuss differential gender-based socialization. From an early age children learn what is expected of them as girls and boys. Saucier et al. (2002) directly examine the extent to which trait and behavioural components of gender role socialization mediate sex differences in spatial ability. And the results show that while sex is a significant predictor of spatial ability, only agentic personality traits significantly mediated that relationship.

Girl child within the family are forcibly engaged in domestic servitude at the cost of their schooling. In this way, girls are subject to gender bias in several ways (Narayana, 2005).

In one of the article published in Hindustan Times (2005), Harvard President Larry Summers suggested “natural ability” determined the low representation of women in the science and engineering fields. Summers will be able to counter feminist heat over his remarks with the help of a mine of new scientific data testifying that genetic differences between the male and female sex results, on an average, in certain differences in thought and behaviour patterns. In large parts of the world society has shown no need for the backing of rational science to consistently present women as the “weaker sex”. In the lack of equal opportunities in every field, the possibilities of women competing on an equal stage with men are, naturally, bleak. In India,
discrimination against women starts before she can even take her first
breath. The 2001 census presents shocking evidence of the widespread
practice of female foeticide and infanticide, largely in Punjab, one of
India’s most prosperous states. India has one of the lowest female
literacy rates in Asia. This, by itself, can be blamed for having a negative
impact on women’s health, her low earning potential, as well as her
inability to exert herself within her household. In a society like India’s,
traditionally defined roles for women have for long held back their
progress and well-being.

2.2.4 DETERMINANTS OF GIRL CHILD SOCIALIZATION:
AGENTS AND AGENCIES

2.2.4.1 FAMILY

2.2.4.1.1 Family and household

According to Jennifer Kissen, social values dictate children to
defeer to their extended families and paternalistic society. ‘Family-ism’ is
a major Indian cultural theme that teaches children to be loyal,
obedient and respectful to their elders. Children above the age of three
rarely receive praise, and they are frequently punished because parents
do not want children to think too highly of themselves; rather they are
to perceive themselves in regards to their social role and status.
Because of this, children learn not to value their own ideas, but rather,
to accept and perpetuate India’s trusted cultural traditions, such as
religion and ‘family-ism’. Children’s voices are suppressed, thus
children are not able to interpret, and add new ideas to their society
(www.ts.preservice.org).

Rehearsing of adult roles, since the time of Manu, it was held that
women, whose sphere of action lay mainly at home, need not be
educated in the 3Rs (reading, writing and arithmetic), as such, but only
trained in the art of housekeeping. In the words of Parvatibai Athavale
(1936), the question of women’s education just did not arise. If young
girls could make preparations for puja, could clean rice, wash and
scrub, bathe and feed younger siblings, their education was deemed complete. Her sister Bayo Karve also reports that they looked after younger siblings, even when they were less than ten years old. Thus, socialization for the maternal role began quite early for girls. Bayo Karve's and Parvatibai Athavale's writings as well as the novel on Anandibai Joshi indicate that fairly high standards of feminine behaviour were laid down, and enforced mainly by mother. The clear impression is that girls being kept in close contact with mothers and absorbing elements of the woman's role as a wife and mother through contact with her. It is also indicated in the findings made by the six culture study, that the nurturant and dependent role of women, was observed more quickly by girls, who, being in close contact with their mothers working under their direct supervision, could use their mothers as a model with ease (Whiting and Whiting, 1975).

Tilak (1973) states that a woman's mangalsutra was her love for her husband, other 'ornament' being her forgiving peaceful nature, her capacity to be satisfied with her lot, her modesty and respectfulness and other feminine traits.

In a cross-cultural study, Whiting and Edwards (1973) found that in most cultures, males are expected to be more aggressive, assertive and achievement-oriented while females are expected to be more nurturant, sensitive and responsible.

Differences have also been noted in parental socialization of boys and girls achievement. The goal of a boy's socialization is occupational competence while for girls it is competence in household task and related preparation for being a good daughter-in-law (Raza, 1976; Saraswathi and Dutta, 1985).

Gulati (1981) found that all the household chores were expected to be done only by girls. Furthermore, parental influences have different impact on different sexes. Girls as more influenced than boys by parents as models (Cohen, 1987).
Usha Kanhere (1989) examines the nature of differential socialization of boys and girls in the family. Basically the data collected among the Gujarati, Hindu, lower status caste families settled in Ahmedabad. She has examined the three stages of infancy, childhood and adolescence and the indications used for each stage were:

a. the differential treatment given to boys and girls by parents, elders.

b. the prohibited and permitted activities for each sex and

c. the differential expectations regarding personality traits.

Malini Karkal (1991) examined that girls are socialised into docility, blind obedience and total dependence. This condition begins at home and is reinforced by society. The educational system and the media promote the image. Socialising the girls from their childhood to accept their situation and the ideology of male supremacy assures continuance of the discriminatory treatment. This makes girls and women socially and ideologically unequipped to resist, or even question, the even question, the implicit and explicit injustices to which they are subjected and in the absence of alternative models of role and conduct, they actually espouse and propagate the dominant social and cultural values which militate against the interest of their gender group.

