CHAPTER IX

THE STUDY DESIGN AND SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS

A review of the various studies undertaken in India so far reveal a lack of emphasis on child rearing practices associated with different classes and occupational groups. Studies of this kind will bring out the picture of life styles, patterns and values associated with occupational groups. These occupations could thus be graded in terms of their status and prestige.

Studies emphasizing the above could clarify the relationships between caste and class, and point out the spheres where caste has lost its influence. There may be certain spheres where caste values may start operating in new areas. These will unravel certain other issues namely the repercussions on socialisation. Consequently what are the problems that may arise due to such a change?

The studies do not emphasise the role systems in different class and occupational groups. This should be done with specific emphasis on family structures. This line could further be explored in terms of the patterns of adjustment/maladjustment which occur when,

a) father/parent may be away as in a military setting;

b) Single parent families due to divorce, separation, death etc.

c) When the mother takes up extra familial roles namely working outside the home for economic benefits.
Studies on the division of labour in the family could help in shedding light on sex role ideologies, values and also role systems as associated with different family settings.

Through this could develop an understanding of the patterns of socialisation of girls and boys, as the understanding of role structures gives insights into the conscious and unconscious processes of socialisation.

All the above factors further throw light on the responsibility patterns of boys and girls, father and mother.

A related variable which has not been explored but should be considered is the identification of nuclei of authority in the family, in different family structures and in different occupational groups. Such detailed analysis could further clarify the spheres where the women are allowed to make decisions. This can be related to the status of women in different family settings, different occupational groups and classes.

Another area where information is lacking is in the study of educational and career aspirations of the parents, their children, the points of variance and whether the occupation of the father and his general satisfaction with his occupation affect the above. All these should be studied with special reference to an understanding of aspects of social change.

The present study tries to fill in some of these gaps, employing some of these variables. But yet these explorations will lead to other questions of greater concern for future explorations:
If the patterns one delineates are general, how general are they? How many relationships are there between the above mentioned categories?

The recognition of these leads us to more complicated issues which are of great concern for the Indian set up and future studies. How pervasive are the traditional values in the urban set up? What has contributed to a shift in values and norms? Can we assume that traditional values are undergoing a change? Or has the penetration of the mass media brought about the emergence of new attitudes, changing expectations, and to some extent undermined traditional forms of social behaviour and economic activity?

Whether the process of educational, industrial and urban development and different occupations have opened up new opportunities and new roles for different family members — husband and wife, father and mother, children? Or whether these have brought about new problems, and have upset certain family mores and values? And if the relationships are not too clear, what are the associations that do exist? Is the understanding of these relationships and the role of socialisation process helpful in explaining change or continuity in patterns?

1. The basic hypothesis of this study is that occupation of the father causes differences in (a) child rearing practices, (b) values, (c) attitudes, (d) responsibility patterns, (e) socialisation of boys and girls, (f) even in educational and career aspirations.

For the purpose of the present study it is assumed that (and as the earlier section shows) because members of different occupational groups by virtue of enjoying (or suffering) different
conditions of life, come to see the world differently, develop
different conceptions of social reality, different aspirations,
hopes and fears, and different conception of the desirable, the
ideal.

The aspect of "different conception of the desirable" is
the most important for the present purpose. Since from people's
conceptions of the desirable and particularly from their concep-
tions of what characteristics are desirable in children one can
discern their objectives in child rearing.

Conceptions of the desirable are values. "A value is a
conception, explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual
or characteristic of a group of the desirable which influences the
selection from available modes, means, and ends of action"
(Kluckhohn 1951: 395).

Values are a key concept of this analysis. The intent is
to trace the effect of occupation on parental values, attitudes,
family structures, socialisation. The probing will be in gauging
the differences in the values of the different occupational groups,
locating some of the conditions of life distinctive of these
groups that might explain the differences in their values and the
consequences of these differences on values, on parents relation-
ships with their children. Since the theoretical implications
have become clear we can now move to the considerations which
determined the selection of the universe of the study.

In order to control differences which arise due to differen-
tces in religion, region, language, culture, the sample of 150
families selected are the Punjabi speaking Hindus. Thus the study has been set in a unicultural framework.

In terms of the status considerations also the occupational groups selected correspond in terms of income and education.

Though within each broad occupational group variations in parental values do exist but for conceptual purposes one has to assume that each group is homogenous.

Thus the factors which have been controlled (so that differences which emerge are only due to occupation of the father) can be summed up as: 1. Regional Factor 2. Cultural Factor 3. Linguistic Factor 4. Religion 5. Stratification Factor.

Differences which could arise due to people belonging to different class backgrounds was controlled by selecting occupational groups which fall horizontally on the same social level. To be more explicit, the three occupational groups broadly match each other in terms of their economic, educational prestige or status levels. This was done in order to highlight the fact that whatever differences are observed could be attributed to the occupation of the father and not due to differences in the economic, educational levels.

Occupation has been chosen as a critical variable since not only has there been a neglect of class studies in India, but also the values associated with any particular class have not yet crystallised, and thus the difficulty of conceptualisation. In addition there is a lack of conceptual refinement regarding life styles and value patterns of the various classes in India. In the absence of
the above, occupation is thought to be the most meaningful variable which would bring out valid relationships.

