PART-III

CHAPTER IX

EMERGING TRENDS IN SOCIALISATION

This section focuses on an understanding of socialisation as it emerges under conditions of social change. It has been emphasised that rapid change intercepts the simple recapitulation of child training practices thereby producing new model personality patterns. The means by which these changes are mediated, or affected in the absence of adequate and valued role models with which to identify has implications for development of roles. (Frieson 1920; Mead 1970; Reissner 1950)

It is further believed that

"in conditions of change the parent may be acting as a passive agent of his culture even though the techniques may have lost their appropriateness. In this case the gulf between parent and child rapidly grows and the relations become strained, as the child meets and learns conflicting behaviour patterns and the underlying values of his own culture" (Inkeles 1956; 12).

Another alternative is that the individual surrenders to the culture surrogates, peers, teachers. In such cases the parents will show disturbed and inconsistent images of their children's future. (Mead 1970)

At other times the parent through purposive and unconscious adjustments in his child rearing practices mediates the influence of social change to his children and consequently adapts them for the changed social conditions they may meet as adults. In the light of this one could also say that child rearing is to a great extent
future oriented and the picture of the desired end product is constantly being evaluated.

It was anticipated that when men follow modern occupations attitudes and values also change. To test this hypothesis some aspects of child care and socialisation were summed up in the form of statements and the parental responses were elicited.

Each of these statements was scored ranging from +1, 0, -1. If a family agreed on a particular statement it would get +1, if the attitude was 'neutral', in between, the score would be 0 and if the parents disagreed the score would be -1. In this way the relative position of each of the occupational groups was determined.

**Table 35: ASPECTS OF CHANGE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Clerks N=50</th>
<th>Traders N=50</th>
<th>Sailors N=50</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Children should be born in hospitals</td>
<td>+30</td>
<td>-8</td>
<td>-18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. The care provided in the hospitals is better and more</td>
<td>+30</td>
<td>-8</td>
<td>-18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Did you perform ceremonies like Mundan and Uma Karna Sanskar (Yes +1; No -1)</td>
<td>-10</td>
<td>-4</td>
<td>-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Modern systems of cure are more efficient than traditional systems of cure</td>
<td>+30</td>
<td>-8</td>
<td>-18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. While dealing with child care problems it is better to use a combination of techniques like books, home remedies, advice of doctors etc.</td>
<td>-8</td>
<td>+26</td>
<td>-28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Clerks N=50</td>
<td>Traders N=50</td>
<td>Sailors N=50</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. Responsibility for child care should be shared equally between husband and wife.</td>
<td>+22</td>
<td>+44</td>
<td>+33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Boys and girls should be treated similarly.</td>
<td>+14</td>
<td>+4</td>
<td>+23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No preferential treatment should be accorded to the sons</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Authority in the family should lie with both husband and wife</td>
<td>+22</td>
<td>+14</td>
<td>+24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Control of finances, family purse strings should lie with both husband and wife.</td>
<td>+22</td>
<td>-14</td>
<td>+24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Decision making should lie equally with husband and wife</td>
<td>+22</td>
<td>-14</td>
<td>+24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Even if women are working outside the home, they can perform the mothers' and work role quite adequately</td>
<td>+21</td>
<td>+32</td>
<td>+20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Parents should lay an equal stress on the education of both the sons and daughters</td>
<td>+46</td>
<td>+28</td>
<td>+22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Responsibility patterns should be similar for sons and daughters</td>
<td>+28</td>
<td>+19</td>
<td>+17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The three occupational groups could be placed on a continuum based on their attitudes. The statements have been phrased in such a way that the direction of change could be easily discerned through responses. The comparative magnitude of change that has occurred in each of the groups thus emerges.

The scores on statement one and two shows that clerks are positive about the care taken in the hospitals. There is a large difference.
between clerks and the other two groups - the sailors and traders. This also explains the response of the clerks on statement four of table 36. The traders and sailors do not believe a great deal in the efficacy of the modern systems of cure.

The scores of the families on statement three indicate a general consensus among the three occupational groups. They did not perform ceremonies like Mundan, Nama Karna because of financial constraints. The respondents believed that it was a waste to spend on them.

Styles of child care have not undergone many drastic changes. The spheres which are resistant to change, the domains where changes have come about and the factors responsible for them are discussed below.

The age at which children are weaned from breast feeding is usually between one and a half to two and a half years. Though this is the pattern in all the occupational groups, some intra-group variations are present.

Among the clerks the general age is one and a half to two and a half years. This is true of those mothers who are older. But those who are younger the age at which the child is weaned varies from one to one and a half years. This is due to the following factors:

(a) Some of the mothers are working,
(b) the influence of mass media, general advice of medical experts, education, urban living,
(c) nuclear family living,
(d) husbands performing modern occupations.

In the traders the child is weaned between 1½ - 2½ years. The age of the mother does not make any substantial change. Therefore in
spite of urban living the factors which affect this pattern are:

(a) mothers are not working,
(b) comparative lack of education of both father and mother,
(c) family structure where the influence of the elders is continuous,
(d) husbands performing traditional occupations.

In the case of sailors the general pattern is akin to that of the other two groups. Here, the significant variables are:

(a) most mothers are non-working,
(b) rural background,
(c) low level of education,
(d) inspite of urban living constant contacts with their family of orientation are always maintained.

However, in this group a process of slow change sets in due to urban living, influence of personnel from health and welfare departments and their husbands being a part of the modern occupational structure. All these factors make a change in the age at which the child is weaned in some of the families.