Studies in two villages of U.P. are very revealing. It was found that discrimination started at birth, even though many mothers would not admit it right away. Mothers and girls are last, when at times even the basic food was not enough. There was an attempt to feed the girls less in order to delay adolescence so that, the parents would have enough time to look for a groom and collect enough resources for dowry (Shanti Ghosh, 1991).

Anandalakshmi (1991) in “The Female Child in a Family Setting” focuses on socialization practices begin early in a child’s life. A girl child is at a disadvantage as the tradition of India is over-indulging the male at the cost of the female. A study of socialization is looking into the mirror of adult values. Over a history of several centuries and a
multiplicity of sub-cultures, there is an amazing degree of continuity in Indian culture, and some of the major themes seem to have been durable over time, and are generalisable across regions.

She further added: harmony and absence of conflict are highly valued within the family. They are the essence of family solidarity. Decisions are by consensus, never by vote, and even consensus is often a garb worn by the authority. Age hierarchy is another of the cultural themes that appears to be part of the continuing tradition. The older the person the higher his ritual status and generally also his authority status within the family. A great deal of value is attached to age and deference for older people; this is the most consistent aspect of socialization. The counterpart of respect for older people is not necessarily the lack of it for younger people, but frequently it does work out that way.

Values are indispensable part of an individual’s life and they can be linked to guidelines that give direction. The study concludes that girls have more conservative values as compared to boys. This finding has the support of the findings of Thornburg et al. (1984), Knight and Chao (1989) and Raina and Vats (1990) who revealed that girls have a high degree of concern for traditional and conservative values, whereas the boys tend to be more concerned with liberal values. The possible reason for such finding could be that in our society the gender differences in values orientation exist due to the value systems and archetypes of society. Boys are more likely to be portrayed in active work-oriented powerful roles, while girls are more likely to be portrayed as passive, submissive, nurturant, conservative, dependent and person-oriented which leave powerful imprints on the minds of girls. Girls are more concerned with other people and gravitate towards conservative attitudes which may be the reason and their more conservative values than boys (Anandalakshmi 1991).
Bhavani and Jayasree (1992) studied the girl child in the family against a dynamic context to identify the strengthening and loosening factors helping or inhibiting the full development of the girl child.

Isely and Langford (1992) studied two aspects of proximity of children to parents i.e. whether a child is with a parent or not and observations of children with a parent, if the parent is touching the child. A focus is on how close each child is to each parent and how this varies by age and between boys and girls.

Social science should demonstrate what actually happens and not use culturally-based assumptions. Beliefs about gender roles are especially easy to overlook, and increasingly, writers point out the need to question beliefs about men’s as well as women’s family roles (Raj, 1986; Gothoskar, 1989).

Centre for Women’s Studies (1992), in the city of Gulbarga reported the urgent need for objective consciousness about girl children’s problems. A research project undertaken by the Centre which helped in identifying positive and negative trends that either promote or inhibit growth opportunities of a girl child through the help of several indicators. And its main interest also lies in identifying patterns governing the position of girl children in the family. Anandalakshmi (1994) also compiled the study, proposed to generate data of comparable nature on some common parameters that would give an understanding of the situation of the girl child; to identify the major problems relating to the status of the girl child; to assess the status of girl children within the family and to provide ways and means of ameliorating the conditions pertaining to the low status and subordination of girls, in order to provide equality and justice as enshrined in the Constitution.

Sushila Kaushik (1993) in her book, “Family and Right of Girls”, proclaimed 1990’s as the decade of girl child thereby enabling the society to focus on the status and conditions of girl children. She probes mainly the root causes of the neglect of girl’s rights in all aspects of
their growth and development. Not just the factors outside but also the impact of these factors on the family, its values and prejudices and norms and practices that govern and control the girl's lives.

Divya Pandey (1993) conducted a study to reveal everyday life of the girl child in the family. Evidences indicate that it is within the family that the girl child faces discrimination and inequalities. The impact of the development process on the opportunity structure and future life chances of girls within the family become the focus of the study. It also highlights the special problems like early marriage etc.

Promilla Kapur (1993) in “Girl child and family violence” focussed on the analysis of the concept, causes and multifarious acts of violence and abuse from which the girl child suffers.

Hagan (1999) focusses on the culture and cultural background of children and their families. It seeks the meanings of these terms, and critically examines meaning attributed to them. There are many obstacles in the way of fulfilling this: there is a history of neglect, confusion and negativity towards culture. The cultural heritage of clients and their families has been perceived as oppressive, and culture has been perceived as oppressive, and culture has been misinterpreted to explain and to tolerate unacceptable behaviour. It should also contribute towards an enhancement of cultural sensitivity, and of statutory obligations relating to culture in child and family social work.