Further it was thought that if differentially ranked occupations were chosen differences in socialisation, attitudes, practices etc., were bound to arise due to difference levels of socio-economic status (SES). In this case differences which arise due to different SES levels were held constant by choosing occupational groups which could be ranked broadly on the same level.

Whatever relationships and trends can be traced would be now attributed to specific occupational conditions and related variables and not so much to other intervening variables. For example, if occupational groups like engineers, clerks, teachers etc., were chosen, it is quite clear that the three groups possess different levels of income, education and these itself would determine different aspirations and attitudes towards life in general. In this case different economic levels and different levels of education could also be the causal factors affecting differences.

The choice of occupational groups has also been determined by the different types of family structures which are present in these groups. Thus it was anticipated that not only would it be possible to study the effect of the fathers occupation on the variables under consideration but also how different types of family structures are associated with these three occupational groups and the varied spheres in which its repercussions can be observed.
The rationale for choosing the three occupational groups lies in the varying degree of interaction children will have with their father. For example, in the families of seamen the father remains absent from home for months at a time, sometimes as much as a year because of the exigencies of his service.

Furthermore, this study will investigate whether or not it affects the behaviour of the mother, the interaction between parents and children, whether or not the role of the mother undergoes a change. Is it that in father's absence the mother has to adopt a role which in other families is taken up by the father? This situation is compared with the constant presence of the father in the other occupational groups, but the pattern of presence in these groups is in turn quite different.

In the case of clerks where the father has fixed working hours he is usually away from the home for a fixed time period and they also do not have to face the problem of constant transfers. This is in contrast to the case of petty traders who are almost always present in the family as most of them combine their residence with the shop.

Thus it was anticipated that three different family "composition" will be found in these occupational groups namely —

Group I — the Clerks, father absent for fixed time,
Group II — the petty traders, father present always,
Group III — the Seamen Naval Sailors, an incomplete family; father away for long spells of time.

Those families chosen under Group I were working as Clerks, usually in the government offices. It was impossible to locate
families which were absolutely the same in terms of the father being a lower division or an upper division clerk. However it was found that even if these variations were present they would not make any critical difference in the salary or in the living conditions or in the general world views.

To describe the group II families the term 'petty traders' could be used. The families selected for the study were those where the amount of investment in the business is around £ 5,000. It was estimated that the income which would accrue from this would be between £ 700/- to 1000/- per month, that is a return of 20-25% which is usual in trade. This income level is comparable to the incomes of the other occupational groups under consideration.

The families selected for the third category – the non-officer cadre of the armed forces – was included to study the effects of absence of father due to exigencies of service. In this case also, it was not possible to select families where the respondents ranks were absolutely similar. As in the case of clerks limited variation in the rank did not cause much difference. The income of this group ranged between £ 700-1000 as in the case of the other two occupational groups. The sample was largely of the 'naval sailors' in the armed forces.

Methodology

For the purpose of the present study one hundred and fifty families have been extensively studied. The technique for data collection was mainly the interview, coupled with participant observation performed during the visits to the households. The interviews were conducted in the home environment.
In all the cases the father, mother and sometimes elder boys and girls of the family if available, too were extensively interviewed regarding various aspects under study. Therefore the data was obtained after spending on an average of 6-8 hours in each family. The time taken was sometimes more in responsive families and when the elder children were also present.

The families of clerks and traders were approached after a first prior introduction through the president of the Colonies or someone who was in charge. The president would introduce the researcher to some of the Punjabi families of the particular occupational groups under study. It was difficult to establish rapport for the simple reason that the respondents did not attach much importance to the topic under focus. It further became a problem because one had to probe deep into the home environment, and ascertain many subtle aspects of family relations. Thus in the first meeting usually much information could not be gathered. But as the respondents developed more confidence it was easier to gather data. Often it was said, "what can we tell you, you should tell us how to bring up children".

Sometimes information was not easily forthcoming due to the strong family planning drive being carried out in the country at the time of field work. The mothers were often hostile initially but after explaining the purpose of the work the response became more positive.

A major pitfall of socialisation research is that a great deal of work relies on interviews with mothers about child training practices and their desired effects, but sometimes these are also
subject to distortions. Similar findings have been reported by other investigators: "The distortions in the mothers' reports are not random, but tend to be governed by the cultural stereotypes" (Danziger 1970: 26).

It was observed in a few cases that some of the ideas of mothers were tilted in the direction of recommendations current in the literature and mass media since a number of books, radio programmes, television programmes etc., are available. Some of the women who are educated sometimes do read these books, and listen or view the programmes.

In the interview certain common questions were asked to fathers and mothers. If in the family there was any disagreement that case has been dealt with usually separately in the text. Thus whenever single responses were given for certain questions it usually meant a concurrence of views between the husband and wife. This was adjudged in the interview with the family under consideration. And some questions were posed separately to father and mother.

In the case of sailors, the study has been made more meaningful because some period of time was spent living in close association with them in an adjoining colony. Thus a large amount of descriptive material was collected through close observations.

