Various studies indicate that the acceptance of the small family norm would depend on a number of variables like education, income, nature of urban living, caste, religion and so on. Studies conducted in various parts of India show that education coupled with employment of women has some impact on reducing the size of families. Education and employment of women make people aware of the direct relation between the number of children and the standard of living, thereby motivating them to have smaller families in preference to large ones. This shift has led to the break-down of traditional values regarding large families.

A number of studies have also found that dual-earner families are also the families observing small-family norms. Female education and employment that lead to palpable and enduring reduction in infant and child mortality are the most important qualities of life that are also prime movers of small-family norms.

It has also been observed that educated employed women are more willing to engage in innovative behaviour. They are more likely to be in a better position to discuss with their husbands the ways and means of avoiding or delaying pregnancies, since their relatively egalitarian status reduces the communication gap between husband
and wife. In addition, the employment of wife increases the desire for a small family, so that the employment, specially of wives, is possible and easier.

Hence an attempt is made to study the views of the present sample on small family and other related aspects, for analysing the process of change taking place in their marital and family lives.

Family Size Preferences:

The small-family norm connotes control over the number of children. The rate of reproduction and the level of acceptance of family control methods are to a large extent influenced by what people consider as the ideal family size. In order to understand the family size norms of working couples in Dharwad city, opinion was sought on the ideal number of children a couple should have for leading a healthy and decent life. The following table gives their responses.

**TABLE 6.1**

Ideal Number of Children

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of children</th>
<th>WCH (No. &amp; %)</th>
<th>WCW (No. &amp; %)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ideal</td>
<td>Actual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More than three</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is evident from Table 6.1, that a majority of respondents (82 per cent) preferred two children as ideal for leading a decent life, while 15 per cent of husbands and 14 per cent of wives considered three children as ideal. The respondents who felt that there should be more than three children are very few in number. Thus the highest number of respondents preferred two-child families which is considered a welcome and progressive trend among the wife-working families in the city of Dharwad.

The respondents were also asked to report the advantages of their preferred family size of four members. Some of the advantages mentioned were: employment of wife becomes possible and easier, children can be better looked after and be educated, it ensures better health for mothers, fewer problems facilitate happier family etc. Thus it can be safely concluded that working couples are increasingly becoming aware of the importance of having smaller families by curtailing the number of children.

An attempt was also made to relate the actual size of the families of respondents vis-a-vis their preferred size.

It was found that among 9 one-child families in the sample, 2 (22.22 per cent) husbands and 3 (33.33 per cent) wives desired one
child. Whereas 7(77.77 per cent) husbands and 6(66.66 per cent) wives desired two children, which means that they had their actual family size which is less than their desired family size. This indicates that in one-child families there is no complete agreement between their actual and desired size of family. It is significant to note the fact that such o the couples who had one child but desired two are still in the reproductive stage and hence in a position to fulfil their desire of having two children.

Among 59 two-child families, 56(94.91 per cent) husbands and 57(96.61 per cent) wives desired two children which shows that their actual family size is the same as their preferred family size. And very few of them desired 3 children. This indicates that among two-child families there is more or less concurrence between what they have and what they desired.

Among 25 three-child families, 15(60 per cent) husbands and 14(56 per cent) wives desired two children, which shows that their actual family size was more than their desired family size. And in the rest of the cases, there is concurrence between their desired and actual family size. When questions were asked to the respondents to explain the gap between their desired family size and actual family size, they explained that they went in for the third child (much against their ideal of two-child family) solely due to gender preference.
That is, those couples who had two daughters went in for a third child with the hope of getting a son and those couples who had two sons went in for a third child with the hope of getting a daughter.

This is what Mrs. R, a teacher, had to say -

When we got married we decided that we should have only two children - a boy and a girl. But as luck would have it, the first two children born to us turned out to be girls. We were a little disappointed. We were firm on our resolve of limiting the number of our children to two. We were considering whether I should undergo the leproscopic operation or my husband should go in for vasectomy. When my parents-in-law got the scent of our intention they lost no time in mounting a pressure campaign against our decision. They mustered support of my sisters-in-law and also my parents to persuade us to give up the idea of termination of further births. They pleaded with us to give nature one more chance to bless us with a son. This ever-increasing persuasion coupled with our own innermost lurking desire to have a son ultimately triumphed and we 'yielded'. But man proposes: God disposes. Our third child arrived - a baby girl. So we are now a family with three daughters.