Family is the central unit responsible for the primary socialization of children. A normal family is described as one, which is structurally complete, functionally adequate, economically secure and morally strong. Illiteracy discourages the parents from playing their role in socializing the child. The larger the family, the more difficult it is to support and discipline it and consequently children face more difficulties. The presence of demoralizing conditions in the home such as alcoholism, immortality and criminality has an important influence on child behaviour. This might account for the poor socialization of the
socialization of the children. Family is expected to provide love, protection and nurturance, but for some children family can be source of violence, fear and pain (Pradheepa and Muralidharan, 2005).

2.2.4.1.2 Household and family economy

Amos and Parmar (1984) and Mohanty (1991) attempted to demonstrate that “the third world” exists in the so-called “first world”. Usha Nayar (1991) explains in “Labour of the Indian Girl Child: Multi-Curse, Multi-Abuse and Multi-Neglect” that the involvement of young children in household work and family occupations constitutes an important part of their training for life and work while such work benefits children directly through skill building processes, and indirectly, as it enhances their family economy.

She also stated that there is a close association between the work of young girls and that of their mother—the two can often not be distinguished. The mother might utilise her daughter’s help in a part of her work in order to increase ‘efficiency’ because a daughter is of high utility to her mother in alleviating the heavy load of household work, childcare. The mothers have a somewhat negative attitude towards their education.

Many Indian children suffer from poverty; more than 50% of India’s total population lives below the poverty line, and more than 40% of this population is children. Reasons for this are embedded in India’s social structure; first children are taught to accept the conditions which produce poverty, and then they perpetuate those conditions. If they are poor, Indian children and their families will do anything they can in order to survive. Often, this means repeating for them in generating the conditions in which their ancestors came into poverty. It has been contended that the following three conditions have caused India’s poverty for many generations: (1) traditional cultural value (2) discrimination, and (3) the societal oppression of children’s ability to
create change. Children are first born into the experience of poverty. Then, they reproduce it.

In India, there are children living in slums and on the streets, child labourers, and child construction workers. Over 50,000 children are abandoned in the country every year. Eleven million children live on the streets and there are more than 44 million child labourers in India in all.

India does have about 200 million people who are classified by the government as middle class, yet India also has about 500 million people who do live quite under poverty line. The experience of poverty means not having the basics: food, nutrition, clean water, adequate housing, adequate clothing, adequate working conditions, etc.

Children in poverty were most likely born into poverty. They will labour from a very young age, also, will most likely not receive an adequate education. Families reproduce very quickly in order to survive: they reproduce children who will assist in generating income for the family, and they reproduce the culture that keeps them in poverty. Children often feel hopeless, exploited, and because of socioeconomic sentiments of inferiority, perhaps that they cannot even ask for better (www.ts.preservice.org).

Leela Gulati (1995) wrote that many studies on the Indian family have shown that the Indian household is one where responsibilities are not allocated according to ability and resources and according to need, gender, age and relationship with the head of household, make a great deal of difference in the allocation of resources. Social and economic condition for boys and girls are not the same within the Indian family. On the basis of available evidence, women appeared at disadvantage with regard to food, medical services, leisure, education, or access to skill formation. Low female life expectancy and excess of female infant and child mortality reflect the discrimination in health care attention given to girls compared to boys in the family. Poverty does not affect all
the members of the household uniformly (Agarwal, 1986). Women lose out in the bargain relative to men, girls relative to boys. Women in most households eat last of all and least of all (Gulati, 1978). This is true especially of households below the poverty line.

The exigencies of poverty can impede poor people's ability to act on their ideal values about work and family, leading to patterns of adaptation such as the need to rely on kinship-based networks of exchange for child care (Stack 1974). Low income mothers rely on a variety of strategies to fulfill household and family obligations in the face of economic marginality (Jarrett, 1998) These include distinct styles of parenting (Burton and Jarrett 2000) and family management (Furstenberg et al., 1999) to buffer and protect children from dangerous neighbourhoods and to enhance their development despite adversity (Jarrett and Jefferson, 2003; Seccombe, 1999). Empirical studies show that kin (spouses grandparents, sibling and other relatives) provide about half of all child care, with grandparents traditionally the most common caregivers (Brown-Lyons et al., 2001; Hunts and Avery, 1998).

This study focusses on chores that shape children's character or as socialization tools that promote responsibility, maturity, and moral development, rather than on children's labour as a coping or survival strategy. One exception is Fine and Zane (1991), who found that among high school dropouts, girls leave school primarily in response to family needs. To the extent that children's household labor and sibling care have been examined, it is known that girls perform more work overall, and teenage girls carry the largest share doing, twice, as much housework as boys (Blair, 1992; Goldsheider and Waite, 1991; Theide, 1996).

Crouter et al. (2001) suggest that children, especially daughters, are relied upon for household labour because of mothers' heavy workloads, a cultural script designating domestic work to women and girls, the closeness of mothers and daughters that leads daughters to
offer help, and the difficulty of bargaining with boys to convince them to do house work.

They also stated that, as explored by work-family scholars, there is a cost that comes with providing time-consuming and emotionally demanding work to sustain families. For girls in low-income families, the cost is considerable. Above all, they lose the opportunity to focus on their own young lives. Girls describe being detoured from education, extra-curricular experiences, the chance to cultivate a dream about the future.