The various areas of consideration were probed through direct questioning of the parents and the children. Some areas of consideration were sometimes studied by inferring the differences in treatment of male and female children - the differences in demand
fulfilment, educational opportunities, disparity in responsibility patterns, help patterns etc.

Some parts of the interviews were conducted separately since usually during the day time when mother was being interviewed the fathers were away to work. Though in some cases especially in the traders it became impossible to do this for the husband and wife would be working together.

Most of the time the mother and father believed that children just grew up, to bring up children did not require much intelligence or much thinking.

Sometimes it was difficult to interview children due to shyness, sometime due to lack of knowledge and proper understanding. Two of the mothers interviewed were extremely rude in their way of answering the questions, this was the case with those who thought themselves to be very clever. "This type of study you are making is nothing but a sheer waste of time", they felt. Thus one respondent (case 7, clerks) was unduly harsh in her way of talking and was always more preoccupied with her work of embroidery for the local market. This could have been because of her personality structure. She was also very dominating on her daughters. At an interview one of her daughters, did not even utter one word on being asked the questions. Even the mother who was sitting nearby at the time of the interview never encouraged her to talk or took any interest to learn the child's ideas or to find out in which sphere the child was communicative and in which sphere she was not.

This was the only extreme case observed, the rest were all communicative, and receptive. Their children answered with increasing interest.
Another problem that arose at an earlier phase of the study was the location of particular type of families: Punjabi speaking, particular occupational groups, families with the father in non-commissioned cadre of the military service etc. This difficulty was accentuated due to the lack of organisations which keep detailed information about families in specific localities.

Other methods like contacting through a known person were less reliable but had to be resorted to. Sometimes families would have to be interviewed in the process of locating the appropriate ones. Sometimes even when the appropriate households had been located, people would not divulge required information in the interest of protecting the privacy of the family. Even when cooperation had been agreed upon, the family members may hold certain aspects of their home life as inviolate.

Operationalisation of the Concept

It has been frequently observed that socialisation is a universal process with varying forms and occurring through identical influences in different cultures. In studying socialisation a social scientist makes generalisations concerning a world wide process that varies from one time and place to another.

The distinctive human ability to reflect on experience, leading to power to modify behaviour in terms of such reflections, also underlies socialisation.

As Mead succinctly comments,

"In the present social ferment when we live in a world in which people jostle one another in the news, in the corridors of the United Nations, as students in universities
all over the world — some of whom are escaping from
the Stone Age, some battling with elaborate and sophis-
ticated oriental and Near Eastern traditions far older
than the West’s, some attempting to recapture lost
homogeneities, some clinging fanatically to new just
attained, cultural styles — it is inevitable that the
whole problem of how childhood is to be conceptualised,
how studied, how utilised in cultural change should
become a focus...” (Head 1954: 3).

In this context Mayer’s (1970) concept helpfully sets to
distinguish conceptually between the main targets of study in the
field of socialisation.
These are largely oriented to:

(1) Vernacular Models
(2) Observer Models

Mayer associates the former vernacular models with
‘Practices’ and the observer models with “Processes”.

Vernacular Model

By socialising ‘Practices’ is meant the vernacular ac-
tivities for which socialisation (inculcation of role playing, skills,
attitudes) is explicitly claimed by the actors as a deliberate aim.
Thus socialisation ‘Practices’ include initiation rituals, all
explicitly initiatory institutions and practices, explicit ver-
acular theory and practice regarding the training of children and
young people for adult roles.

The same can be said regarding the training of adult aspi-
rants to given roles, informal but deliberate exercises of socia-
ising pressures, as by teasing etc., of those who seem to
discharge their roles ineptly. Vernacular opinions are not
necessarily endorsed by the observer apart from the suitability
and effectiveness of socialising techniques.
The other theme to which theorising is of significance is regarding 'Processes', which also bring out methodological issues. "Processes include all those social experiences that one supposes 'actually' advance people in their role playing skills or attitudes and the mechanisms whereby these socialising effects are 'actually' brought about" (Mayer 1970: xviii).

The observer's model may or may not coincide with the actor's model - for those are the peoples vernacular accounts of their own vernacular socialising practices. Paradoxically certain practices according to the observer may have no actual effect, or to have effects different from those claimed.

In a given culture, the body of conscious deliberate socialising practice and theory as defined, constitutes the vernacular system. We can deal with this by the regular techniques and no psychological techniques is required for recording these. Similarly no psychological concepts are required for noting functional relations between one system and other systems in a given culture (Mayer 1970).

Specifically and logically it can be posited that socialising practices will be more easily observed in complex societies. More explicitly, they will have more systematic socialising practices; also they will have larger varieties of occupational training.

The unconscious processes may be at work also, viz. the observer, sees socialisation going on where the actors do not, or not consciously. Socialising messages are often conveyed non-deliberately as well as deliberately. These are conveyed in
a variety of contexts. The former would seem quite likely in the case of roles in simpler societies.