The story of Mrs. L, a junior assistant, was altogether different. While the calculations of Mrs. R and her husband in quest of a son went haywire, the calculations of Mrs. L and her husband did so in quest of a daughter. This is what was narrated.
When we got married we wanted to have an ideal family of two children - a boy and a girl. Our first son was born within two years of our marriage. We were both happy that the things were going the way we wanted them to. As decided earlier, we kept a space of three years. During the fourth year we went in for the second child. When I was in the family way, my husband and I used to have endless discussion as to how our daughter should look like, what name we should give her and how she should be brought up etc. etc. We used to anticipate the bliss of having a daughter. Especially my husband was never tired of repeating the kannada saying "Maga maduveya varege; Magalu manina varege" (A son is a son till he gets married; a daughter is a daughter till we go to grave). So when the D day came I was taken to the maternity hospital by my husband with great expectations. I delivered a child early in the morning. Behold the child was a boy!

My husband seemed to be more perturbed by this quirk of fate. But it only seemed to make him doubly determined in his resolve to have a daughter though it meant giving a go-by to our earlier plan to have a two-child family. Indeed he seemed to be impatient. As a result we set out to have one more child, as soon as the weaning period was over. So within two years after the birth of our second son, our third child arrived and luckily for us, especially for my husband, the third was a girl baby - our daughter Smitha.

We also came across a few couples who said that the realization of having an ideal two-child family dawned on them too late.
that is, after the arrival of the third or even fourth child. We may cite just one case in this context. Mr. K, an office assistant, narrated as follows:

Though both of us had heard about the small-family norm and the family planning campaign with its catchy slogan

"Keertige Obba Maga
Aaratnige Obba Magalu"

(A son for glory; a daughter for grace)

We had never taken them seriously. In fact, within a short span of eight years after our marriage, our four children—two sons and two daughters—were born. The problems of having a big family was brought home to us rather forcefully when we were transferred from a small mofussil town where we were working, to Dharwad. In Dharwad, life was much different from the life we led in the small town. Life was not only costlier but also different in several ways. The folly of having a big family with four children was rubbed on to us on the very first day when we went to get our children admitted to schools. Most of our neighbours and colleagues had enrolled their children in English medium schools. We, too, thought that our children should study in English medium schools. But when we came to know that we had to spend a lot of money (running in four figures) on each child for donations, fees, uniform, books, tuition and transport. We gave up the idea. We could never afford that much of spending for schooling of our four children. How much we wished that we had only two children!
Among 7 four-child families, 4(57.14 per cent) husbands and 5(71.42 per cent) wives desired two children. 2(28.57 per cent) husbands and 1(14 per cent) wife desired three and very few of them desired four. Thus among four-child families their actual family size was more than their preferred family size.

It is interesting to note that even among the four-child families (7 cases) an overwhelming majority of husbands, 4(57.14 per cent) and wives 5(71.42 per cent) said that two-child family is the ideal size. Our attempt to seek explanation for this gap between the ideal and actual brought out some interesting facts. These couples spent the child-bearing stage of their life in joint families and bore their children when they were living in these families. Perhaps the general atmosphere of the joint family, which is always in favour of a larger number of children, induced them to have more children than what they deemed to be ideal. Also the fact that living in a joint family which freed them from the onerous responsibility of child-care, might have also been one of the factors for producing more children than deemed ideal by them.

This is what Mrs. Y had to say:

We spent nearly 12 years after our marriage in the big joint family of my husband in a small mofussil town. Three of my husband's elder brothers were engaged in the management of family lands and orchards. My husband, the last son
to his parents, was the only one to complete his graduation and get a government job. I worked in a local high school and my husband shuttled between our village and Dharwad where he worked in a government office. Both of us being relatively better educated than the rest of the members of the family and also holding jobs, enjoyed a privileged position in the family. My father-in-law particularly was very proud of us and would announce with his booming voice "No one should ever expect them to attend to any household chores. They have enough responsibility to 'eat their head' in the office and school. Let them relax. Let them not be bothered about this mundane work". So in such a congenial and carefree environment we went on procreating with gay abandon, and had five children within a span of twelve years. To tell you frankly except for the period of confinement, I do not remember to have concerned myself with the rearing of children. Everything was attended to by the other members of the family. But things changed when my father-in-law died of sudden heart attack. Eventually the joint family broke up and we shifted to Dharwad. Now that I have to fend for myself, I realize the mistake of bearing so many children.

