CHAPTER IX

CHILD REARING ATTITUDES AND PATTERNS OF ADULT BEHAVIOUR

(A) CHILD REARING SYSTEMS

I. Introduction

It has now been generally accepted by the psychologists that the experience of childhood have a determining influence on the development and direction of the growing personality of an individual. The experiences of childhood in turn depends upon systems of child rearing and child training. These systems differ from society to society and hence we find differences in the basic personality structure in different societies. The pattern of child training, the experience in home in infancy and childhood, the attitudes of parents and society towards adolescence and marriage, the role and responsibilities of an adult member in the society, the status and position of old age etc. are all very significant in shaping the personality of an individual. A study of the life cycle of the individual in a given culture is therefore necessary to arrive at any conclusions about the development and structure of the personality.

Parents are the first people with whom the child comes in contact after its birth. The child is in a helpless condition and is dependent upon its parents, especially the mother for the satisfaction of its biological and psychological needs. The
relations of parents and children are therefore of primary importance in the initial stage of this process of development. It is the parents who train the child for its future role in the social, economic and religious structure of the society. Moreover, it is through the psychological process of identification with the parents and the introjection of their prescriptive commands that the super-ego of the child is built up, which functions as an inner source of control over the instinctual impulses. The type of super-ego that will emerge in a child thus depends upon the attitudes and relations of the parents. This chapter is, therefore, devoted to the review of the main customs of Kharwas relating to the birth of a child, the experiences and training in infancy and childhood of a Kharwa child.

II. Birth of a child

To the Kharwas, pregnancy is not something mysterious, but a natural outcome of the relation with a male. Every Kharwa male knows that he is the creator and father of the child. When I told my informant Mr. Kishanbhai about the belief held in some primitive societies that a woman is fecundated mysteriously by the spirit of a dead ancestor and the relation of the male with the female has nothing to do with the birth of a child, he simply laughed and turned down such an idea as foolish. He said that every Kharwa individual knows that the conception of the child is a function of semen. As a result of sexual intercourse
sperm is ejaculated into the womb of the woman and the egg therein is fertilised. When the menstruation cycle stops, it is a sure indication that the woman concerned has conceived.

An old woman, Gheliben, describing her experiences of the first pregnancy, said, "I had a very uncomfortable time when my first son was in the womb. Nausea, restlessness, dislike for food and headache troubled me during the first five months of pregnancy." She added that a girl child does not trouble so much as the boy. A pregnant woman has to observe certain restraints. She could not cross a flowing river, she could not lift heavy weight and she shall not take in her diet such items of food as would accelerate the heat of the metabolism. She has to save herself from the evil eye of a witch. She cannot wash her head while taking bath. Sex relations are avoided in the last three months.

The ceremony of 'simant' is performed during the seventh month of first pregnancy. Relatives are given a feast in the evening. In this ceremony, the women folk from relation and neighbourhood would bathe the woman in a ritualistic manner and sing sons. She will be served 'Halva' in a plate, which she has to eat with five young male children. In the afternoon she is taken out into the house from the place of bathing. She is adorned with red Sari, ornaments and red-tarmeric powder on her forehead. The brother of pregnant woman spreads on the ground red pieces of cloth and puts beatlenuts and coins thereon. The woman walks
on it ceremoniously. A married woman, none of whose children is dead, gives rice and coconut to the pregnant woman, who takes the same in her Sari and walks with it. The women sing songs. In the house, a temporary wooden temple has been prepared and the idols of 'Randal Na' have been seated therein. The woman comes before Randal Na and sits before Randal Na, bowing down her head. The ceremony is thus over and the woman goes to her parental house with her brother for delivery. It is a custom that the first delivery shall be at the parental home.

The Kharwa women can calculate the date of delivery and the delay in delivery is watched with anxiety. In the hours before the delivery, when the woman feels pain in her abdomen and is restless, a midwife, an old and experienced woman, who has become proficient only by experience, is called. The woman is made to lie flat on a cot in the house. The children are sent out and the males wait anxiously outside. Only some elderly woman of the family or relative remains present.

When the child is born, the umbilical cord is cut with a knife. The child is cleansed and few drops of solution of gur in water are put into its mouth. The child is fed with this solution called 'Garhuli' for two days. It is nourishing and laxative. It cleanses the stomach and lever of the child.

The breast of the mother is given on the third day. The midwife is given a bountiful of wheat, about a kilogram of gur and her fees.
The confined woman is regarded as impure and untouchable for three weeks. She is bathed for the first time on the tenth day. The second bath is taken on twentieth day. Till then she is untouchable. She is not allowed to touch any person or article. After the second bath, the period of seclusion ends. She now becomes touchable. She can touch persons and articles. But she is not allowed to touch the water pots, cooking vessels and the articles of the worship of God. She cannot enter the kitchen. At the end of the fifth week after child-birth, she takes the third bath, which removes all impurities. She can now cook the food, perform the worship of the God, fetch water etc. No restrictions are placed on her movement.