They further said in line with gender as a key variable in most work-family scholarship, gendered explanations were a common global context named for inducting girls into family labour. A common idea in these descriptions was that daughters or kin girls were best suited to substitute for absent mothers, and boys were viewed as less reliable or less naturally inclined to do carework or do it well.

Yasmin Jiwani and Helene Berman in their study wrote: typically, the girl child is portrayed as the desperate and reluctant victim of female genital mutilation in Africa; the poverty-stricken child labourer and child-bride in India; the child prostitute in Thailand; the illiterate, uneducated, exploited, and uncared for child in Latin America; or the unwanted girl child in China. More recently, the girl child has entered the popular western imagination in the form of the fleeing, illegal, refugee who is in need of our protection on the one hand and who signifies the barbarism of her country of origin on the other hand. Girls are also more likely to be victims of sexual and physical assault by family members than are boys (www. harbour. sfu. ca).

Dodson and Dickert (2004) examine children’s family labour, arguing that low earnings and parental absence due to employment push significant care and household work onto children particularly girls, as a family coping or survival strategy. Moreover, when children focus on family labour, there is an opportunity cost a loss of attention to
to their own development—contributing to an intergenerational cycle of 
poverty and near poverty, largely from mother to daughter.

2.2.4.1.3 Parental influence

As long as the mother continues to teach knowingly and 
unknowingly traditional sex roles and attitudes, as long as she 
socializes her daughter according to the prevailing patriarchal social 
norms and is rearing a well-adjusted child. But, the mother may be 
following traditional socialization norms simply because she knows no 
alternative norms as, an average woman's critical faculties are not well-
developed.

S. Anandalakshmi (1991) stated that the supremacy of male is 
another cultural theme. Whatever the ecology of the social group, even 
in communities where women may be the bread-winners, the male is 
considered superior. Within the family, the sense of the inferiority of the 
female is pervasive. In the upbringing of the child, there are two cultural 
constants to be borne in mind: one is the parental confidence in 
maturational (over learning) and the other is the lack of praise as a 
technique of modifying behaviour. The infant is considered 'fresh from 
God' and, therefore, in no need of any rules. He/she is fed whenever 
he/she wants it, if food is available. Feeding, sleeping, elimination, play-
all the main experiences of infancy are initiated by the child. No serious 
efforts are made to teach the child anything—skills emerge as the infant 
grows up, with little adult aid or intervention. Nevertheless, the child by 
the age of three is more or less responsible for his/her basic needs, and 
there are always siblings and cousins to help along.

She further stated that, around the age of six the girl child finds 
that she has to take part in a large number of tasks in the household, it 
is also the age at which other children start formal education. Many 
schools are uncompromising in their discipline and in their demand for 
homogenised behaviour and the child finds herself in the adult world, 
with the lowest status among the other children in the school. School is
where formal skills of numeracy and literacy are learned. The freedom and fun of childhood are over.

She writes: the technique of discipline most frequently used by parents is that of a punishment for wrong doing. Rewards are infrequent, and praise is almost non-existent. Some of the punishments may be in the form reprimands and threats rarely enforced, but they are given all the same. It is felt that praising a child to her face will spoil her and lead her to ‘think too much of herself’. Also, since the family is visualised as an organic unit, it is likely that praising the child is seen as equivalent to patting oneself on the back! Likewise, the sense of well-being punished! Other people’s opinions are held out as the reasons for conforming to the rules; breaking the code will bring shame upon the family. Shame, rather than guilt is thus cultivated as the mechanism for right conduct.

In the course of the study by S. Anandalakshmi (1991) on parental socialization of girls in Varanasi and Sanganeer, it became apparent that even the concept of childhood belied an academic and socio-economic status bias. She further stated that, in many communities across the world, the women’s responsibilities lay with cooking, housekeeping, care of children and maintenance of the religious and social rituals. In the parental socialization for achievement, there was contrast between boys and girls. Girls were educated for two or three years on an average and literacy was to serve the main purpose of their being able to write letters to the parental home after marriage, and to keep household accounts. From the same families, there were boys who had gone to college.

In Indian society, birth celebrations for baby daughters are more muted than for sons are sometimes absent altogether. Parents favour boys for various reasons. In the north, a boy’s value in agricultural endeavours is higher than a girl’s, and after marriage a boy continues to live with his parents, ideally supporting them in their old age. Girl, however, moves away to live with her husband’s relatives and with her
goes a dowry. Thus, a girl child can represent a significant economic liability to her parents. Throughout most of India, for Hindus it is important to have a son, conduct funeral rites for his parents; a daughter, as a member of her husband’s lineage, has not traditionally been able to do so (www.ts.preservice.org).