Desired Interval Between Marriage and the First Child Birth:

It is a significant fact that the sociological problems of having a child "how late after marriage" and the spacing of children should be influenced not by economic factors or medical advice but by the ethos of a society. The Indian ethos (which is essentially the Hindu ethos even when an individual is not a Hindu) is guided by the principle of the obligation to one's own spiritual welfare (however
well or ill-understood it may be) than by a hedonistic approach to the present. Even educated working couples would like to have a son born early even though they do not believe the idea that his duty would be to carry out the religious rites connected with a parent's death. Probably the parents want to assure that they can have a child. Besides, education of a son and his becoming economically independent (and if it is daughter, her marriage) while the parents are still earning is an added advantage. For, despite the changes the education and marriage of children, particularly of daughters, is still a family responsibility in India. The Western approach of enjoying life for some years before taking up the responsibilities of bringing up a child is something almost foreign to the Indian psyche, and women who would not like to have children at all lest they lose their physical charms because of bearing children are so rare as to be not worth a consideration.

Hence responses relating to the gap between marriage and the first child have also been analysed. The respondents were asked to state the ideal time for a couple to have its first child.

Table 6.2 reveals the fact that a majority of the respondents (59 per cent of husbands and 58 per cent of wives) desired a gap between marriage and the first child birth of one year. They said that
TABLE - 6.2
Desired Interval Between Marriage and the First Child Birth

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Desired interval</th>
<th>WCH (No. 6 %)</th>
<th>WCW (No. 6 %)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Within one year after marriage</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Within two or three years</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After four years</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

since they got married late, they would like to have a child born early. In order to overcome the fear of barrenness/impotency, they wanted to have a child born early. The birth of a child would reassure them. Besides, they wanted early settlement of their children when they were still in service.

Among our respondents 38 per cent of husbands and 40 per cent of wives favoured a gap of 2-3 years between marriage and the first child. They said better enjoyment of married life without the responsibility of looking after infants was the main reason for this decision. The respondents who favoured more than four years were few in number.
Thus the above figures suggest that by and large, the choice of the respondents relating to this issue lay between 1 to 3 years.

The fear of impotency and barrenness is very strong in India. Very few stigmas carry the odium of contempt as does impotency in a man and barrenness in a woman. Hence the couple seems to be ever eager to prove that they are normal and capable of bearing children. This, perhaps, accounts for the universal demographic phenomenon of India where the first birth take place within a year after the consummation of marriage. If there is any delay, say of two or more years, tongues begin to wag. The needle of suspicion which initially swings in the directions of both husband and wife generally tends to stand still pointing towards the wife. The fact that India is a male-dominated society comes through very forcefully, indeed cruelly, in such matters. If the husband is impotent, all measures are taken to guard the secre: . Many a time the wife takes the onus on herself. If, on the other hand, it is found that the wife is barren, the very hell breaks loose. Woe be tide the women who is incapable of procreation. Her life becomes miserable. She becomes a social outcast. Once it is established that a woman is barren, immediate steps are taken to arrange for a second alliance for the husband with or without the consent of the first wife.

In the course of our study we came across one interesting case which throws light on this issue.
Mr. Y and his wife Mrs. M. are L.I.C. employees. The fact that both of them are graduates and belong to the Low-Caste Hindus has given them good jobs with good future promotions due to reservation policy. They live in a private comfortable house with their three children in Dharwad.

The following is the episode narrated by Mrs. M.