The Kharwas believe that 'Devi Uithata' the goddess of fortune, visits the new born child on the sixth day and writes its fortune or misfortune. A simple ceremony is performed on the night of sixth day. On a piece of plant some grains of wheat and gur are kept. A flame of ghee is lit. A blank paper, a pen, an inkstand and few leaves of beetle are kept there. The child is wrapped in a new cloth and rolled three times before it. It is believed that if the child sees the flame it will have an eye defect. Then Gur is distributed to all those present. It is believed that what is written in one's fate on this day by Devi Vidhata, cannot be undone afterwards. There is another custom
called 'Guruwara.' If in the neighbourhood a girl and a boy are born on the same day, they are made Guru-brother and sister. They are taken to the temple of Goddess Ishwari. Parents of both the child worship the Goddess. Then the Bhuva of Goddess says Guru-mantra in the ears of the children. They remain lifelong brother and sister.

III. Pattern of Names

There is no distinct ceremony for the naming of the child. The astrologer is asked to find out the 'Rashi' of the child. He suggests the letters with which a name should begin. Then the sister of child's father gives it a name. She is given a Sari by her brother for the naming of the child. The following list of names reveals the general pattern of names.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male Names</th>
<th>Female names</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Devji</td>
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<td>Dosa</td>
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<td>Comati</td>
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<td>Gauri</td>
<td>Manba</td>
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<td>Lalu</td>
<td>Narmada</td>
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<td>Muli</td>
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This survey reveals the influence of the varieties of sources in adopting the names. They adopt names of God (e.g. Ganesh, Naran, Hari, Devi, Laxmi) a name of a colour (e.g. Kala Kesar, Lalu), name of a river (e.g., Jamana, Gomti, Ganga), name of quality (e.g. Dahi, Cheli, Jhino) etc.

IV. The attitudes towards the expectant mother and the New Child

The first child is expected by the Kharwas after the second year of married life. If the young woman does not conceive even after two years of married life, the parents and elder members of the family become worried about it. They would generally suspect the influence of evil eye. They would consult their Bhuva and seek his advice and help.

The conception for the first time after marriage is naturally looked upon by the spouses as well as their parents with joy and curiosity. The attitude towards the expectant mother is neither of despise nor of admiration. It is a matter of natural course. A child is always welcomed for it adds to the membership of the family. As is usual in all patriarchal and patrilineal tribes, in Kharwa community also, a male child is preferred to a female child. But it does not matter whether an individual has one or more sons. There must be at least one son to continue the line of descents. If an individual has no son at all, he would adopt a child of his own clan and bring it up as his own son.
As a male child is liked more than a female child, there is a conscious or unconscious distinction made in the bringing up of a child. They neither actively dislike nor hate the girl child. Yet a male child enjoys an obvious and evident superiority over a daughter. There is great difference in the social and economic status of a boy and a girl. A girl is considered a liability to the parents. Training of a male child and a female child also differs right from infancy. A girl is taught to submit and obey the male superiority in all matters. A girl is trained to become an obedient housewife. On the other hand, a male child is trained to be militant, assertive and self-dependent.

The review of the family survey carried out by me shows that the number of children in a family varies from nil to a dozen, the number four to five being very common. The instances of having more than twelve children are not unknown. I was told that a particular woman had given birth to sixteen children and yet she was quite normal in health. They expect the first child during the second or third year after marriage. The average gap between two successive births is 18 to 24 months. The Kharwas believe that children are God-sent and as such the birth of a new boy does not create any worries for them. "Every child brings with it its own fortune." "If the God gives teeth, He will also give food to chew." This is the general view held by Kharwas.
V. Care of the Infant

The mother is always conscious of the child's needs for food and rest. She attends to the child carefully and affectionately. The child is breast fed. For many months the child subsists exclusively on mother's milk. There is no rigid feeding schedule. Whenever the child cries it is taken to the breast. At night the child sleeps by the mother's side so that she can easily take it to the breast. For the purpose of feeding, the child is taken into the lap. The mother leans forward and puts the nipple into its mouth. The weaning is late and gradual. There is no specific age when a child shall be weaned. I saw children of 20 months and above that age clinging to their mother's breast.

At the age of twelve months the child is given liquid food like 'Dal' and 'Rab'. Then it is given rice and dal, Khichadi. Solid food like Chapati and loaf are given after eighteen months. If the mother's milk is insufficient or fails too early, the child is given cow's milk.

The methods of weaning are mild and slow. The child is neither beaten nor ridiculed if it insists for mother's breast till a late age. The mother would say to the child, "You have now grown old. People will laugh at you if you cling to the breast." In order to create repulsion in the child for breast, the mother applies some bitter substance to the nipple before putting it into its mouth. This bitter substance spoils his mouth and the child gradually gives up the breast.
The act of breast feeding is not something that is to be performed in private. The woman does not feel any hesitation in doing so even in the presence of males. The woman takes the child into lap and covers it with her Sari. However, the child is not breast fed in the presence of elderly male members. The child is always protected from the evil eye of a witch. Hence the child is not fed in the presence of a woman suspected to be a witch.