A question of relevance often neglected is how can an observer establish that an experience 'X' really contributes to an attitude or skill required for a specific role 'Y'? How can an observer identify agents and occasions of unconscious, non-deliberate, diffuse socialisation? More often the analyst simply sees connections which he cannot prove. Having noticed what seems clearly to be a common mode running through situation A and role B, that they are somehow connected logically. The logical connection must be sought through some factor or process which supposedly operates within the psyche of the actors. Internalisation, conditioning, habit forming, fear of sanctions of reinforcement, blockage of drives, displacement or some other psychic mechanism may be postulated. But whichever it is, it will be a concept chosen by the observer, rather than a fact capable of being documented. Nadel (1951) points and draws attention to another problem - the kinds of psychological concepts to employ, seeing that the discipline of psychology affords different and often incompatible kinds; the conversion factors may be envisaged, but need not be taken as a law. Turner very aptly asks: "...Can the hapless anthropologists hope to judge between rival psychoanalytic interpretations when psychoanalysts disagree among them selves" (Turner 1964: 213)? Gluckman puts forward a different view when he argues that

"the indisciplined tresspass on fields one is not competent to traverse, produces more obscurity than it does creative inspiration", "...advocates abstemious policies: 'naivety' (willingness to disregard the other scientist's researches and conclusions as being irrelevant to one's
own problems); and 'abridgement' (acceptance of the
other's results and conclusions, where they seem appro-
priate, in shortened form and without too much inquiry
as to how he reached them" (Gluckman 1961: 161).

Even specialists in culture and personality studies evidently
agree that the important task of sociologists and anthropologists
in the field is the "analysis of socio-cultural system rather than
the personality system" (Spiro 1961: 467).

In a nutshell, then, the approach to our study of sociali-
sation would be:
To record a vernacular system of conscious socialising practices,
relating it to other systems within the society. This is done on
two planes (a) concentrating on family structures and (b) occu-
pational variations, (c) to make note of the actual socialising
processes as the observer sees it.

In the present study, it is assumed that different patterns
of child rearing will lead to differences in the personality, but
since personality may only be inferred, the problem of measurement
is difficult on both the individual and the cultural level and may
properly be placed in the psychologist's realm.

We would well illustrate this stand with Gitel Steed's study.
She studies personality formation in Kasandhra, a Hindu village
in Gujarat. In the process she "...aims to delineate sociological
horizons in personality formation. ...Stops at an arbitrary point
where psychological analyses becomes more appropriate" (Steed 1955:
105).

**Definition of Key Concepts**

After understanding the main objectives of conceptualising
socialisation, it is quite appropriate at this stage to discuss the
definition of the key concepts, their operationalisation and pointers through which these will be observed. It is known that one of the most important functions of socialisation is to get the child to internalise various principles underlying a social order. The influence of the social order includes the whole network of social relations and a child's first contacts with the world are through the members of their immediate families. Therefore the focus of attention will be on the study of the family, as it is within the environs of the household units that most of the early socialisation takes place.

The sections which follow will deal with an understanding of the variables deemed important and the conceptualisation which bring out the linkages. The emphasis will be on certain aspects of child rearing in the family, the techniques of socialisation, the agents of socialisation, a conceptualisation of role systems, educational and career aspirations.

In order to analyse the child rearing practices and responsibility patterns it is important to realise that it is not any single item of child-rearing practice or any culturally patterned child behaviour, not the presence or absence of feeding bottles, balls etc., which is significant in isolation. But it is the way in which all these items, most of which are shared in some cultures, some of which are shared by other cultures, are patterned and fitted together to make a whole. Thus the patterns within children grow up, young people learn to be parents, people age and die in terms of the complex learning process which has been observed and analyzed.
Responsibility Patterns

Responsibility as a concept is defined as performance of tasks, duties, or routines which are expected because of one's status in the community or family.

It may include economic tasks such as being the breadwinner, looking after children, carrying water, cooking, serving, washing, going to school or otherwise submitting oneself to formal training, saying prayers or participating in rituals as an obligation. Responsibility is the culturally patterned work thought appropriate or that which is actually carried out by men, women, children of both sexes and all ages. Consequently in any situation in which performance of a task is required, expected or performed as part of one's social role, "responsibility" consists of tendencies to perform this task. The emphasis here is on work or effortful or time consuming behaviour which is obligatory and which is probably thought of as required for the good of the society.

Responsibility patterns of women and men and children not only vary culturally but in terms of age too.

"Responsible behaviour in childhood is probably most universally encountered in connection with the performance of household routines and simple economic behaviour of the family unit. It may also be found in other settings e.g. participation of the child in extended kinship groups, in school...even in playgroups where he may or may not willingly carry out activities which follow from the role he is playing in the group" (Whiting 1966: 51).

Who does what in our society is strongly dominated by the sex role ideology. Thus responsibility patterns and social roles must be understood in terms of the sexes.
According to the traditional sex role ideology raising children is much more a mother's (female) responsibility than a father's (male). In addition the wife should do the cooking and house cleaning, and the husband should provide the family with economic resources.

It is the men who usually should be working to support the family, and therefore his wife has no right to expect him to work when he is at home. In accordance with the traditional male dominated ideology by and large the husband ought to have the main say in family matters, and the men should usually have authority over women. The rationale behind this being that the men probably know more than the women, and the men should make the really important decisions in the family. Providing thereby that, "Society attaches greater value to the role of wage earner than to that of housewife and thus legitimises for both parents the notion that the former should have more power" (Hoffman 1960: 322).