My father-in-law was a politician and a sitting M.L.A. when we got married. He celebrated the marriage of his only son with pomp and fanfare. He not only managed to get both of us good jobs in the L.I.C. but also construct a good house in Dharwad for us to live. So our married life started with gusto and great expectations. Physiologically both of us were normal. Therefore like all the newly married couples, we wanted to crown our happiness by bearing a child. But destiny had willed otherwise. I did not conceive for the first year. Both of us were worried and ran to the medical experts. All of them, after a battery of tests, confirmed that everything was normal and that there was nothing to worry. Two years passed and there was no sign of my conception. This marked the beginning of my problems. People at my husband’s place who had hitherto treated me with love and affection suddenly started looking askance at me. Especially my mother-in-law seemed to get worked up as years and months passed without the sign of my pregnancy. It appears that it was she who launched the campaign of getting a second wife for my husband. Initially my father-in-law, who was an enlightened man, opposed the move, advising patience to my mother-in-law. But as the days and months passed he too seems to
have been assaulted by doubts and succumbed to the pressure of getting a second wife for his son. In the beginning my husband never mentioned this subject to me. Though the rumours of this move had reached my ears through my relatives, I kept my cool hoping against hope that I would soon conceive and that the crisis would blow over. But that was not to be. When the arrangements for the second marriage reached the final stage, my husband broached up the matter hesitatingly. He said he still loved me and that he bore no ill-will towards me. But he had to consider the feelings of his parents. Most important, he had to perform his duty as the only son in the perpetuation of the family line. For me it was a great blow. Though I had anticipated it, when it actually fell on me, I was crushed. My agony knew no bounds. I was lost, I did not know what to do. Ultimately I reconciled to the inevitable on one condition that my husband should not bring my "savati" (co-wife) to stay with us. My husband, who still had considerable affection for me, readily agreed. So it was decided that his second wife should stay in the home of his parents at his native place. A temple marriage was arranged and my 'savati' stayed with my parents-in-law. My husband used to visit her on week-ends. However much we pretended not to allow these developments to sour our relations, they did cast a shadow between us. We seemed to play our respective roles almost mechanically without love and warmth. Months passed by and a year was over after the second marriage. To the great disappointment of many of my husband's relatives, especially of his mother, there was no sign of conception of even the
second daughter-in-law. Clouds of dismay overcast the entire family. My husband was visibly disturbed. Torn by self-doubt and remorse, he became miserable. I could see and feel it. But there was very little I could do to help him. All that I could do in those circumstances was to sympathise with him. To cut a long story short let me tell you how thing brightened up particularly for me. Two years after my husband's marriage, and four years after our marriage, I conceived. A son was born and the entire complex of our family life changed.

Spacing Between Births:

"Small family norm" cannotes not only family size, but also spacing of children. Spacing of children has become a matter of great importance in popularising the family-planning programme, because of the mother's and the child's health. It is an established fact: that greater the space between children, better is it for the health of the mother and the child. This also facilitates better upbringing of children. Hence a question was asked to elicit information on this issue. The following table shows the responses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spacing of children</th>
<th>WCH (No. &amp; %)</th>
<th>WCW (No. &amp; %)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No gap</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 to 3 years</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four and more than four years</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
According to Table 6.3, 44 per cent of husbands favoured a gap of 2 to 3 years between births, whereas 64 per cent of wives favoured the same. More men than their female counterparts wanted four or more than four years. In other words, wives actually prefer the comparatively short spacing of 2-3 years in spite of greater inconvenience for the same reason that they want their first child early, even more so if the first child has been a daughter and not a son, due to the popular belief that childbirth after 30 years of age is hazardous both to the mother and child. It is significant to note in this context that the belief that late pregnancy and child-birth is hazardous (after 30 years of age) is prevalent even among the eleven lady doctors who were covered in our study. These lady doctors who were married between the ages 25 and 30 years also favoured a gap of 2 to 3 years between births for the same reason that the late-age pregnancy and child-birth entail unnecessary risk for the mother and the baby.

It was also noticed that wives in our sample rather desired to have the required number of children before the age of 30 and then go in for permanent sterilization than to resort to methods of family planning that may endanger their health.

Gender Preference - Male Child Preference :

The traditional norms and social values attached to children
in Indian society are so formulated as to encourage having male children. A woman without a child, particularly a male child, was not only subjected to ridicule but invited prejudices and ill will of her family in particular and of the society in general. A married woman's status became high in her husband's household only after the birth of a son. Also couples, with a higher number of sons were admired. Again, though polygyny is no longer popular in India, childlessness and inability to produce a male child may induce a man to establish a polygynous household, without earning the disapprobation of the public.