VI. Swaddling

The use of swaddle to make the child asleep is common among the Kharwas. The child is put into the swaddle, and it is moved to and fro with a push. The mother or the sister attending the child sings a lullaby. The rhythmic movement of the swaddle and the sweet voice throw all the disturbing stimuli into the background and the child falls asleep. The presence of the mother or the sister creates a sense of security in his mind.

The swaddle is prepared in two parts. Two pieces of teak-wood, each of about 2 feet in length and 4 inches in diameter are taken. Then two legs of about 4 feet in length are affixed to the two ends of both the pieces of teakwood. A piece of wood of about one and a half feet in length is raised like a pillar in the centre of each teakwood piece. Then these two pillars are joined together by a piece of wood of about six feet. The ends of this
piece of wood are sharpened a little bit and then inserted in each of the pillar. A rectangular piece of cloth with holes in the founmss is then tied hanging to this wood with the help of strings. The child is put into this cloth which looks like a big Joli and it is swung to and fro. Because of the weight of the child the two sides of the cloth comes very near each other. Consequently the child can neither remain flat nor can it move its limbs freely. The head and the feet are higher while the middle portion of the body of the child is almost in the position of letter V of the alphabet. As the child grows older it forms the habit of sleeping on the cot or on the ground. While going outside the infant is carried in the arms or the waist.

VII. Sphincter control

Sphincter control in a Kharwa child is not expected early in life. The parents do not insist on regularity and control of the sphincter. The habits of urinating and defecating are not firmly established till the age of four years. Till the age of fifteen to sixteen months the child is allowed to urinate or defecate in the laps of the mother or any other person who carries it. If the child is in the swaddle or the cot it urinates or defecates there without any interference. The child is neither disliked nor punished for that. After the age of fifteen or sixteen
months the mother or any other female member of the family, takes the child outside for sphincter activities. The child is seated on her feet and encouraged to defecate there. If the child responds favourably, well and good, if not, nobody will mind it. When the child reaches the age of about three years, it knows the place where to go for sphincter activities, but he would not always go there. He often defecates in the house. The child is neither frowned at nor punished for such lapses. The attitudes of the elders in the house is that of 'Laissez Faire'. "A child is after all a child. To commit mistakes is natural for them." After the age of three the child itself goes to the place shown to it for sphincter activities. The child is generally asked to defecate on one side of the street near the house. No lapses would be committed by a child of four and above. A child of four years and above goes out in the neighbourhood with other children for play. He may carry on his sphincter activities anywhere he likes. There is thus no planned schedule for training of sphincter control. As the child grows, it automatically learns these things.

The bringing up of the child is a joint responsibility for both the husband and the wife. But since the males are out of station for a long period on sailing and other expeditions, the responsibility automatically devolves upon the mother. The husband shares this responsibility with pleasure whenever he is at home.
The father fondles the child by patting, throwing it up in the air and receiving back and tickling in the legs and armpits. If the child is mature enough to walk, he may take it out for a walk, purchase it a toy or some eatable. If the child is crying in the house, he will immediately attend to it and try to calm it.

The Kharwa women generally do not go out for work unless the economic condition is extremely poor. But due to household responsibilities she cannot continuously attend to the child. The child is thus not deprived of the maternal care for a longer period, yet it cannot expect the mother's continued attendance. The families with very poor economic conditions allow its women to work as maid servants or to go for collecting firewood. But this type of work does not demand the absence of the mother from the house continuously for a long period. Even during this short interval the child is not left unattended. Other members of the family attends to it.

VIII. Induction of activities and Emotional Expressions

As the child grows in age, it achieves maturity of different parts of the body and to keep pace with the process of maturation motor training is given. Parents and elder siblings take keen interest and help the child in learning.
After six months the child is taught to sit. The child is seated on the ground and a support of rolled blanket or pillows is kept on three sides. In front of the child some vessel is kept overturned. Elder siblings sit by the child beating the vessel with a piece of stick. This practice is continued till the child learns to sit exact. The child can learn this at the age of about eight months. When the child becomes of eleven months, the training to learn to walk is initiated. The child is taught to walk by giving support with a finger and then encouraged to walk a distance independently. The child generally learns to walk at the age of fifteen months. The child can run independently at about twenty months. The child begins to smile and to respond to the smiles at a fairly early age. It can recognise its mother and father and acquaintances and stretches forth the hands towards them.

The child receives the emotion of fear from the voice and expressions of those around it at a fairly early age. It can recognise its mother and father and acquaintances and stretches forth the hands towards them.

The child receives the emotion of fear from the voice and expressions of those around it, at a fairly early age. A loud or an intensive noise evokes the emotion of fear. If the older children around it are frightened, the child also is frightened. The objects to be feared are very few. The child looks at the stranger with a suspicious eye. In the beginning the child fears the Policeman, a Sadhu and strange animals. As the child grow older, then fear gradually vanishes.
The child learns to fear certain objects at an older age. Those objects are supernatural. For example, they are afraid of their Kuldevi and Kuldevata, Dariya Pira, Ramadevji, a witch etc. These fears are induced into the child intentionally or unintentionally by the parents. The parents often talk of the disfavour of these Gods on a particular person and the miseries he had to suffer as a consequence of it. The women often talk about the witchcraft, "A particular child died of witchcraft," "A particular woman has colic pain because of that" and so on. The children hear these talks and acquire the fear of the witch. Thus, the fear of Gods, ghosts, spirits and the witch is acquired from the witnessing of the performance of certain rituals to propitiate the supernaturals.

