CHAPTER-II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE
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Child study has been an area of interest to the anthropologists, sociologists, psychologists and psychiatrists. Various child-rearing studies have already been done by many western scholars, such as Margaret Mead, Ruth Benedict, Ralph Linton, Abram Kardiner, Sear, John Dollard, Invin.L.Child, John W.M.Whiting, B.B. Whiting, and others. Their studies have made attempts to find out the impact of child rearing practices on personality development on the contention that there is a close relationship between the process of child rearing and personality development. A few Indian scholars also have undertaken studies in this line. Some of the important studies conducted abroad and in India in this frame of child-rearing studies are reviewed in the following.

2.1 An Overview of Researches on Child-rearing Practices

Sigmund Freud (1920), discovered that infancy and childhood conditioning had enormous significance for the development of adult personality. He further put his view that young children were not only sentient and passionate beings but also highly vulnerable to parental and other early influences, for worse or for better. The Freudian theory of psychosexual urges has been a stimulus to anthropological studies of child training in diverse cultural setting. He was responsible for awakening the interest of a number of anthropologists in the problem of child training.
Abram Kardiner (1939), analyzed the Freudian theory and formulated another line of theory research, which may be called neo-Freudian, replacing Freud's biological drives theory and thereby unfolding what is called the theory of ego development. In his book, *The Individual and Society* (1939), he discussed the influence of cultural aspects on personality formation through child rearing and that the resulting personality in turn influenced the given culture. He believes that primary institutions, such as family organization and subsistence techniques are the source of early experiences that help form the personality. Personality, in turn, influences the growth of such secondary institutions as religion, folktale, and way of thinking. Kardiner concludes that personality of the child is generated by the culture where he is born and brought up, and also that different institutions in a culture are integrated through child-rearing practices, i.e., enculturation process followed in that culture.

Margaret Mead's *Coming of Age in Samoa* (1928), is an outstanding work in which she describes the basic principles of Samoan life and behaviours from birth to maturity, and portrays the moral and social problems the adolescents have to solve and the values that guide them in their solution. Mead's *Growing up in New Guinea* (1930), is a comparative study of primitive education. In this study of hers, she tries to show the manner in which human babies born into these water-dwelling communities gradually absorb the tradition, the prohibitions, and the values of their elders and become in turn the active perpetuators of Manus culture.
John W.M. Whiting's *Becoming a Kwoma* (1951), is an exploratory research in the field of child-rearing study in which he analyses how a Kwoma child is brought up and how the child becomes a member of the Kwoman society. In 1940, Otto Raum published *Chaga Childhood* in which he discusses the primitive education from the functional point of view. In 1952 Sears, Maccoby and Levin jointly published their outstanding work on patterns of child rearing. In 1954 Hamed Amar published his book *Growing up in an Egyptian Village* in which he analyzes how a child is brought up. Margaret Read's *Children of Their Fathers* (1960), is a study on the methods of training a Ngoni baby at each different stage for it to become a Ngoni child. In 1964 *Six Cultures*, a monograph edited by B.B. Whiting, was published, in which the relation between patterns of child rearing and subsequent differences in personality of six different societies of the world is discussed intra-culturally and cross-culturally. This celebrated monograph includes in it the Rajaut caste village of Khalapur as one of the six cultures, in whose study the authors, namely Leigh Minturn and John T. Hitchcock reported that Khalapur parents are not openly warm or overtly affectionate with their children in comparison to parents in other societies. Further, they add that a Khalapur mother does not lavish individual attention to her children, and she insists that “all children are alike”, although she is generally attentive to their needs (Minturn and Hitchcock 1963). As Minturn and Hitchcock express again, “The child is always a secure member of a group, but he is never an important individual”. His needs are cared for, his reasonable demands met, but he never
monopolizes his mother's time. In general, the two authors find that the contributions of parents towards their children are best thought of as "status oriented" rather than "love oriented" because they have a fear of loss of status and abandonment by the social group rather than fear of loss of love from a particular person. Comparative quantitative analysis and other similar observations in other cultures lead to the conclusion that Khalapur mother, who score below all others on a maternal warmth factor, are unusual in their lack of warmth in interaction with their children.