The employment of mothers may lead to a decrease in the differentiation of sex roles. Employment of the mother may also affect increased participation of fathers in routine household tasks, a change in power relations from male dominance towards husband-wife equality, and corresponding changes in ideology about the roles in the family. Each of these variables can be seen as mutually reinforcing. The holding of a favourable ideology would seem to contribute to this tendency.

Husband-wife power relations might be similarly affected. Therefore, it seems likely that employment would increase a women's power vis-a-vis her husband because of the socially defined
importance of the monetary contribution. It was assumed that the families where the traditional sex role ideology prevailed would show a lack of participation by the husband/father in the above mentioned tasks and also a lack of agreement with the statement that men should perform the routine household tasks.

Responsibility patterns were discerned by locating the agents of child rearing or who looked after the children most of the time, up to what age. An agent of child rearing is any person charged with responsibility for the care, training or discipline of the child such as a mother, father, uncles, aunts, grandparents. Thus one can understand the distribution of responsibility, traditional sex roles, amount of time spent by various agents in routine care of the child e.g. feeding, bathing, dressing and the differences in caretaking pattern by status of the child based on age, sex. As has been shown in the study by Whiting special importance should be provided to observing the father in parental roles.

For the purposes of understanding the above categories of behaviour the term 'help pattern' has been used. The concept of 'help pattern' refers to the help provided by the husband and other members in looking after the child, or role of the father and other relatives in child care. This was understood as caring for the physical needs of the child, carrying and looking after the child when mother was busy in other household work. This was the 'help pattern' considered when the child was of pre-school age. As the child grew up 'help pattern' could be understood as helping the child in studies, taking the child out in the evening, making him aware of his general social environment. Help patterns are
illustrated by descriptive data collected from the various families. A focus of this order provides a comparative view of responsibility patterns of the mother, father and other members across the different occupational groups.

'Help patterns' could be understood in another sphere also, i.e., the male rendering help in performing household chores, performing all outside jobs like marketing, sending children to school. Household chores would include cutting of vegetables, dusting the house, preparing tea, getting the children dressed, helping them to eat food, helping in cooking of food etc.

This understanding would be enhanced by finding out the frequency of performing these tasks whether they are performed as a normal routine or on special occasions - when wife is sick, when guests arrive, or when wife is employed. Through the study of help patterns the ideal, expected, and the actual role patterns of the adult males and females are analysed, which in turn are helpful to conceptualise the role patterns for which the young ones are being constantly socialized. Furthermore, through this analysis the picture of division of labour in the family emerges, thus shedding light on the existing values and cultural stereotypes associated with each sex role. Change in the values, attitudes, can also be analysed through this paradigm.

Any general patterns and the variances with regard to the different occupational groups are consequently determined.

Responsibility patterns and training of young boys and girls were operationalized by finding out the tasks, chores, jobs, performed by the young children. The regularity of performing these
and the leeway provided to the boys and girls in deviating from the set tasks. The responsibility patterns of the adult members were equally important, specially that of the father and mother, to understand the unconscious role patterning. The inculcation of the values, skills and attitudes associated with each role was thereby understood.

Socialization (of boys and girls) as a concept includes the content of the socialisation practices and the expected behaviour patterns. The focus provides insight into the ideal roles for which the boys and girls are being socialized.

The points of variance in the socialization practices of boys and girls were identified by observing the treatment meted out to boys in terms of demand fulfilment, tolerance of tantrums, attention, show of affection, tolerating deviance from expected norms etc.

The roles for which the young girls are being trained are understood through the ideal role patterns of the female members of the family, mainly the mothers. The family form enhanced our understanding of the role models; for if the family form is joint then the other members also act as role models. A clear picture of the differences in role systems emerged not only from family to family, but also across occupational groups.

The points of disagreement between the parents and children were studied through interviews and this threw light on the forms of deviance which could occur and the subsequent change in the role patterns, values, attitudes. It was anticipated that the direction of change could be identified. In addition it would lead
to an identification of the spheres where change can come about, and the domains and values which are more resistant to change.

It is further anticipated that this would explain to some extent changes in sex role ideologies, and conflicts in these.

Since the data is based on three different occupational groups not only will comparisons emerge but it would unfold clearly the magnitude of change in each of these categories.

**Power Relationships**

The authority structure in the family can be defined in terms of power relationships and the nucleus of authority. For example, locating who makes the general decisions of day to day life, regarding finances etc., sets the pattern of actual behaviour. Similarly, who decides matters associated with children's education, whether the wife's ideas are taken into consideration. Or is she allowed to use her discretion in various matters etc., are also taken into account. Further, the spheres where women take decisions, spheres where men do so and spheres where joint decisions are taken are also identified. The influence of elders, if present, is another important aspect. Thus the study of the dominance patterns in the family enhanced the understanding of the authority structure, the role and status of men and women in the family. Some of these are however subjective characteristics which were understood by asking questions regarding those matters.