The general response to the feared object is 'keeping away from the feared object by running away from it. Screaming, trembling and crying are the apparent natural expressions in a fear-striken child. The elder persons immediately attend to the child and try to allay its fear by pampering and patting it.

Anger and aggression are looked upon with disfavour. They are discouraged. Similarly, fighting and quarreling among the siblings are discouraged and it is always the elder child who is at a discount. Sibling jealousy is tactfully handled.
The elder child is told, "You are an elder one. You should take care of the younger siblings. Wise children always behave like this." The child is kept away from undesirable activity by saying, "It is bad. Only the mad children indulge in such activity." The reaction of the defeated child is sulking and regression from the situation.

IX. The child as a Member of the family

When the child reaches the age of four years, it becomes a significant member of the family. It has become self-dependent in attending to the calls of nature. It is given a separate dish and a cup for eating and drinking. It sleeps alone in the bed at night. The sense of possession and ownership has come to the fore and as such it comes to possess small things like toys and asserts its right if anybody tries to take it. The existence of the child as an independent member of the family is accepted by all. The child is trained to respond to the cares of elders. It can understand what the mother or the father means to say. It obeys the orders from them and in turn expects them to do something for it.

At this age the children are not particular about cleanliness and about clothing. I saw many male children with only a short playing with dust in the streets. The male child is almost half clad till it goes to the school. The female child puts on a frock. Children move about bare-footed. The habits of cleanliness and proper dressing are formed at a later age.
X. Education of the child

The child is not imparted any training consciously till the age of many months. Even after that, the education is quite simple. Till the age of four, the child has simply to learn certain 'dos' and 'don'ts'. For example, the child must learn to sit, to crawl and then to walk within the house. It should not go out alone, not to tangle with the weaving of nets, to keep away from fire and other harmful objects, etc. These 'dos' and 'don'ts' are enforced through persuasion and shouting.

When the child crosses the fourth year, the parents feel that it has become self-dependent in matters of food, sleeping and calls of nature. The child has become mature to comprehend simple maxims. The conscious education of the child begins from this age. Certain patterns of behaviour appropriate to the persons and situation are expected of it. It should not quarrel with its siblings, it should not be jealous of its siblings, it should be active and careful in carrying out the orders, it should complete the work entrusted to it etc. By the time a child has completed the sixth year of its life, it has mastered all essential avoidances by heart.
A child of seven years and above becomes of positive help to the parents. A seven year old male child runs errands, looks after the younger siblings, goes for collecting firewood, brings things from the nearby shop etc. The little girl helps the mother in household work, sweeps the floor, fetches water, collects the firewood and cowdung, cleanses the vessels, cleanses the younger siblings on defecation and urination, pushes the swaddle to and fro, sings and make the young child become asleep and begins to learn the art of cooking.

As the child advances in age, it learns to cultivate necessary physical and technical skills. No special training is imparted in this behalf. The child acquires these skills by 'doing' and imitation. It learns many things through games. Physical skills essential for satisfactory adjustment to life are acquired by the child during this period of life. The boy learns swimming, boating, catching fish and exercising tact in soliciting the favours of the relatives. The child also joins the adults in dances and learn by imitation the different types of movements of feet and hands. Similarly, the girl acquires proficiency in household work, in cooking, in cleaning the fish caught, washing clothes, singing songs appropriate to the occasion and dancing.
XI. Moral Training

The Kharwas are a very hardworking and self-reliant people and they expect their children to be so. Habits for work and industriousness are therefore consciously cultivated in the children. They expect the grown-up boys and girls to be helpful to the family in specific ways. Children who do not accede to the desires of the parents are disliked. They are rebuked and scolded. If the children are positively disobedient they resort to corporeal punishment which is in the form of slaps on the cheeks or buttocks, twisting of ears and tweaking of the skin.

Moral axioms stressing social conduct are constantly hammered to them. "If you do not work how would you get your food?" "An idleman is not liked by other people." "An idle girl does not become a good housewife." "It is a sin to tell a lie." "God is displeased by bad deeds" and other moral ideals are imparted to the children in this way. Moral lessons are given through short stories also. The grandmother or any other oldest member tells stories to the children and show how the hardworking and honest people are rewarded and the idlers and liars are punished by God.

XII. Transition to childhood

When a child crosses the stage of infancy and is on the threshold of childhood he feels a marked change in the attitude of the mother towards him. The attention of the mother to the child
is gradually lessening. As an infant, the child was well attended, affectionately treated, and his needs were carefully satisfied. The mother was always alert to the needs of the child. But now the child feels that he is not so promptly attended to. The mother believes that the child is now old enough to look after itself. She is not, therefore, much worried about the child. The child moves about in the streets with its peers. An elderly child may go to the sea shore and do a little bit of fishing. Mother does not bother about their movements or activities.