In a similar manner, in Bengal, Ronald Rohner and Manjusri Chaki-Sircar (1988), found higher levels of affection in low-caste households in comparison with the level of maternal warmth of the high-caste and middle-caste Hindu households. In line with Minturn and Lambert (1964), they attribute this to the fact that high cast households are more likely to consist of extended families than are low-caste households. In her study of child rearing among Hindu families in Bhubaneswar, Susan Seymous (1975), reported that the care of children in Bhubaneswar was strikingly casual and impersonal and they took it for granted and their basic needs attended to, but the children received little other special attention or stimulation. She further concluded that, in low-status joint households, besides mothers, other family members offered children a great deal of spontaneous positive affection. She followed the hypothesis of Margaret Mead, that affective bonds and caretaking role in larger households were extended widely across a greater number of relationships. While studying the nature of affective behaviour and emotions in
India, she also pointed out the need to consider interpersonal touching and physical contact.

Stanley Kurtz (1992), argues over the findings of Carstairs and Kakar in their psychoanalytic studies that give too much emphasis on and importance to both the intimacy between mother and infant before weaning and the emotional fallout that arises when the child separates from the mother and enters the world of adult males. He puts into question psychoanalytic model that gives priority to relation between a mother and her child. He holds the option that neither the mother nor other family members are engaged in an intimate exchange with or reflection of emotions on the child; the mother’s behaviours and attitudes towards her child are not complete self-indulgence in the child. Rather, the mother gently pushes the child away from a direct and exclusive link with her thus directing the child towards a sense of immersion in or unity with the family group. Kurtz holds that this gradual and negotiated movement from the orbit of the mother’s care towards the loving protection of a larger group leads to a healthy and sociocentric resolution of the conflict that western societies express as ‘Oedipal’.

In her ethnography, *Notes on Love in a Tamil Family* (1990), Trawick delves into the attributes of the Tamil concept of anpu or “love”, by examining from her informants’ views of it in their everyday lives. It is reported that anpu is a ruling principle for the Tamils. According to them, anpu is a dangerous, habit-forming force that must be “contained” and “hidden” lest it overflows its
boundaries and harm both the recipients and the givers of love. A mother should never gaze lovingly into her child's face because that gaze could harm the child; spouses are expected to keep loving affection and sexual feelings for one another hidden; and family members would "hide" love by openly down grading a loved one. Further, Trawick observes that Tamils think that love is "cruel and forceful as much as it is tender and slow. The bonds of affection between mother and child are cruel in part because, when the bonds break down, the child suffers pain. Love is also cruel and harsh in the sense that out of love, for their children, Tamil parents often beat them or force them to act in certain ways just as they try to train their children to be tough. Trawick further notes that these sentiments are necessary in a world of scarcity and hardship. As a result, the Tamil mothers are found deliberately spurning or mistreating their own children, forcing their own children's affection away from the closest blood bond. Kurtz suggests that these assessments of the Tamil parents could reflect the pain that parents might feel in turning the child from exclusive intimacy with them towards wider bonds with "other mothers" and fathers of the extended family.

Trawick's model of parental love (particularly maternal love) for the children is obviously one of 'hidden' love. This is decidedly a case of ideology. But, what needs explicit clarification here is as to whether this is an ideological notion of a few certain Tamil families or it reflects general truth of the Tamils in general. In any case, this ideology suggests that Tamil maternal love may be hidden or explicit, is constant and immutable. Based on the findings of Vatuk
(1969), the North-Indian counterpart of the phenomenon, however, shows a different picture of maternal love for children in which case the emotional bond of the mother with her child is rather moderated by the kinship term for 'mother'. Here the 'natural' bond of mother with child is culturally re-defined; the fact is that North-India parental grandmothers train their grand-children to call them 'mother' with the aim to diffuse the affectionate power of the term also to the grandmother.

Despite their differences in explanations, both Trawick's and Vatuk's deals with child-rearing practices, the former from the context of Tamil society and the latter from that of North-India, hover round the socio-centric focus of personhood and emotions in South Asia. Several studies lend support to this socio-centric focus of child-rearing practices in India. In tune with this trend of giving focus Pradip Kumar Bose (1995), in his study of Hindu family in Calcutta representing the Hindu India world general picture of this social phenomenon, conceives of family as a private and intimate sphere in which warm but restrained private affective experience produces character for the sake of a disciplined nation.

While there is thus a strong focus on collective identity among the South Asians, there are, however, also important concerns for individual autonomy and personal needs and desires. In the psychoanalytically inclined study of the psychological concerns of Pakistani women, for instance, Ewing (1991) considers the cultural demand for socio-centric allegiance to the family
group as a given, but also finds evidence of women’s achievement of intrapsychic autonomy or their experience of a painful lack of this sort of autonomy. Thus, while some Pakistani women smoothly adjust themselves to their husbands’ families with a sense of self esteem; the lives of other Pakistani women are marked by adjustment problems as evident in their bouts of spirit possession, mental depression and hostility with other members of their families after marriage.