Role systems where the father may be away on military services (sailors) were studied by probing the types of changes in the family that occurred when the father was away, discerning the changes in the role system, in the responsibility patterns, of the mother and
children, authority structure of the family etc. Consequently the patterns of adjustment and maladjustment, in such situations were also delineated.

In some cases where the mother took up extra familial roles i.e., working outside the home, was also anticipated as a cause of change in role patterns and thus the forms of adjustment in such situations were a focus of investigation.

Techniques of Socialisation

The various techniques used by socialising agents to transmit rules, values, beliefs and skills to the children are as follows. Though some techniques are used only in certain contexts our concern is with techniques that are more general.

Rewarding: Contexts and frequency of use of rewards (Symbolising love and nurturance such as smiling, caressing, hugging), Use of rewards symbolising prestige or achievement (e.g., praising), Use of material rewards (e.g., delicacies, toys, money). Another technique often used is ‘instructing’ — occasions and frequency of structuring situations for teaching purposes, coaching and demonstration. Denial of privilege — occasions and frequency, with which disciplinary agents in response to a child’s deviation, deny privileges like use of isolation like sending away the child, not speaking to him etc.

While studying these various aspects of socialisation, it is important to refer to the technique used for socialisation. The section which follows briefly defines these.
Disciplining is defined as the occasions and frequency of inflicting pain in response to the child's deviation. These include scolding, and use of physical punishment. Differences in the frequency and intensity with which various agents of discipline use physical punishment; extent of threats of physical punishment proportion of threats that are carried out, etc., are also observed and analyzed.

Injury will be an important type of sanction when physical punishment is important as a technique of discipline. Abandonment will be an important type of sanction when love oriented techniques e.g., denial of love, isolation, ridicule etc., are important in discipline.

Every culture will probably define a group of people toward whom the child is expected to be obedient but there will be room for a great deal of variations in how broad and strong this expectation is. Relevant training occurs in connection with the child's behaviour with other persons towards whom he is free.

"Obedience is a system of behaviour which consists of complying with orders, requests or hints from another person who is attempting to dominate one. At an extreme of motivational strength this tendency might also be seen in searching for orders or for a person who will give orders" (Whiting 1966: 57).

Discipline training was understood by constructing hypothetical situations, or situations which the parents may have been confronted with during the different phases of the child's growing up and how they dealt with these particular situations. At many points actual situations have been made use of in the form of case studies. This concept could be understood by concentrating on values of the parents, their concept of right and wrong, their
definition of desired behaviour. The second aspect of this was then to elicit from the parents how they dealt with such behaviour, viz., the methods, techniques used by parents for making the child to conform, their reactions to non-conformity.

The parents opinions regarding the gravity of the various offences were also studied; this further helped us to know the desired behaviour.

In a nutshell discipline of the child was understood as (a) who were the wielders of authority in the family, (b) how, when and why was it essential to achieve conformity, (c) how was conformity achieved, was it by explanation, persuasion, or by physical and corporal punishment, (d) generally the amount of supervision of the children's activities.

Educational and Career Aspiration

The section which follows focusses attention on the educational goals and career aspirations of the parents and their children. Achievement is defined as a system of behaviour which consists of evaluating one's behaviour and that of others by referring to standards of excellence, and striving to attain those standards.

The first aspect in this content is to locate reasons for providing education to the sons and daughters, viz., was it provided for its intrinsic value or for its function of increasing vocational opportunities and economic rewards.

(The reasons for providing education to their sons and daughters helped us to find out the relative importance assigned to education in the various occupational groups). Lastly to find the career aspirations of the parents and career aspirations of the
children, the reasons for preferring one occupation over the other were probed into.

This was followed by finding out the type of educational institutions in which they wanted their sons and daughters to study and the rationale for the same.

Academic performance was adjudged usually and whenever available by the academic record of the children.

Aspects of Change

The last section of this research focusses attention on aspects of change. This is referred to as 'modernisation' of the socialisation process, namely the social and psychological dimensions of change both at the institutional and individual levels. This concept comprehends changes in various sectors of life. 'Liberalism' which emphasises in turn rationality in action or universalistic change in the value system of the individual was investigated (Hagen 1962; Pandey 1977).

Dube has provided the following tentative list of characteristic attributes of "modernity": 1) empathy 2) mobility, 3) high participation, 4) interest aggregation, 5) institutionalised political competition, 6) achievement orientation, 7) rational ends-means calculations, 8) new attitudes to wealth, work, savings and risk taking, 9) socio-economic and political discipline, 10) capacity to put off immediate and short run satisfactions for higher satisfactions in the longer run. The term modern is a relative term, it is both a compliment and an abuse. In the same way, from the point of view of the literate or highly traditional society, to be modern may be a direct abuse, or connotative of a derogatory status (Dube 1967).
Further it is anticipated that there will be no major shifts in attitudes and behaviour of the majority of the people. It has been hypothesised that those who are exposed to the bureaucracy, to the professions etc., will tend to show certain changes but within the limitations imposed by the peasant economy (Pandey 1977).

In the final analysis if one could identify certain practices as traditional, some other as transitional and still some others as modern then we could place the occupational groups under study into these categories.