This discontinuity in attitude, though not intentional, has a tremendous influence on the development of personality. He loses his trust in the sincerity of the affection of the mother. This feeling of mistrust is generalised in all his dealings with physical objects as well as living persons, especially the females.

XIII. Role Training and Role Differentiation

As pointed out earlier, the Kharwas prefer a male child to a female one. This is generally the case where the families are patriarchal and patrilineal. But this does not mean that they have active dislike for a girl. In the care and bringing up of a child no distinction is made between a son and a daughter. But as they have to perform different roles as an adult, the things and the tasks which a boy and a girl learns and the way in which they are prepared differ in certain respects.
In infancy and early childhood, the main activity of the child is play and as such during this period there is not much difference between the task to be performed by a boy and a girl. The children in this age group generally form the playgroups from among the siblings and others living in the same household or in the adjacent house. At this stage, they do not go out independently. They are always accompanied by the guardians, and the children generally cling to them. The first distinction which is maintained between a boy and a girl child is in respect of dress and hair. A male child is clad in short and shirt while a female child is clad in frock. The hair of male child is regularly cut at the saloon while hair of the girl is allowed to grow.

When the child reaches the age of eight or nine years, he moves out independently in the village. This is the age of forming peer groups. Children form larger groups which are, of course, temporary. The segregation of the sex appears here for the first time. Boys form their groups and girls theirs. This does not mean that boys and girls do not meet at all. They all meet each other freely, talk, and sometimes play together. But after the age of ten or eleven there is a strong tendency of forming different groups on the basis of sex. The parents and elders too discourage the mixing of boys and girls. The Kharwas consider the girl of 12 years as mature and this is therefore thought to be the age of marriage. Many restrictions
and taboos are therefore imposed upon the girl. The boys enjoy greater freedom of movement. They go out in group for fishing, bathing in the sea or for just wandering. The activities of the girl are confined to household work, tending the younger sibling, helping the mother in cooking and other household work. However, the girls of neighbour-hood assemble in a group when they find time, chitchat and sing. At right they engage in dance also. Thus the gap between the sexes is gradually widened.

The knowledge of difference in sexes and sex functions is imbibed by a Kharwa child in early age. The Kharwa women are not very particular about clading the children properly. Very often children are moving naked for hours together. Moreover, both the boys and girls over four years deaecate in the streets. Boys and girls can be found sitting in a line on one side of the street or opposite to each other on different sides of the street. The physiological difference between the sexes thus becomes evident to them. The sex differences which they feel from the age of the five are sustained and strengthened by the differences in dress, games which they play, tasks they perform, freedom allowed to them and the ideals put before them. Thus, by the time the children enter puberty they know their place in the house and the role they have to play in life.
XII. Summary and Conclusions

The importance of early child training and childhood experiences in the development of later adult characteristics, cannot be too exaggerated. These play the decisive role in determining the structure of adult personality. The Kharwas are a hardworking and industrious people. The sources of their income and livelihood are very precarious. They have, therefore, to work hard. The child is attended to carefully and affectionately. However, the mother has to attend to household duties and sometimes has to go out for work and in such cases the child is attended to irregularly. There is no emphasis on early weaning and forming habits of sphincter control. The child is helped in learning and acquiring motor skills. Habits are established gradually and leisurely. There is no coercion or force in any matter. When the child completes his later childhood and enters puberty, he is aware of his role in life and the tasks to perform.

Educating the child is an important aspect of the process of socialisation, from the standpoint of personality. Emphasis on forming the habits of sphincter control, emphasis on weaning and role training are very important. These categories of basic training exert an important influence on the patterns of intra-familial and interpersonal relations of the Kharwas. The absence of severe discipline and punishment has its effect on the constellations created around dependence. The image of either parent is not idly formed in the mind of the child.
Discontinuity of attention towards the child
is another important feature of great influence on personality
development. An infant is attended carefully and frequently.
As a child, he does not get the same amount of care and
attention. A grown up child capable of moving out freely
and independently is, if not neglected, little cared. This
discontinuity in attitude of the mother has a direct bearing
on the developing personality of the child.
I  Adult Life

Marriage of a person brings about a change in his status and role. He becomes an important member of the house as well as the society. His responsibilities increase, as he has to earn sufficiently to maintain his wife and the children to be born. He has also to share with his brothers the responsibility of maintaining his parents and younger siblings, if any. A Kharwa family is generally a joint family. But if any individual lives separately from his father, he has to shoulder the responsibility of building up a new household and of fulfilling social obligations. Marriage and the consequent parenthood make new demands on the individual.