Amongst Hindus 'shraddha' ceremony (a ritual performed after death) for a father or mother is to be performed by the son. It is believed that if the 'shraddha' is not performed, the soul of the father or mother will not complete its transmigration and achieve reincarnation. In addition, sons were regarded and rightly too, as an economic asset to the family, and as a kind of security to parents in old age. Sons were required to continue the family lineage and uphold the family status.

Now in urban India, the decline in mortality on the one hand and the change in the very concept of 'survival of society' on the other, seem to have taken place. But in the overall pattern there is only a partial change in the traditional norms
which has resulted in some changes in the values attached to children. This change is only partial because even today there still appears to be a strong bias for a male child in the urban areas where new norms and values of society usually have a great influence. This is evident from many demographical and sociological studies.

Hence in order to elicit information on this aspect, a question was asked to the respondents to specify the preferred sex combination of the number of children desired by them.

**TABLE - 6.4**

Preference for Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preferred gender combination</th>
<th>WCH (No. &amp; %)</th>
<th>WCW (No. &amp; %)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Two children</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both males</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both females</td>
<td>01</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 male + 1 female</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No preference</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>82</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Three children</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All males</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two males + One female</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One male + two females</td>
<td>02</td>
<td>01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No preference</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6.4 clearly shows that among the respondents who desired two children, 91.46 per cent of husbands and 90.24 per cent of wives preferred one boy-one girl combination. 4.88 per cent of husbands and 7.32 per cent of wives wanted both of them to be males, whereas the number of respondents who wanted both of them to be females is negligible. This seems to indicate the fact that the preference for two sons as compared to preference for two daughters is high.

Among those who desired three children 86.66 per cent of husbands and 92.86 per cent of wives wanted two males and one female. Whereas only 13.33 per cent of husbands and 7.14 per cent of wives wanted 2 females and 1 male which again indicates the fact that the respondents' preference for two sons as compared to preference for two daughters is high.

The above figures clearly show the respondents' preference for the male child irrespective of their desired family size. This is indicative of the fact that though there are significant signs that the traditional values regarding the number of children are changing among the educated urbanites like the white-collar workers, the proverbial preference for the male child continues to be in tact.
Thus the compulsions of leading life in an urban setting coupled with other forces of modernization seem to have brought about a change in the traditional norms regarding the family size. The traditional values such as "children are the gift of god", "more (children) the merrier" etc. do not seem to hold the minds of the educated middle classes under their sway anymore. A significant majority of them are unequivocally in favour of a fewer number of children and small families.

But all the forces of change and modernity do not seem to have shaken the roots of fear and stigma attached to barrenness among women and impotency among men.

PARENTING PATTERN

One of the most important intra-familial relations is the relation between parents and children. This can be better understood by observing the processes of socialization and child-rearing practices. "Socialization is the process by which the individual incorporates the attitudes and behaviour considered appropriate by any group or society. It involves self concept (identity formation) which includes conscience development and the twin problems of identification and ego struggle—all of which are related to intrapersonal and interpersonal adjustment" (Bert, N. Adams. 1975, p.137). While the early years of childhood are
stressed in much of the literature on socialization, the process actually continues throughout life, as a person changes roles and confronts new expectations. During childhood, however, much of the individual's culture becomes fixed or internalized (Adams: 1975; 138). And it is within the family the child acquires personality structure. Dinkmeyer (1967; p.369) has rightly observed that within a family, "the child first observes and then internalizes the values of the parents. Social, political and religious beliefs and customs are transmitted via the family". Thus the family plays a vital role in the process of socialization of the child. And successful socialization, to a large extent, depends upon the attention and efforts of the parents, since a modern family places a great socializing burden upon parents.

In an excellent analytical summary of the many studies of the relation between social class and socialization in America, Bronfenbrenner (1958) concludes, "The most consistent finding... is the more frequent use of physical punishment by working class parents. The middle class, in contrast, resort to reasoning, isolation and .... love oriented discipline techniques". That is, middle class parents give greater attention to the child's internal dynamics whereas lower class parents show greater concern about the overt act.
Bronfenbrenner not only finds consistent class differences in child-rearing practices, but also a differential effectiveness of these techniques. Summarizing the results of two large scale studies in Boston and Detroit, he concludes that love-oriented or psychological techniques are more effective than other methods for bringing about desired behaviour.