Certain attitudes of child care, were considered traditional. Traditional and modern elements in child care were: whether the families resorted to traditional or modern systems of care at the time of crisis, when the child fell ill or during day to day bringing up of the child. Traditional help 'mechanism' were understood as resort to traditional forms of care like belief in charms, magic etc. and taking help from elders of the family. The reverse of this, namely, use of modern medicine, taking help from professionals could be regarded as the opposite of traditional modes of child care. A combination of all these methods; modern and traditional could be regarded as transitional aspects of child care. Whether children were born at hospital or at home, the reasons for the preferences, etc., were also probed into.

Performing traditional rituals during birth and its association with the belief system that if these were not adhered to ill-luck would prevail, restrictions on the type of food consumed by the mother during child birth, restricting the mothers movement,
strict belief in the traditional concept of purity and pollution formed other aspects of investigation in this context.

Negative or positive influence of mass media was determined by understanding whether the parents referred to literature, books on child care, whether they watched television, or listened to radio programmes which help them in solving different problems associated with child care, or whether they resorted to methods which their own mothers, or elders had made use of in bringing them up.

The strict adherence to the traditional sex role ideology was considered a traditional belief. Therefore attitude to sharing of household task with the wife, whether sex roles were well differentiated or whether there was interchange of those etc., were also studied.

The traditional sex role was analysed in terms of authority structure so as to understand whether it provides a greater control of the males (husband and son) over the females (wife and daughter). In socialization of boys and girls whether equal treatment was provided to the sons and daughters, or whether demand fulfilment was much more in the case of boys, responsibility and help patterns were such that the pressure on girls were much more etc. are other aspects of traditional values investigated. Thus the suppression of girls whether conscious or unconscious was a focal point of observation.

High achievement orientation is viewed as a modern trait which includes high educational aspirations, high occupational
aspirations, desire for excellence in all spheres of life etc. for one's children, both sons and daughters. This is measured by appreciation and encouragement by the parents in the form of rewards or punishments. This is further measured by the interests the father and mother take in their children - in supervising their children's educational activities, in finding out solutions for their children's problems like not doing well in class.

Instilling in their children, qualities like obedience, high academic achievement, honesty, excellence, interacting and spending time with the children - explaining and reinforcing these desired qualities were other dimensions studied. These variables are considered to have a positive effect on achievement whereas the reverse of these have a negative effect on achievement.

**Sample Characteristics**

To understand the socio-economic background of the households in the sample the age categories in which the father and mother fell, the educational level of the parents, rural-urban background, the living arrangements, and the occupational status of the mothers are highlighted.
Table 1: AGE GROUP OF THE PARENTS IN THE THREE OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

(Figures are given in percentages)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Categories</th>
<th>Father N=50</th>
<th>Mother N=50</th>
<th>Father N=50</th>
<th>Mother N=50</th>
<th>Father N=50</th>
<th>Mother N=50</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20 to 25</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 to 30</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31 to 35</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36 to 40</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41 &amp; above</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The figures in table 1 suggest that age at marriage is much lower among traders and sailors. This has close association with the attitudes that children should be married early, soon after adolescence. In the clerks, however, the parents are not so young, since to become a clerk requires a higher level of education. Further by the time the job becomes permanent and the boy is able to earn a reasonable income he is around thirty and only then the marriage is performed. Among the traders stress is not laid on education, so as soon as the daughter finishes school education the next phase for her is to get married. For the son also as soon as the son is of marriageable age usually 22-26 he is married off.
Table 2: EDUCATIONAL LEVEL OF THE PARENTS IN THE DIFFERENT OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

(Figures are given in percentages)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational level</th>
<th>Clerks</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Traders</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Sailors</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Father</td>
<td>Mother</td>
<td></td>
<td>Father</td>
<td>Mother</td>
<td></td>
<td>Father</td>
<td>Mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Below Matric</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matric</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>48</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher Secondary</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post Graduate</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2 shows that the general level of education is highest among the clerks whereas in the traders and sailors it is much lower. In the traders the educational attainments are the lowest, for example 40% of the fathers are not even matriculates. The number of 'below matriculate' fathers in Sailors is nil, but the mothers are 40%. In the clerks it is absent and only 20% mothers belong to this educational category.

The highest number (34%) of graduate mothers are the wives of clerks, 6% in the traders and 12% in the sailors. The other extreme (below Matric) also shows that only 20% fall under this category among the clerks, whereas 56% in traders and 40% in sailors fall into this category. The educational levels show close relationships with the aspects mentioned in relation to table 1.
Table 3: TYPE OF SCHOOL ATTENDED BY MALE PARENTS

(Figures are given in percentages)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of School attended</th>
<th>Clerks N=50</th>
<th>Traders N=50</th>
<th>Sailors N=50</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government aided</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The fathers irrespective of the occupational group under consideration had studied mainly in the government schools. This could be due to the fact that the groups under consideration were middle income groups who could not afford public school education.