First few months of the married life are important as it is a period in which the spouses try to adjust to each other. The girl also tries to adjust to the people of the new household and the environment. If the girl cannot adjust to the new people and the environment, many problems and difficulties would arise in her relation with the husband.
By the time the first child is born, the spouses are well adjusted with each other and with other people of the household. The first child is generally expected by the end of the second year after marriage. There may be a slight variation in this schedule. But if the girl does not conceive within two years of married life, her mother-in-law and other female members of the family are worried. They would approach the 'Bhuva' of their 'Kuldevi' and request him to find out and say whether non-conceiving of the child by the daughter-in-law is due to the influence of an evil eye of a witch or due to displeasure of any God or Goddess. The average age of the mother at the time of birth of the first child is 16 years, and that of the father is 20 years. I was told by my informant of an instance in which a married girl of 12 years had given birth to a child. But such cases of early sexual maturity are rare. The fertility of a Kharwa woman is very high and she gives birth to succeeding children at an interval of less than two years. The number of children born in a family varies from one to sixteen. The average number of children born in a family is round about five.

The period of adult life is a very strenuous period of an individual's life. The efforts of the couple are directed towards building up their family, giving birth to children, bringing them up and marrying them. When a son is married and settled in vocation and the daughter is married and sent to her
in-laws, one's duty as a parent is over. He has the satisfaction of having fulfilled his responsibilities and obligations.

In any society, adults form an important section, for it is adults who transmit the patterns of culture to their children. Cultural patterns thrive and expand in and through the activities of the adults. It is the adult group which is mainly responsible for the socialisation of the growing children. The typical ways of life, their customs, traditions, their beliefs, their art and folklore etc. are taught to the children by their parents. The adults thus play an important part in the continuation and spread of cultural patterns.

II  Role and Status of an Adult

A family is the unit of social and cultural life in Kharwas. The importance of the family in the development of personality cannot be underestimated. The individual cannot become a personality without contacts with his fellows, and it is within the family that the new born infant experiences his first contacts and interactions. Family is not only an agent satisfying merely the biological needs of the child, but is also a basic socialising agent.
An adult Kharwa individual who is married has to play a new role of a husband. If he prefers to live separately from his parents, he also becomes the head of the family. As a married adult and head of the family, he acquires a particular status in his social group. An adult married woman takes up new duties as a housewife and is sometimes an active helper to her husband in earning livelihood. As the main persons of an independent family, the husband and wife have to fulfill many social and religious obligations, attend social functions and religious ceremonies. Even if a married adult lives with his parents, he has to share certain social and religious obligations. For instance, the parents having a married son, would generally send their son and daughter-in-law to attend the marriage ceremony in their group to play the role of the host in a religious ceremony and to participate actively in the activities of their 'Bethak' on their behalf.

In Kharwas, the segregation of sexes takes place at a very early stage in the life. There is therefore no scope of forming mixed groups at the adult level. The adult men form their own group. They sit, chit-chat, smoke and disperse. The groups of adult women are generally formed from the women of neighbourhood only. When the women of the neighbourhood are free, they meet together, sit and chitchat.
The interpersonal relations between two persons or families are cordial but not very deep and emotional. For fear of punishment by the Panch, they abstain from quarreling with each other or speaking bad of anybody in the public. Panch acts as a powerful agent of social cohesion. People generally do not interfere in the personal and private affairs of others. But, if anybody is in difficulty, others would come to his help even though he has not asked for it. The Kharwas take pride in and consider it a humanitarian task to help the needy people, whether of their own community or of other tribe. In keeping with this tradition, they have a tendency to help their fellows in the hours of need.

A Kharwa does not hold a pessimistic view towards life. He is optimistic and always strives to attain a better standard of living. He is not afraid of the difficulties and hardships. In times of difficulties, he neither regresses nor retires. He does not remain a passive helpless observer. Such an attitude does not help them. While on sailing expeditions many a time they have to face the threats and frowns of natural calamities. They are, therefore, accustomed to face any difficulty with courage and confidence. He believes in fate but, at the same time, does not underestimate the role of efforts.
III  Old Age

Old persons, because of their long and varied experiences, render useful service to the society by giving advice and suggestions on important matters. They are, therefore, respected and accorded an honourable position in Kharwa community. When an individual crosses the age of fifty, he feels that he is now getting old. By that time most of his children are married and he is generally a grandfather. His sons are well settled in life and daughters are also married. He feels that he has fulfilled all his responsibilities and obligations.

The apparent signs of old age, according to my informant, are fatigue and quick exhaustion by work. If one feels that he is getting loose and cannot do sustained hard work he is getting old. The apparent physiological signs are that the skin becomes loose, the limbs look thinner, wrinkles begin to form on cheeks, forehead and around the eyes. Teeth begin to fall, vision becomes blurred, auditory acuity becomes less and other senses also lose their sharpness. As the individual advances in age, these signs become more prominent.

IV  Old age and retirement

Even though a man feels that he is getting old, he does not retire from work. He will keep himself engaged in the work suited to his physical condition and the capacity.
He will work as much as he can and relaxes when tired. The Karnwas are very industrious and hardworking and therefore do not like to retire from active life so long as they are physically able to do something. When physically incapacitated, they would expect their sons to feed and support them.