During various phases of children's ailments a specific pattern of choices of treatment is associated with the different occupational groups under consideration. Large number of families in the three occupational categories look to their own childhood for the home cures, remedies used in their natal families or by the mother-in-law. The traders and sailors show a greater belief in the efficacy of these traditional cures as compared to the clerks. It is further believed that the effect of allopathic drugs is harmful for the body, it has
side effects, and is heat producing as compared to folk medicine and home tried cures.

Customs relating to the place of birth of the first child have undergone a change. In some families the husband's house is the place of birth and in some cases the child is born with the wife's natal family. During the birth of the first child the customs related to child birth could be adhered to because of the presence close kin. Some customs were related to purity and pollution. These involve abstaining from entering the kitchen for 40 days, restricted movements, avoiding visiting grave-yard. All these practices ensure that the convalescing mother gets complete rest and is protected from malevolent spirits. A specially prepared, highly nutritive diet is given to her during this period. A great deal of emotional and moral support is provided by the kin group during this time.

However the customs and the place relating to the birth of subsequent children etc., are less restrictive. Therefore during the birth of subsequent children since the place where the child was to be born was not clearly defined the couples may not necessarily get the support of relatives. The customs and restrictions associated with purity and pollution could not be strictly followed.

Thus during the birth of second and subsequent children customs are not followed, not due to change in belief patterns but due to more operational reasons like living in nuclear families, or expenses involved in getting the help of kin. These expenses may be in terms of paying for travel, bearing other incidental charges etc. These factors are very important for the clerks and sailors.

In the group of traders however, since members of a family usually set up business in the same town relatives are usually present,
or large number of them are living in extended families. This ensured some help at the time of child birth. Similar to the other two groups the restrictions associated with purity and pollution were not strictly followed for the second and subsequent births.

Some changes are observed in the emphasis laid on dress. All the mothers desire good clothes for their children but the mothers in the different occupational groups cannot fulfill this desire due to different factors.

The clerks lay an emphasis on good and expensive clothes but sometimes cannot buy them due to financial constraints. This is a newly emerging desire associated with urban living, observing others and the enhanced importance advertising agencies are providing to appearance, apparel, etc. The elders whenever present also like this emphasis.

The traders too are desirous of possessing good clothes for their children, but sometimes the elders in the family consider it unnecessary and the parents may be termed extravagant. Even too much emphasis towards cleanliness of the child is not appreciated by the family elders.

The sailors' wives/mothers could place more emphasis on the cleanliness, hygiene and clothing of the children when they were along with their husbands but in the village the emphasis decreased due to (a) to the ideas of the elders, (b) due to increased responsibility pressures on the wife/mother.

Emphasis on too much cleanliness, or fussing around the child was not appreciated by the elders in the family because there was a belief that the more the child plays with mud, sand etc., he will be more tough and develop more resistance to many types of illness.
In certain aspects of child care namely cleanliness, the parents in all occupational groups felt that they had grown up in the same manner. They often argued that they were themselves not less healthy, or less strong. Therefore they did not feel the necessity for drastic changes in the styles of child care.

The scores of the three occupational groups on the statements (see table 35) show that changes have occurred in some spheres of life and certain values and attitudes continue to exist. In some domains the traditional elements continue to exist, in some, new elements have been incorporated.

The clerks have shown the maximum changes in their styles of child care, values and attitudes. The factors responsible for this are:

1. the fathers are a part of the modern occupational structure,
2. some wives are working,
3. continuous urban living,
4. mothers and fathers are more educated as compared to the other two categories,
5. the influence of the elders is less (as they live in nuclear families) in comparison to the other two occupational groups.

Even among the traders the wives are working and they are settled in Delhi. The vives occupation, however, is not a modern occupation, she performs the traditional occupation similar to that of her husband. Further, change in attitudes has not come about in different domains due to joint family living and influence of elders. There is a lack of education in both husband and wife. There is an intricate inter-relationship between all these factors. This points to the fact that
Mere urban living does not cause for reaching changes, only when it is coupled with modern occupation does it produce substantial changes.

In the group of sailors due to constant transfers the wives get a chance of visiting big towns and cities with their husbands. In the course of their visits to big towns they pick up certain ways and modes of child care. However some of these attitudes have to be changed again when the family goes back to the village. Therefore sometimes if certain changes do come about they are only superficial and short lived.

For the group of sailors the combination of factors which affect are rural background, a traditional orientation and upbringing, influence of elders, the age of parents.

Though the sailors and clerks participate in modern occupations the sailors retain some of the traditional attitudes as table 36 shows. This is closely associated with their rural background which is a causal factor for the continued prevalence of certain attitudes and values. Another reason for the slow change in attitudes is attributed to the constant ties maintained with the kin. This becomes necessary due to the exigencies of occupation such as the husband being away for a substantial period at a stretch.

It was observed however that as the span of urban living increased some of the ideas undergo a change. This is specially applicable to the domain of education. The parents whose exposure to urban living is short, felt that education will have derogatory effect on the character of their daughters. But as the span of urban living increases, as the daughters grow up and start taking up education in the various schools in big towns, observe women going to work, the influence of the elders is less strong and some change in the ideas towards education
of daughters sets in. Consequently maturity of the parents, longer
time spent as participants in the modern occupational structure etc.
causes change in the attitudes. The data suggests that when the
husband/father favours change, changes in attitudes, values etc.,
regarding child care come about quickly and smoothly. When the
husbands/fathers desire something for their children they would ensure
that the wives/mothers conform to the expectations. Whenever the
mothers/wives thought differently their behaviour could not be radic-
cally different unless the husbands were also convinced about these
ideas. Thus in all matters it is the man who is the prime mover of
change.