Though very few studies have been undertaken on Indian child-rearing practices in the various classes, there is considerable observational evidence in support of the fact that the patterns of child-rearing practices in Indian middle and the lower classes are similar to those in the American culture (Ghorpade, 1979). Indian middle class parents usually employ reasoning, appeal and a threat of love or reward withdrawal and rarely use corporal punishment to discipline their children, while lower class parents are more likely to respond in a physical manner. Middle class parents are more concerned with the motives of the child rather than with the negatively defined outcome of specific behaviour. They value obedience, self-control, and self-direction in their children. They are strongly oriented towards the future and keep correcting their children in every walk of life at every possible opportunity. They try to teach their children the right behaviour. Both parents seem to share power and have nearly equal roles in disciplining a child.
In terms of temporal focus the lower-classes give priority to past events in their time value orientations because they are intensively preoccupied with problems of survival, and, in comparison to their better-off counterparts, are more taken up with the doctrine of 'Karma' and its consequences. Further, austerity and self-restraint as qualities to be valued are found more among the middle classes than in the lower classes. With feelings of inferiority deeply ingrained in them, the lower classes place heavy reliance on fate, chance, or luck. Belief in such factors as causes of their destiny helps to relieve their sense of failure (Tandon; 1981).

Shalini Bisht and Durganand Sinha's (1981) study is important because they bring out the role of joint and nuclear families in socialization of children. According to them, such socialization practices as harsh child-rearing methods, stress upon conformity, discouragement of autonomy are found in the joint families. Conversely, socialization practices such as liberal child-rearing methods, emphasis upon autonomy are found in the nuclear families. But one should not forget that whatever the nature of family - joint or nuclear - the educated and employed parents have certain values in disciplining their children, that are very close to middle class values. Education and urban living are found to be more responsible in developing these values.
It is usually believed that children of working mothers would suffer emotional damage and be hindered in their development. That is a mother's employment itself is felt to have a detrimental effect on her children. This feeling itself makes them more conscious about their duties towards their children and makes them more sensitive to their children's needs.

Therefore an effort is made to study some of the disciplining aspects of the parenting pattern used by white-collar couples of Dharwad. In addition, an effort is made to know their attitudes to and aspirations for their children.

They were asked certain specific questions to know the nature of punishment they used in situations of accidental mistakes of their children. The following table shows the responses.

**TABLE - 6.5**

*Use of Punishment for Accidental Mistakes*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of Punishment</th>
<th>WCH (No. &amp; %)</th>
<th>WCW (No. &amp; %)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Advising and discussing the situation with the child</td>
<td>88 &amp; 82</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Scolding and Yelling</td>
<td>09 &amp; 14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Physical Punishment</td>
<td>03 &amp; 04</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6.5 clearly shows that a majority of the respondents used reason with the child and made him understand the situation, since such an act might not have been its fault. Very few of them used physical punishment.

Further an attempt was also made to know the nature of punishment used by them in certain cases of intentional disobedience of their children. The following table shows the responses.

**TABLE - 6.6**

Use of Punishment for Intentional Disobedience

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of Punishment</th>
<th>WCH (No. &amp; %)</th>
<th>WCW (No. &amp; %)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Restricting the Child's privilege</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scolding and Yelling</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Punishment</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is evident from the table that in certain cases when the children failed to show the expected deference or obedience, the white-collar parents usually resorted to verbal threats, withdrawal of rewards as well as physical punishment.
A further probe was made into the family background of those parents (31 husbands and 39 wives) who said that they would resort to physical punishment of their children if they wantonly flouted family norms and showed disobedience. We found that most of these parents come from the joint-family background. Therefore, it appears that parents who themselves come from families where corporal punishment is an accepted mode of child-disciplining do not seem to hesitate using the method in mending their errant children.

We also noted that if both the parents come either from nuclear family or joint family, one of the methods (soft or harsh) of disciplining children gets established in the family. If on the other hand the husband and wife are drawn from different family backgrounds, we notice that there is some tension in the family regarding this issue. The husband and wife seem to pull in different directions.

Here is a case which clearly brings out this anomalous situation. This is what Mrs. P. a school teacher who has three children and whose husband is a bank employee narrated.