Old people are respected in the house as well as in the social group. An old man or an old woman is not looked down upon as a parasite or an idle man/woman, but he/she is treated with respect and sympathy. The old man is a man with wisdom, knowledge and experience. His advice and guidance are solicited in difficulties and on ceremonial occasions. His word is obeyed by the members of the family and they work according to his instructions. The old woman also enjoys a respectable position in the house. She gives instructions to the grown up daughters and daughters-in-law in household work and looks after the grand children. All members of the household respect her and carry out her wishes. The old people thus do not have the feeling that they have become useless and burdensome to the family. They do not feel themselves insecure.
To the Kharwas, death is the natural consequence of life. They know that life and death always go together. One who is born is sure to die sooner or later. At death, the Jiva (Soul) leaves this body. When a man is dead the respiratory system stops functioning, hands, legs and other limbs begin to become cool, there is no movement of the heart or the beating of the pulse.

The general condition of the health of the Kharwas is good. Since they take fish in their normal diet, they get most of the nutritive elements needed by the metabolism of the body. Moreover, they get sufficient exercise from the work. So the rate of sickness among the Kharwas is comparatively very low. Minor sickness and complaints are generally neglected. If the complaints and sickness continue for a longer time, they consult some experienced old man who suggests some ayurvedic treatment. If this treatment does not have any effect and the condition of the patient is worsening, they suspect the influence of the evil eye or the displeasure of some God or Goddess. The Shuwa of their Kuldevi is requested to find out the cause of the sickness and to suggest ways and means to avert the influence of evil eye or the displeasure of the God or Goddess. When all these remedies fail, the patient is taken to the hospital as the last resort. The superstitions and beliefs in the influence of evil eye are now gradually losing ground and the young Kharwas are becoming more and more scientific minded.
VI. Sickness and Social Visits

The Kharwas live in a compact area in every city and as such the news of the sickness in any family at once spreads in the whole Kharwa Vas. The elder member of each Kharwa family pays a social visit on the occasion of sickness. If any member of a particular family does not pay such a visit, the sick man and the members of his family would take it ill, and would taunt them whenever they get an opportunity. The sickman or the head of the family is shown sympathy and given consolation. The visitor encourages him to keep up and endure the difficulty and expresses hopes for a quick recovery. Thus, sickness is an occasion of the exhibition of genuine sympathy and good will on the part of the neighbours and relatives.

VII. The last moments of the patient

When the symptoms indicate that the patient is breathing his last, the members of the family struck by grief and anxiety stop the daily work and sit around the dying man. All the near relatives come and sit there. The children are sent outside to a neighbour's or relative's house. If the patient is young the atmosphere is still more depressing and full of grief.

When the pulse slows down and the patient appears to be breathing his last, his body is taken out from the bed and put on the floor which has been given a wash of cowdung and water.
A flame of ghee is lighted near the patient. An educated man recites the hymns from Gita or other religious book. If available, few drops of water of Ganges - *Gangajal* - are put into the mouth of the patient. Then a leaf of the plant Tulsi - *Tulshipatra* - and a silver coin are put into his mouth. The head of the patient is kept in the direction of North.

As soon as the patient dies, the persons struck with grief weep and shed tears. Some elderly friends and neighbours help in making arrangements for the funeral. A message is sent to all relatives and caste fellows in the city. The dead body is removed from the house as soon as possible. In no case, it is kept for the next day. If the death occurs during the night, the funeral takes place next morning.

VIII. **Rituals after death**

The dead body is first bathed with water and adorned with new clothes. If the dead individual is a man, the body is covered with a white dhoti, if it is woman and her husband is alive, red sari is used. If she is a widow, the dead body is covered with a white cloth.

A bier called "Thathadi" is prepared from bamboo sticks and strips. Two bamboos about seven feet in length
are put horizontally and parallel at a distance of a 
foot and a half. With them, the bamboo strips are tied 
with the coir rope. It becomes a stair-case like struc-
ture. The dead body is put on it and tied tightly with 
coir rope so that it does not move while being carried.

The bier is carried by four persons on each 
corner on their shoulder. It is first carried by the near 
relatives of the same 'Gotra' (clan) as that of the dead 
person. On the way, other persons relieve them. As soon 
as the bier is taken out of the house the women wail, cry 
bitterly and follow it up to a short distance. Some elderly 
women try to soothe and console the most affected women. 
The burial place is a fixed area not far from the town, 
generally near the sea shore. A relative of the same 
Gotra moves in front of the bier with an earthen pot 
containing lighted fire. While going, the head of the 
corpse is kept in the direction of the house. When they 
arrive at the burial place, the bier is put on the ground 
keeping the head in the North. If the departed individual 
is a pregnant woman she is operated and the foetus is 
first taken out and buried near the burial place.

The corpse is then put on a big rectangular pyre 
of wood. The chief mourner then applies fire to it. When
the body is burnt to ashes, the ash is collected and thrown into the sea.

All the persons then take a bath and go to the house of the deceased weeping loudly. By the time the women have returned after taking a bath, they also weep and cry in the house. The elderly persons console the members of the affected family and sympathise with them.