It was further written that young Indian child grows up in intimate emotional contact with the mother and other mothering persons. A child suckled on demand, sometimes for years, sleeps with a parent or grandparent, is bathed by doting relatives, and is rarely left alone. Massaged with oil, carried about, greatly toilet-trained, and gratified with treats, the young child develops an inner core of well-being and a profound sense of expectation of protection from others. Such indulgent and close relationships produce a symbiotic mode of relating to others and effect the development of a person with a deeply held sense of involvement with relatives, so vital to the Indian family situation. The young child learns early about hierarchy within the family, as he watches affectionate and respectful relationships between seniors and juniors, males and females. A young child is often carried about by an older sibling, and strong and close sibling bonds usually develop.

Young Indian children are encouraged to participate in the numerous rituals that emphasise family ties. The power of sibling relationship is recognised, for example, when a brother touches his sister’s feet, honouring in her the principle of feminine divinity, which if treated appropriately, can bring him prosperity. In calendrical and life cycle rituals in both the north and the south, sisters bless their brothers and also symbolically request their protection throughout life.

After about four or five years of indulgence, children typically experience greater demands from family members. Girls learn domestic chores, and boys are encouraged to take cattle for grazing, learn ploughing, and begin to drive bullock carts and ride bicycles. City children also learn household duties, and children of poor families often
work as servants in the homes of the prosperous. Some even pick through garbage piles to find shreds of food and fuel.

2.2.4.1.4 Decision making

Decision-making is a process by which a course of action is consciously chosen from available alternatives. It involves three stages, namely, awareness, evaluation of the alternatives and taking the final decisions. Female's education and further employment improves their awareness, ability to critically evaluate the available alternatives and thus empowers them to take decisions (Madhur Bala and Monga, 2004).

Effective decision is an important developmental process by which a course of action is consciously chosen from available alternatives. It involves three stages namely, awareness, evaluation of available alternatives and taking the final decision (Indira Devi, 1982). According to Scanzoni (1980), there are two models in the decision making in the family—an isolation model and the joint model. The former model points out that the decisions in the family are taken by one person that may be husband or wife or someone else. The other members also matter in the decision making, but the final decision depends upon the most powerful person in the family; and the latter, the joint model indicates that decisions in the family are taken in the family members participate and express their views on various matters to be decided from time to time. Such decisions represent shared way of life within the family.

In the process of gender socialization of the girl child, the mother plays a very important role. It is the mother, not the father, who makes the major decision in the life of a girl and conveys the restrictions of socialization to her daughter (Hyde and Rosenberg, 1980).

Khan and Singh (1987) had conducted a large scale survey to study the role of women in the decision making process related to their reproductive behaviour in Uttar Pradesh and found that it was mainly husband, who took the decisions through women, the main actors, play only marginal role or no role at all.
Leela Dube (1988) states: elders bless young girls and women by wishing that they have a large number of sons. The notion of the greater value of sons is further strengthened by the existence, with regard to variations of special worships and vratas (fests and observances) that are performed by females to have sons and to ensure a long life for sons already born. A son born after a daughter is often described as the fruit of penance and vows undertaken by the mother. A male child is so valuable that the sister after whom it is born comes in for special praise as auspicious and auguring good fortune she is honoured in various ways.

Leela Dube (1988) also opined about blessings and Vratas for getting a husband liked Shiva or Vishnu conveys the message forcefully. The purpose of the two popular festivals, specially meant for little girls, Bhulabai in parts of Maharashtra and Ganguar in the parts of Gujarat, which are characterised by collective worship, singing and playing, is to obtain a good husband.

2.2.4.2 PEER GROUPS AND SEX ROLES

All the aspects of human development—physical, emotional and cognitive are affected by socialization usually. However, socialization studies have focussed on social and personality development. In the study of socialization the larger socio-cultural context is also considered in addition to the child's immediate proximal environments.

Peers provide an alternate reference group for children, as well as an alternate source of self-esteem and identity, and they provide a context for the exercise of independence from adult control. As such, the peer group has been described as a socialization context in which subcultures of opposition or resistance to the dominant culture develops, such as the adolescent subcultures described by Coleman (1961).

Weitz (1977) opined that most of the socialization research has concentrated on the parent-child dyad, yet the child spends a great deal
of time with peers and is heavily influenced by them. Both at school and at play, the child is faced with a pre-existing peer culture with its own values and activities, which may be heavily sex-typed in nature. In case of girls, peer activities in childhood are likely to include group doll play, playing house, or jumping rope. In contrast male activities, war games, etc. The child is faced with an ongoing peer culture and must relate to it in some way or risk the fate of the social outcast. Such groups can extremely coercive in promulgating acceptance to their norms and in punishing deviance by the threat of withdrawal of friendship.

The child, though usually goes along willingly with the values of the group since they provide guidelines for behaviour, and the values of the group generally those upheld by the sex-stereotyped culture: i.e., aggressive physical endeavour for boys: quiet, domestic activities for girls. Throughout childhood the peer group is an important mediator of the sex-stereotyped values of the culture. For the most part, the child at any time is probably not aware of the power of peers since most children seek peer approval and act in accordance with peer norms. In some of the cases the norms are not completely in flexible and can adapt to individual cases. In general, then, the child wants to behave in ways approved by his peers since that is the path of least resistance and greatest reward. Since peer culture generally only acts to magnify general cultural sex role norms, the child is likely to be acting just about the way everyone expects if he or she goes along with the peer group (Weitz, 1977).