Table 4: RURAL URBAN BACKGROUND OF THE PARENTS IN THE THREE OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

(Figures are given in percentages)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spent large period of life in</th>
<th>Clerks Father N=50</th>
<th>Clerks Mother N=50</th>
<th>Traders Father N=50</th>
<th>Traders Mother N=50</th>
<th>Sailors Father N=50</th>
<th>Sailors Mother N=50</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urban settlements</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural settlements</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed settlements</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4 shows that, the background of clerks and traders is mostly urban whereas the background of sailors is usually rural. This shows that there is a clear relationship between the rural-urban background and the type of occupation chosen by the respondents concerned. This relationship had not been anticipated. A large number of sailors hail from the landed gentry of the rural areas. The term 'mixed' designates some families who have spent some years in the urban and some years in the rural set up.

Table 5: LIVING ARRANGEMENTS OF THE VARIOUS OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Living arrangements</th>
<th>Clerks N=50</th>
<th>Traders N=50</th>
<th>Sailors N=50</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Living in one room</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living in two rooms</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All the families of clerks were living in accommodation provided by the government which is usually a two room flat with kitchen and a single bathroom. But in most of the cases, one of the rooms is sublet to earn a little money. Thus sharing of the bathrooms by the clerks and their tenants is commonly observed.

Among the sailors 70% of the families are living in one room but in this group, the reasons for this living arrangement are a little different. In this case due to the shortage of accommodation the personnel who have been allotted two-room flats give away one room
to another colleague who may not have yet been allotted any accommoda-
tion. This arrangement is possible because the urge to remain with
one's family is so strong. In order that they live with their fami-
lies as long as they can, the idea of sharing a house is also quite
welcome. This also brings in some income for those who have given
the house to a colleague.

Majority of the traders (96%) are living in one room and only
6% of them are living in two rooms. Majority of those who live in
one room accommodation is residing in joint families (66%); parents,
married brothers and their children usually reside together. In
this case each brother may be usually occupying a room. Even when
they can afford to live in better houses they never do so because
that would cost more money. The other 28% rent one room flats
because they cannot afford more than this.

The families of clerks and sailors usually reside in official
accommodation in government colonies, therefore the people who live
nearby are similar in status. When these families were asked "Are
the families who live nearby, in your block/colony, of the same
standard?, the responses of the clerks (92%) and sailors (94%) were
in the affirmative.

Among the traders, however, since most of them are residing
in the private colonies, people from all walks of life, people of
different economic levels were residing together. Therefore, 14%
felt that those who were residing with them were much higher in
terms of their economic levels; 76% felt that people were generally
of the same standard.
Table 6: INCOME LEVELS OF THE FAMILIES

(Figures are given in percentages)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Income categories</th>
<th>Clerks N=50</th>
<th>Traders N=50</th>
<th>Sailors N=50</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>500-599</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>600-699</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>700-799</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>800-899</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>900-999</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1000 and above</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* In case, where there are working or semi-working wives, the table provides the total income of the family.

Table 6 shows the income levels of the different occupational groups.

Among the sailors and clerks there are some working wives, but among the traders the number of working wives who have an income of their own are only a few. Both the husband and wife may work together in the shop or some wives may be self employed among traders. Though these differences are present it does not make any substantial variation on the general style or standard of living.
Table 7: OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF THE WIVES IN THE DIFFERENT OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational status</th>
<th>Clerks N=50</th>
<th>Traders N=50</th>
<th>Sailors N=50</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Employed in a regular job</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self employed/piece work/part-time</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-working</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7 shows some wives are employed in regular jobs. Among traders however none of the wives are employed in regular jobs. Of those who are employed on a regular basis 7 are teachers and the rest are employed in clerical office jobs; only one is a Family Planning worker. The number of wives who are non-working is quite large in all the three occupational groups. There is another category which works in addition to housework. This work may not demand that they leave the house everyday. These mothers are working on knitting machines on commercial basis, working along with garment exporters on stitching, embroidery of garments, or getting work done for the exporters, stitching falls on sarees etc. This type of work is usually done by the wives of clerks to augment the family income. These have been termed self employed or doing part time work. There are 13 such wives. Their income ranges between Rs. 150-200 per month.
Among the traders, the wives possessed low education and in spite of urban living many traditional ideas still continued to prevail. Another reason for this is that even if wives felt occasionally that they could work outside the house the influence of the elders persisted and therefore they could not take up a job.

There are some traders’ wives who are working in the shops along with their husbands where the place of residence and shop are nearby or adjoined to the place of residence. There are 15 (30%) such wives. They have been termed the self employed category in table 7. These wives do not earn anything and they do not have an autonomous status of being an earner. There is no payment for the help/services rendered by them but indirectly it is a mode by which the husband saves money on employing a helper in running the business.

Further probing showed that only certain types of jobs were preferred (e.g. teaching) for which the traders wives were not qualified. Among the sailors the maximum number of wives fall in the non-working category because of three different reasons:

1. Constant transfers of husband, from one place to another. This reason is applicable to those who are educated and can take up a job.

2. Low education and therefore not equipped to take up a job.

3. The traditional sex role ideology according to which the women’s role is to look after the house and children. Since most of them hail from a rural background (74%) this idea seems to be strongly entrenched. Thus the occupational status of the mothers is closely associated with her level of education, her rural background and further tied up with the occupation of her husband.