If the departed individual is a child of less than five years, the dead body is buried and not burnt.

One elderly male member from each Kharwa family participates in this mourning. Similarly, one female member joins in the mourning. Since the members of the family of the deceased are grief-stricken and busy with preparation for the disposal of the corpse, it is natural that the food will not be cooked in the household. The neighbours and relatives, therefore, take the members of this family to their house and feed them.

On the seventh day, the house is washed and urine of the cow is sprinkled. If the family of the deceased can afford, the priest is called and asked to read "Garud Puran". All neighbours and relatives come to hear it. The next day, males and females go to the sea-shore in a group. The head of the son of the deceased or in the absence of a son, that of the near relatives belonging to the same 'gotra' is
shaved ceremonially. The priest conducts the ceremony. If the person has died due to drowning into the sea or if he is an unmarried person, a tomb stone 'Paliyo' is erected on the shore. A "Paliyo" is a big rectangular flat stone with carving of a horse and a rider thereon. Red turmeric powder is applied to it. On the tenth day the rituals of oblation and Pinddan are performed. On the eleventh day the ritual of "Shravani Pot" is performed. An earthen pot full of water is kept on a 'Bajath'. All adult members and relatives of the deceased, offer water to the departed soul out of that pot with promises to observe fasts on a certain number of 'Agiyaras' (eleventh day of the bright and dark half of the month) for the peace of departed soul. A Brahmin recites certain hymns and conducts the rituals. The brahmin is given all things and paraphernalia needed by an individual, e.g., one set of bedding, one pair of new clothes, shoes, umbrella, vessels, grains, mirror, comb and so on. It is called the day of 'Dahado'! At night the 'Pujari' of the temple comes and conducts the ritual of "Shāmkhādhār" (staircase to heaven). Brahmins are given alms. On the twelfth day food is given to the crows. Cooked food is thrown on the roof of the house for the crows. Feast called "Pret Bhojan" is given to the relatives and neighbours. After six months, another rite called "Varasi" is performed. A feast is given to brahmins and relatives. This marks the end of obituary rites and with it an end of the worldly relations between the deceased and his relatives.
Summary and Conclusions

Adulthood is the most important period of life. It is a period of hard work and active social participation. The efforts of the individual are mainly for building up a family, bringing up children and marrying them. A Kharwa individual has the feeling of old age after the age of fifty. Even then he continues to work according to his capacity. Old age is respected and old parents are looked after with care and attachment.

Death means, to a Kharwa, the end of the present life. The dead body of the child below five years is buried while that of an individual above that age is cremated. The Kharwas believe in life after death, rebirth and spirits. Lengthy obituary rites are performed and feast is given to the Brahmins and relatives. The completion of these rites mark an end to the relations between the deceased and his relatives in this world. After a short period of lull and grief, the active life is resumed.

The ideal of duty in life, the belief and philosophy about death and rebirth, the belief behind the obituary rites etc., are important factors influencing the personality of the Kharwas. For instance, the performance of the rites after death is done in the presence of relatives and friends. The relatives and friends are thus present day and night with the
members of the bereaved family. They try to soothe and console them and to divert their mind to other matters. This enables them to tolerate the loss of the dear one with patience and courage, and thus saves them from breaking down completely. Secondly, they get the satisfaction that they have done their best for the peace of the departed soul and have fulfilled their obligation towards it. Thirdly, completion of obituary rites makes him feel that the departed individual has become the member of the other world and now holds no relation with him. It is no use feeling sorry for him. This helps the lessening of grief. Lastly, the consolation given by the friends and the relatives that "it is God's desire, we are helpless before his desire" gives rise to a specific attitude. This attitude that "we cannot do anything against God's desire" helps them to shake off the grief and expedites the process of readjustment.
PART THREE

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

The third part of the thesis is analytical and interpretative. There are ten chapters in this part — two parts and chapters XXX and XXXI. In chapter XXXIII is given a psychological analysis of the patterns of Kharwa culture. Here an attempt is made to analyse the patterns of Kharwa culture and to find out a psychological relation between the personality traits of the Kharwa men and women and the items of their culture. How the geographical and physical conditions, the social structure, the economic organizations and institutions, the systems of religion, witchcraft and magic, art and folklore, the child rearing systems etc. develop certain traits in personality of the Kharwas is shown here. A Kharwa has a personality typical of him and differing from the personality of the individuals belonging to other social groups. It has been shown in this chapter that a Kharwa has a typical personality because the culture patterns are different from the patterns of other groups. The relation between culture and personality is an interactional process. The institutions and beliefs develop certain traits in a Kharwa. These institutions and beliefs are sustained because they satisfy the personality needs of the Kharwas. These institutions satisfy the psychological
needs of the people; and these needs are there because the institutions are there. Thus there is constant interaction between the individual and institutions.

This chapter tries to narrate the changes in the cultural patterns of Kharwas and the impact of these changes on their personality. It gives a brief review of the changes introduced in different fields and spheres of life and their effects on the personality of the Kharwas.