Children's literature often reinforces traditional gender stereotypes. In comics, the games for boys are football and fishing. Men are the problem solvers and girls are dependents and victims (Braman, 1977). Peers often enforce society's sex role standards and there is marked reaction when children violate the sex typical patterns. Lamb et al. (1980) found that peer punishment was an effective way to stop children's cross sex activities. Girls playing as firemen, mechanics or pilots and boys playing with dolls are not approved by their peers.
(Carter and McCloskey, 1983). In television, boys are shown aggressive, assertive and tough and girls as attractive (Durkin and Akhter, 1983). These non-family influences are an aspect of child-rearing, but only to a certain extent, because of the great control held by parents. Walkerdine (1984) noted that in literature, a positive girl finds true happiness through self-denial and by helping others, while stories in which girls take the initiative end in disaster. Devi and Raju (1986) observed that family, society and culture play a major role in socialization and development of sex roles.

Usha Kanhere (1987) in her study, ‘Women and Socialization’, examines the role and status of women and differential socialization of boys and girls in some lower strata caste-communities in the metropolis of Ahmedabad.

Peer interactions have a wide range of consequences for the child’s developing sense of self. In his field studies of pre-adolescent boys, Fine (1987) observed that friendships are especially appropriate for the mastering of self-presentation and impression-management skills, since inept displays usually will be ignored or corrected without severe loss of face. Friendships characterised by mutual trust and tolerance are important for exploring the boundaries of the self.

In terms of structure and function, the peer group is very different from family and school as a context of socialization. Peer groups are voluntary associations of status equals and are segregated by sex and differ in organizational patterns: girls’ peer groups tend to be closely knit and egalitarian friendships, whereas boys peer groups tend to be loosely-knit, larger groups, with status hierarchies (Thorne, 1990).

Shalini Bhogle (1991) finds out that aggressiveness of boys is also tolerated in homes, hence, they show greater aggression, but aggression in girls is hardly permitted. In many homes fathers are more aggressive. Our culture expects aggression from males and assertiveness from fathers. The pre-school age child is at a stage when it identifies with
the parent of the same sex. Thus paternal aggression is imitated by boys and maternal submissiveness by girls. School environment does not have such bias for boys and therefore school behaviour of boys and girls is similar.

She further writes: it is also obvious in the study that parents do not regard the daughters the same way as they regard their sons. A greater proportion of boys are given top milk, farex and other supplementary foods, while daughters are put on rice earlier than sons. The age of sending the child to school, choice of schools and willingness to send them to expensive school, clearly show the bias in favor of sons. And in this regard, it was both parents who shared this opinion. The traditional beliefs that boys need to be cared and nurtured more than girls because they carry the family name, that one can stay with the son in old age but not with daughters; and that boys are after all yours, while the girls are only somebody's property and so on, were common explanations given for differential treatment.

Beale (1994) suggests that friendship cliques for girls are more likely to serve as a defensive, protective strategy. Though cliques, they are assured a place in the peer group, popularity, and thus power. Their aggressiveness is more likely to manifest itself through verbal aggression with same-sex peers. Girl child is more apt to be socialized towards deference and accommodation to the wants and needs of others.

Saucier et al. (2002) studied a direct examination of the extent to which trait and behavioural components of gender role socialization mediate sex differences in spatial ability. The results of two path analyses show that, while sex is a significant predictor of spatial ability, only agentic personality traits significantly mediated that relationship.
2.2.4.3 EDUCATION

2.2.4.3.1 Schooling

Education in a school setting is available for most of India's children, and many young people attend school. Officials state that education is "compulsory" but the reality is that a significant percentage of children—especially girls—fail to become literate and instead carry out many other tasks in order to contribute to family income. More than half of India's children between the ages of six and fourteen—82.2 million are not in school (www.ts.preservice.org).

Karuna Chanana (1988) in her edited volume focusses on the theme of socialization, education and women with considerable flexibility and imagination. Some of the social settings and context on which the papers focus are the family, educational institutions like the school or the college, the media (television); the performing and the literary arts; and the world of work and professions dominated by men.

Similarly, in traditional and poorer families, there is less value given to the educational achievement of girls. The girls in such families usually drop-out after a few years of schooling (Anandalakshmi, 1991, 1994; Wadley, 1993). Their parents felt that not only is education of any kind unnecessary but is actually dangerous as it would give the girls 'ideas'.

Neelam Gorhe (1993) is acutely aware of the magnitude of the problems faced by the girl child. It has tried to delve into the issues of urban girl child, school dropouts, child rape and marriage.

Anandalakshmy (1995) examines the condition of the girl child, her status and enforced subservience and puts forward certain structural changes in her environment for her to attend school.

Jeemol (1998) analyses households in five districts of Gujarat and identifies what kind of households send girls to school in rural areas. She finds that the economic necessity of child labour is not that
significant a factor to account for not sending girls to school. The opportunity cost is not so much in terms of daughters’ wages foregone but in the cost of unpaid household work.