My husband is a loving and affectionate father. He has great attachment to our children - two boys and a girl. When our children were young, he showered abundant love and affection on them. Sometimes I felt that he was overdoing it and even chided him saying that it
was the sure way of spoiling the children. But when
the children grew up and started attending school there
was a noticeable change in his attitude towards the
children. This change was all the more noticeable in
the case of our sons. Though there was no let up in
his love and affection for them the punishment that
he meted out to them whenever they committed small
mistakes was very severe and shocking to me. For even
small mistakes he would yell and beat them up. So
furious were his punishments some times that I had to
intervene and stop him from beating for fear that my
sons would be seriously hurt. Many a time my interference
only seemed to add to his rage. He would then turn
on me and even rough me up saying that I was mainly
responsible for spoiling the children. This situation puzzled
me. Having been brought up in a family of loving parents
and siblings I could not believe that parents could treat
their own children the way my husband did. With a
view to know the reasons for this kind of behaviour,
I had a number of discussions with him on this issue.
He would then tell me that that was the best method of
bringing up children. He would tell me in great detail
how he was brought up by his parents. How, but for
the stern iron fisted disciplining of his father he would
not be what he is today. Listening to his version of
the right way of bringing up children, I was at times
amused and tempted to tell him how we were brought
up by my parents and how my brothers have done very
well without the "iron fisted" disciplining. But I did
not do so for the fear of rubbing him on the wrong
side. Instead, I took care to advise my sons to watch
their steps and keep out of harms way.
The study also brings out the fact that white-collar parents use positive sanction such as emotional rewards and praise to effect desired behaviour in their children and to discipline their daily routine like being neat and tidy in their dress, assisting in household tasks and doing well academically.

Hence it may be deduced that white-collar couples by and large in the city of Dharwad stress more on the love-oriented discipline techniques to get compliance from and to effect desired behaviour in their children. They rarely use corporal punishment to discipline them. They give a lot of scope for asserting selfhood and independence in their children.

Education and Choice of Career:

It is common knowledge that the success of the parental role would be largely assessed on how well they educate and place their children in society. In fact, this constitutes one of the most important dimensions of child-rearing practices.

One of the significant findings in this regard is that even the respondents with rural background in our sample (50 per cent of husbands and 25 per cent of wives) do not wish their children, specially sons, to go back to the villages and follow the traditional
occupation of the family, such as agriculture, trade, business etc. In fact, almost all of them seemed to consider sending their sons back to their native places and to their traditional occupations a retrograde step.

Hence in order to know the desires and aspirations of the white-collar parents about the education and career of their children, certain questions were asked. From the data it was found that the profession for their children for which they had the highest preference was engineering and this was followed by the medical profession. The teaching profession occupied the third place, followed by IAS and other administrative services. The least preferred area was clerical or office work. This was also the view of office-workers who wanted their children to take up a better profession.

Even though the white-collar parents said that they had given their children enough freedom to choose the profession they wanted to follow and get education suited to it, they did not like to leave the matter entirely to the discretion of their children. They kept a constant watch, albeit unobtrusively, on the academic progress of their children, guiding and counselling them about the various jobs and professions and how to get the proper education for qualifying for admission to these courses.
Some of them did not hesitate even to use physical punishment and restrict the leisure time (movements) of the children specially at the time of examinations.

**Sex Differences in Socialization:**

It has been rightly pointed out that sex differences are not innate but are a result of the differences in socialization of boys and girls (Adams; 1975). The female child is discriminated against in all walks of life, e.g., in education, politics, occupation and other spheres of life. Witzman (1972, pp. 1125-50), in concluding her article on sex roles in picture books, argues that rigid sex role distinctions may actually be harmful to the normal development of the personality of the child.

Referring to socialization patterns, Hoffman (1972, p. 129) offers an explanation for the inhibitions against achievement in women. Since girls, as compared to boys, have less encouragement for independence, more parental protectiveness, less pressure for establishing an identity separate from the mother and less mother-child conflict which highlights this separation, they engage in less independent exploration of their environments. As a result they develop neither adequate skills nor confidence but continue to be dependent upon others.
Hence such difference are not healthy. That is why SAARC (South Asia Association for Regional Co-operation) declared 1990 as "The year of the SAARC girl child". Obviously the subordinate status to which the female in general and the young girl child in particular have been relegated stimulated the SAARC to take up such a decision.

Hence it was decided to study the attitudes of the present sample towards their daughters.