Cora Dubois (1944) made a classic study of personality in the island of Alor in eastern Indonesia. During her 18 month long study she observes that the picture of the typical Alorese personality is not favourable and both sexes are suspicious and antagonistic and they are prone to violent, emotional and often jealous outbursts. They are likely to behave in an uninterested way towards the world around them, untidy in workmanship, and, above all, indifferent to goal. The origin or basis of much of this personality trait among this people is the mother’s long absence from the infants during the day time. In this community, women are the major food suppliers, and engage themselves everyday in the family gardens, whereas men control over the commercial affairs, particularly the trading of pigs, gongs and kettledrums. Normally the baby is left in the care of the father, the children’s siblings, or a grandparent, and consequently, the baby is deprived of the breast for almost the entire day. Finally, it is found that maternal neglect in infancy is seen as almost entirely responsible for Alorese personality.
Sears, et al., (1957), studied the child rearing practices of 379 mothers of five year old children. The socio-economic status of these mothers is classified by the investigators as either 'middle class' or 'working class'. The study finds that middle class mothers impose fewer restrictions on their children and make fewer demands upon them than do the working class mothers. In general the middle class mothers are less punitive and more permissive towards their children than are the lower class mothers.

Ames & Randari (1965), conducted a study to observe some differences in child rearing practices of Indian and Canadian mothers. The major findings thereof are that Canadian mothers employ spanking or beating whereas Indian counterparts use rejection methods for punishment. There are no differences in the use of scolding or withholding of privies in the form of punishment. Canadian mothers more often practise early training of the children and then refuse to help them with what they are supposed to know, while Indian mothers let the children solve problems by themselves, but are more willing to help them.

In a study conducted in a Colombian village Reichel (1979), reports that the poorest mothers seem to punish their children most severely. Much stress is laid on the importance of avoiding physical punishment for the fear that too much of it will make the child become a person without shame.

Sidana, U.R. and Sinha, D. (1973), conducted a study in Kanpur city with a view to finding out the relationship between the child-
rearing practices of the parents and the development of fears in children and found that children who were less often punished by their parents had fewer fears than those who were more often punished.

Sharma, V.P. (1981), conducted a study on child rearing practices and child growth in an Indian urban setting, Ahmadabad and found that the highly educated mothers tended to use reasonable persuasion and reproach, more than the less educated mothers who used spanking only to get immediate relief from the disturbance of their children.

L. Dube (1949), reported that purificatory and name giving ceremony were performed on the sixth day after birth among the Amat Gonda, Rajput District, and that birth of the first child, specially of the first male child was celebrated with gay and pomps. He further found that feeding was continued as long as the mother had milk and that if the mother conceived again, she allowed the child to suck till the foetus is about five months old or till the pregnancy is confirmed. Smearing bitter substances like neem leaves on the breasts of the mother was used as a technique of weaning.

Mudgal (1979), surveyed infant feeding practices of the tribal of Madhya Pradesh and found that it was believed that it should be prolonged. Semisolid food of cereal was introduced after six months of the infant’s birth.
Behl (1979), studied infant feeding practices among the tribals of Himachal Pradesh. The results showed that 84% of the children were given their first food twelve hours after birth and most mothers breast fed their children up to thirty-six months. At the age of thirteen to twenty-four months, 92% of children received semisolid foods; meat, eggs, and milk were considered nutritious foods and so were given to the infants.

Sampath (1964), studied child care and child rearing practices among the Gonds of Tamia and found that their children were breast fed until they could walk and take food by their own hand.

Narayan (1983), studied the health care of the Oraon children from the Barambe village in Ranchi district, Bihar, and found that the Oraon child totally depended on mother's milk till the age of one year. After the completion of a year the baby was given solid food.

Dave, et al., (1984), studied child-care in Panchamahal District in Gujarat among the tribals and observed that breast feeding was the rule. The frequency of breast feeding decreased with increase in age and weaning began after the child started walking. A majority of the children were completely weaned between two and two and a half years of their ages. The study found no significant sex differences as far as the age of weaning is concerned. And there was particular age at which the mother started toilet training of their children. The mothers were not particular about training the children for achieving independence at an earlier age. Till four years of age
the child generally moved around in an upper garment or nothing at all, so the question of changing the soiled clothes seldom arose. The child was bathed with warm water. Bathing the child was the mother's job till the baby reached five years of age. The child's physical care was neglected. The child was shabbily dressed. The common cold was a very common ailment but no special attention was given to the child suffering from cold. The treatment for sick children was usually availed from the village Bhagat. The magico-religious beliefs in evil spirits evidently had a stronger hold. Sorcery was linked with causing and curing diseases. As a result of such faith in the supernatural, the tribals availed of alien allopathic services when local resources were exhausted.