Regarding education for girls, Siwal (1998) found that gender disparities persists regarding enrolment, the dropout rate for girls is much higher than that of boys at the primary and upper primary stages. Siwal has also carved out the reasons for gender disparities, like, there is a general indifference to education of girls mainly due to gender bias, social resistance arising out of fears and misconceptions that education might alienate girls from tradition and social values; girls are treated as Parayadhan-liabilities hence parents attach less importance to girls education; stereotyped role assigned to girls in society i.e. girls will look after the household and family.

According to a report of secretary general (2000) overall, girls school attendance lags severely behind that of boys because of their workload, both within and outside the household. Daughters are often kept at home to help the family because the social and economic value of educating girls is not recognised. Girls are often treated as inferior to boys, both within the home and by society-at-large. They are socialized to put themselves last.

There has been a desirable change in the girl's education indicators, but progress towards education for all is slow. Moreover, very conspicuous gender disparities persist in all educational indicators, especially with regard to enrolment. Girls’ enrolment at primary and secondary stages has improved since 1951, but gender inequalities prevail at all stages. Girls account for only 43.7% of enrolment at primary level, 40.9% at upper primary level, 38.6% at secondary level and 36.9% at degree and above level. Girls enrolment at primary level has grown from 5.4 million in 1951 to 49.8 million in 2001 and at upper primary level from 0.5 million to 17.5 million. However, girl's participation in education is still below 50% (Annual Report, 2002-03).
2.2.4.3.2. Sex education

Menstruation is experienced by all healthy women for most of their lives. Yet it is a topic cloaked in secrecy, taboo, and negativity. Many people believe that menstruation is dirty and disgusting (Costos et al., 2002). How does a woman become anxious about menstruation? Many (Chrisler and Zittell, 1998; Deutsch, 1944; Koff and Rierdan, 1995; Rierdan et al., 1983; Stolzman, 1986; Weideger, 1976) who have explored the educational process have found that although there are a variety of sources, several authors (Gillooly, 1998; Rierdan et al., 1983) have argued that the mother, who plays a key role in educating her daughter about menstruation, should be emotionally supportive, well informed about menstruation, and understand that menarche might be a special time in the mother-daughter relationship. However, mothers are not necessarily comfortable or competent when it comes to the job of teaching their daughters about menstruation (Brumberg, 1997; Houppert, 1999). In fact, many mothers are secretive and uncommunicative about this topic (McKeever, 1984).

The health of adolescent girl is intricately related to the socio-economic status of the households to which they belong and their age and kinship status within the households. Given the predominantly patriarchal setup, girls get a lesser share in the household distribution of health, goods and services compared to men and boys. There is data to show that in a situation of extreme food and scarcity, the adverse effect on the nutritional status of girls is greater than on boys. Girls in the 13-16 years of age group consume less food than boys. However, in the intra-household distribution of labour, adolescent girls get the major share of economic, procreative and family responsibilities. Due to the competing demands on their time and energy as well as their socialization, girls tend to neglect their health. The lesser access to food coupled with neglect invariably leads to a poor nutritional status and a state of ill health for most of the adolescent girls’ health. The collaborative study done in Hyderabad, New Delhi, Calcutta and Madras
showed that amongst girls between 6-14 years of age, the prevalence of anemia was 63.8%, 65.7%, 74.6% and 98.7% respectively. A study in rural area showed that 65.5% parents of adolescent girls never spoke about the physical changes during puberty, like menarche, with their daughters (www.bhartimes.com).

Prasad and Srinivas (2003) wrote in "Women and Health", the girl child is discriminated against from birth and indeed, with recent technological advances, even before birth. The consequences of this inferior status have found expression in several forms female foeticide, female infanticide, a higher death rate among women, lower life expectancy, lower literacy level and an adverse sex ratio. Hospital records also show more male admissions than female. Studies show that girls are taken to less qualified doctors than boys, more money is spent on the treatment of boys. Boys rather than girls have access to more timely care and girls receive less immunizing vaccines against childhood diseases.

Sonia Singh (1998) finds out that during puberty among adolescents in Bombay confirm adolescents are generally ignorant of menstruation and other physiological changes until they occur.

2.2.4.4 MASS MEDIA

Neepa Mehta (1998) wrote that the electronic media has strong impact on the social behaviour, especially of children and youth. One gets so deeply involved with a moving character that one feels the same emotions the character is supposed to experience. Thus, the on-screen characters provide role models for the off screen people who strive to emulate them. However, the responsibility of the family lies in stopping rather than encouraging this behaviour out of love or for the sake of fun.

She further writes: many of the film songs and dances today are very insulting to one's sensibility with no efforts at promoting or preserving our culture. One set of parents proudly encourage their
children to dance or sing those same songs in front of relatives and friends. Whereas another set of parents may just condemn such film songs and dances and praise the famous songs of their time. These are not solutions to the wrong images which are being impressed on the minds of young people.