It was found from the study that a sizeable number of respondents (49 per cent of husbands and 45 per cent of wives) were in favour of sending their daughters to professional courses. They are even prepared to pay heavy donations in case the situation so demands. This indicates that educated parents have begun to encourage their daughters to obtain professional degrees and to take up careers.

However, when they were asked to make a choice between the career of a son and a daughter, they preferred the career of a son. They did not hesitate to sacrifice the career of their daughter for that of their son. This is indicative of the fact that though there are perceptible changes in the traditional values regarding the male-female prejudices, the prerogatives of the
males over those of the females still continue even among the enlightened classes of the white-collar worker sections of society. Even to this day the sons seem to be more equal than daughters.

Most of the respondents (57 per cent of husbands and 50 per cent of wives) have a favourable attitude towards sports for girls. In fact, they encourage and are ready to send their daughters to distant places to acquire sporting skills.

Socialising, Courting and Marriage:

Since in India the marriage of the children is usually a parental responsibility and the virginity of girls before marriage is considered very important, parents usually keep a watchful eye on their daughters. Hence information is also collected from the present sample relating to the socialising, courting and marriage of their children.

It is found that a majority of the respondents (80 per cent of husbands and 65 per cent of wives) have granted a great deal of freedom to their children in some spheres of life. They allow their young children (say before 10 years) to mix freely with their age-mates in school and the neighbourhood. However, as the children grow up in age, the parents seem to gradually impose restrictions on their movements. This is true especially in the
case of daughters after they reach the age of ten. After that stage the parents keep a watchful eye on the movements of their daughters—the friends they have, the places they visit and the company they keep. The parents discourage either directly or indirectly their daughters of ten years and above to socialise freely with their age-mates of opposite sex. But such restrictions are conspicuous by their absence so far as the sons are concerned. While boys and girls enjoy almost the same amount of freedom before they are ten, they are treated in different ways as they grow older. While the freedom of the girls goes on decreasing the freedom of the boys goes on increasing.

In a conventional society like ours, such things as dating, courting and going steady are not the accepted and approved stages of adolescence. Ideally it is the parents who decide the life partners of their sons and daughters. But with the onset of modernization process, there seem to be some slight changes in the attitude of the educated middle classes in this regard. Though the arranged marriages where the parents have the final word are still in order, we do come across cases where the boys and girls make bold to select their marital partners and then seek the consent and blessings of their parents for their marriage. To elicit more detailed information on this issue, specific questions were asked to our respondents. By and large they seemed to favour arranged marriages. (It is interesting to note that some of our respondents...
who themselves had married for love cutting across caste boundaries and against parental wishes, were in favour of such arranged marriages. But when they were asked to say as to how they would react if their sons and daughters showed the inclination of choosing their own partners, they replied that in such an exigency they would exercise utmost care guiding, albeit indirectly, their sons and daughters to choose partners of social standing of their own. Great precaution seemed to be exercised behind the scene to make sure that their sons and daughters "fell in love" with the right type of persons.

The respondents by and large were found to be not in favour of the dowry system. However, there seems to be some ambivalence regarding this system. While they overtly depurate the morbid tendency of craving for dowry, covertly they might favour the system. Hence some probing questions were asked to collect information on this issue. Though the parents are reluctant to pay dowry to get their daughters married, they did not hesitate doing so when its payment, guaranteed a suitable spouse for their daughter and assured a comfortable life for her. And when it came to the question of receiving dowry from a prospective alliance for their sons they seemed to throw overboard their professed values regarding the "evil system".
On the whole, we can say that a new parenting pattern is emerging in the wife-working families where physical punishment and authoritarian disciplining techniques are being replaced by love-oriented disciplining techniques such as withdrawal of love, restricting the child's privileges, praise and reward, counselling at home etc. Similarly sex differences in socialization seem to be on the wane—especially during the pre-adolescence period. The traditional walls of prejudice and discrimination appear to be crumbling. The parents have begun to treat their children equitably irrespective of their sex. Daughters are encouraged to participate in sports and other extra-curricular activities. They also now enjoy greater freedom in the choice of their career. Parents who are well off and therefore can afford financing costly professional education, do not any more have the old notion that spending over a daughter's education is a wasteful proposition. However, during the adolescence and post-adolescence period the traditional notions rooted in sex-discriminations still seem to persist—though in a weakened form.