Swain (1985), studied infant feeding practices among the Santal tribe in northern Orissa and found that immediately after the child's birth, honey or jaggery, which they believed could help the child resist hunger, was given to the child. The child was usually put to breast after twelve hours. Breast feeding was encouraged in the children till the mother conceived again. The supplementary feeding to the baby started when the child reached the age of seven months. They used soft rice, gruel and pulses as major supplementary foods.

Rizvi (1985), studied the Jaunsaris of Uttar Pradesh and found that the neonates and infants were usually suckled by the mother and that breast feeding usually continued up to the age of two or three years or till the delivery
of the next child, whichever was earlier. The infants started eating cereals at
the age of six to seven months or at the most eight months, while they still
continued to be breast fed.

Dave C (1985), studied infant feeding practices in tribal pockets of
Udaipur District, Rajasthan, and found that 57% of mothers were breast-
feeding the infant till they reached two years of age and the majority of the
mothers started weaning from the age of one year.

Das and Ghosh (1985), found that breast-feeding was the main form of
food for the infants among the Santhals of Bihar. Breast milk is replaced by
cow’s milk if milk is not available in the breasts of the mothers. Normally, a
child is fed until the next child is born. The introduction of solid food is started
in regular manner only around one to one and a half years of age or even
later. And they further observe the health care of their children and it was
found that if children are significantly ill, they immediately have recourse to
domestic medicine or medicine given by the folk practitioner (ojha). Only when
the approach proved failure do they take the patients to modern doctors.

In 1971, Bailure studied food consumption patterns of pre-school
children in six cities of India and found that breast-feeding was a universal
practice and continued up to two or even three years. Pregnancy of the mother
was major reason for stoppage of breast feeding. Food supplementation
started by two years and by four or five years of age weaning was completed.
Madhavi, et al., (1972) studied the village Fatehpur, Hyderabad, and revealed that infants were fed on breast after thirty-six or forty-eight hours of birth. Prolonged breast feeding was common.

In 1973, a study by Bhandari and Patel revealed that the mothers of all socio-economic groups in Bhopal, Madhya Pradesh, accepted breast feeding as natural and new born babies were put to breast between one to six days. Solid food was introduced mostly at one year and it mainly consisted of carbohydrates.

Walia, et al., (1974) studied in an urban population of Chandigarh and found that the act of weaning was highly correlated with socio-economic status. In 75 percent of upper class families attempt was made to wean the babies by about nine months. In 70.7 percent cases breast feeding continued beyond twelve months.

The study of Datta (1975), in Delhi revealed that majority of infants were put breast by thirteen to twenty-four hours after delivery. 97.3 percent children were either completely or partially breast fed up to six months, 55.8 percent till the age of one and a half years and 2.1 percent to the age of four years. Most mothers of higher socio-economic group started giving solid food to their children at about six months, while mothers of lower socio-economic group started it after one year.
Other studies conducted on health and hygienic practices are: Chowdhuri and Debnath (1985), Pandey, et al., (1979), Sobhavathi (1980).

Kusuma (1997), studied the child rearing practices among the traditional and the transitional Sugali groups. She found that there was significant difference between traditional and transitional Sugali families in child rearing.

Indira Barua and Promanita Bora (2000) studied various dimensions of child-rearing practices among the Sonowal Kacharis (second largest plain tribe) of Assam. The study reveals the characteristics of a simple society; neither special care nor extra stress is given to any stage of child rearing process. No special diet is given during pregnancy mainly due to poor economic condition. As there is no mid-wife, the elderly women of the community help in delivery. Adequate safeguards are taken to protect the infant against evil eyes. Weaning of a mullet and copper coins are popular among the Kacharies. They also preserve the dried naval cord and it is believed that the water extracted from this cord is useful in diseases like dysentery, fever, etc. Children are vaccinated, but they have faith in indigenous medicine and take helps of ‘bij’ (folk medicine man) for safe delivery and illness. Many of the beliefs have similarities, not only among the communities of Assam, but even among some communities of Punjab.