She also added that the romantic songs picturised on a college campus backdrop and unrealistic love scenes lead many youngsters to think unrealistically about college and married life. The films, beauty pageants and advertisements in electronic and print media promote wrong impression about a flourishing career in beauty and glamour world in the minds of teenagers.

And further states that a majority of the T.V. programmes and films portray women’s liberation merely through family quarrels. The impact of such images is that the elderly or family members from the older generation as also the men in the family scoff at the ideas about liberation. Any attempt by a girl or woman of the family to voice an opinion or take a decision that is different from the traditions of the family is quickly pushed aside and stricter codes of conduct are laid down for them to follow. The media such as films, television and magazines place undue emphasis on marriage and motherhood for women. This leads young men to assert their authority over women.

Young people love mass-media entertainment, radio, TV, films, magazines books and more. Love, romance and sex are favourite topics of this entertainment. Female preferred to read Femina, Cosmopolitan and Readers Digest. Males preferred Readers Digest, Fantasy and Debonair. What young people see and read about sex in popular entertainment is often what they do (Sonia Singh, 1998).

In “Women and media-Where do we stand?” Anuradha Mathu (2004) highlights the role of media in our daily lives especially in the lives of women. In the battle for equal status and fair treatment of women an important role is generally attributed to the mass media and
in particular to television because it had become a significant part of life in a developing country like ours. The presentation of women and men in films and television is contradictory to reality. A number of studies made in different countries lead to the conclusion that the image of women as it is shown in the films and television is either of housewife, a mother or as a sexual object. Women are shown as dependent, foolishly indecisive, deceitful, incompetent and so on. Studies carried out in South Asia, in 1986, confirmed that women are portrayed either as docile, home loving and sexless or as an object of male desire. Sex and violence had increased in the mainstream cinema of the entire region. Women in romantic and subservient roles are essentially insignificant. The fundamental values projected on television are borrowed from the orthodox norms of Indian society. A 1984 study stated that seventy one per cent of the TV commercials in India were on 'grooming aids' for women. In almost all the cases of media exposure, women continue to be featured as victims of social injustice or pawns in religious power games. In short, they remain ineffective as a force, weak and dependent, helpless and sacrificing and at the same time, the concern of some media critics has been that by repeatedly and consistently depicting women and men in stereotyped role in a negative rather than a positive way the media may actually work against the potentially transforming effects of those encounters with counter stereotypes which women and men may experience in ordinary social life. On film, in the press and the broadcast media, women's activities and interests typically go no further than the confines of home and family.

She further states that consistent findings are that passivity and emotional dependence are rewarded in women while, in general, characteristics which are defined as 'good' in men; decisiveness, independence, forcefulness, tenacity are defined as 'bad' in women. A woman is essentially a domestic person and little girls also grow up to be house-keepers, wives and mothers. The image of women presented on TV screens may have a positive or negative impact in the fight
against sexism and discrimination. Television programmes that exploit the female form and through their socially insensitive approach simply trivialise and debase the image of womanhood. The vulgarity and violence of these commercial films are to be strongly condemned. It continues to project women in subordinate and exploited roles and ignores their contribution towards economic activity. This ignores the new and desirable trends until they become quite established and thus it merely fulfills basically a reinforcing role to traditional pattern rather than a leading role for change.

She also opined that the overall effects of TV serial were also to strengthen patriarchal values even though the serial attempted to condemn social evils including dowry. It shows that even the strongest media is busy portraying negative image of women. Women’s magazines are highly valued advertising vehicles. They focus on food, fashion and beauty, thus reinforcing traditional roles of women. Information about relevant socio-economic issues, including the status of women, is largely lacking.

2.2.4.5 RELIGION

Indian families place tremendous emphasis on religious and cultural tradition. The Indian civilization has serviced for hundreds and thousands of years because of complex, perpetual socialization practices where children are taught to accept the cultural values of their ancestors (www.ts.preservice.org).

Religious practices are regarded as the highest embodiment of purity and power—a symbol of religiousness and spirituality and also viewed as weak and dependent creatures requiring constant protection (Dube, 1963).

Male infants are considered to be qualitatively superior to the female. Ritual and practical considerations make a boy’s birth essential, whereas both in terms of rituals and in terms of practicalities, a girl’s birth is seen to entail expenses and problems in the future. She is also
regarded as more susceptible to pollution and her re-purification is more difficult, as opposed to that of men. Since she needs constant protection from a male, she is, thus visualised as a burden (Dube 1963). She becomes a liability rather than an asset financially and mentally, and is destined to go away to another family, taking away money from her parental family and giving them nothing in return (Das, 1962).

Purnima N. Mane (1991) opined that a Hindu woman is expected to be tough. It is all too clear that this strength is to be used only for the benefit of her family and home. Her 'divine' qualities are mainly those that suit her role as a passive, submissive member of a family i.e. as daughter, sister, wife, mother, sister-in-law and so on, and not qualities that in any way taint her 'feminine' nature. The traditional Hindu woman was socialised to be a strong person only in the sense that she could face a life of hardship, submission and helplessness.