

AN INTER GENERATIONAL STUDY OF CHILD REARING PRACTICES AMONG THE KHASIS

BY

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CERTIFICATE

Certified that the subject matter of this thesis entitled *An Inter Generational Study of Child Rearing Practices Among the Khasis* is a record of work done by Ms. Ila Das, that the content of this thesis did not form a basis of the award of any previous degree to her, or to the best of my knowledge to anybody else, and that the thesis had not been submitted by her for any research degree in any other University. She has carried out this work under my supervision.

In habit and character Ms. Ila Das is a fit and proper person for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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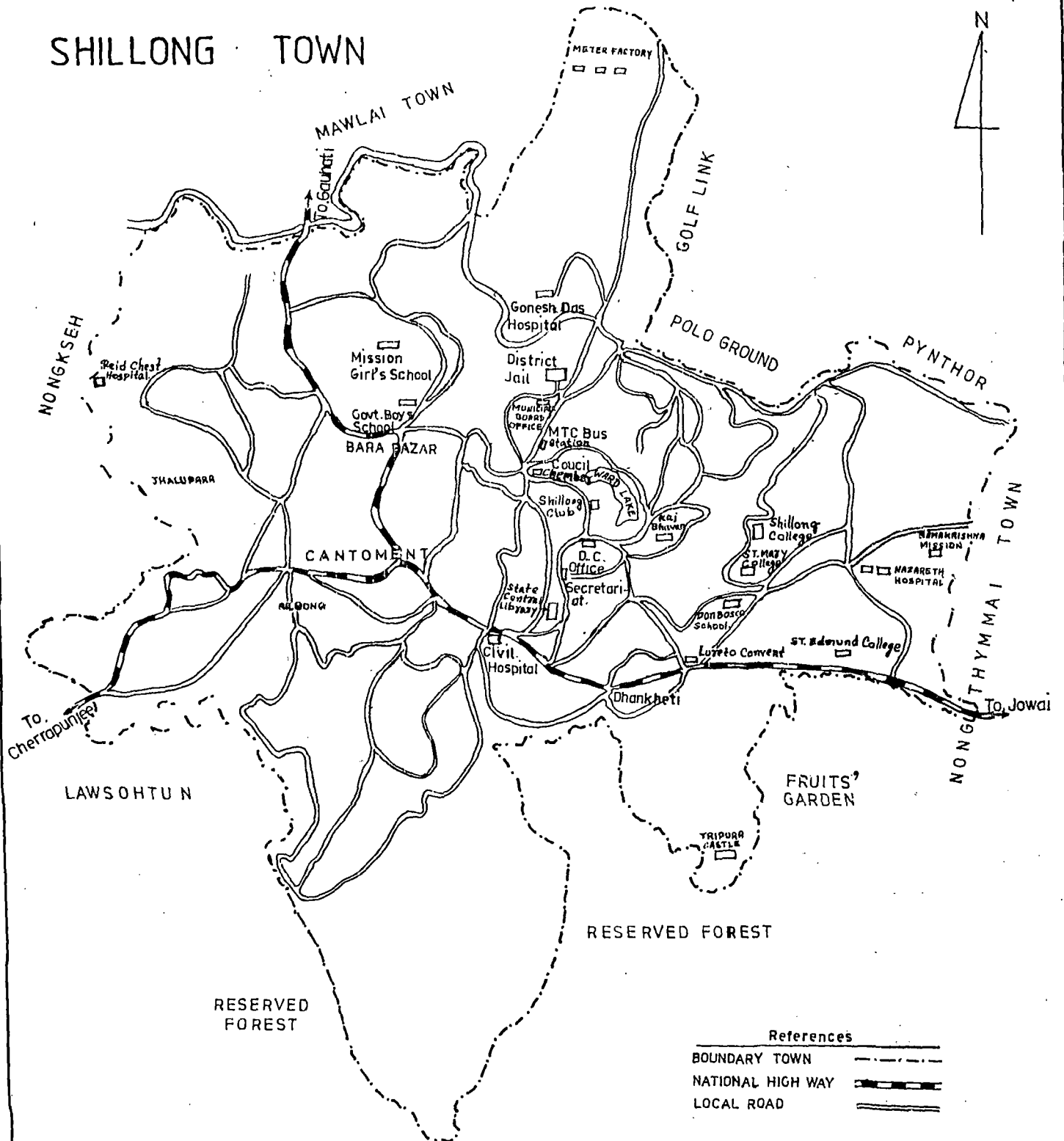
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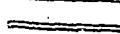
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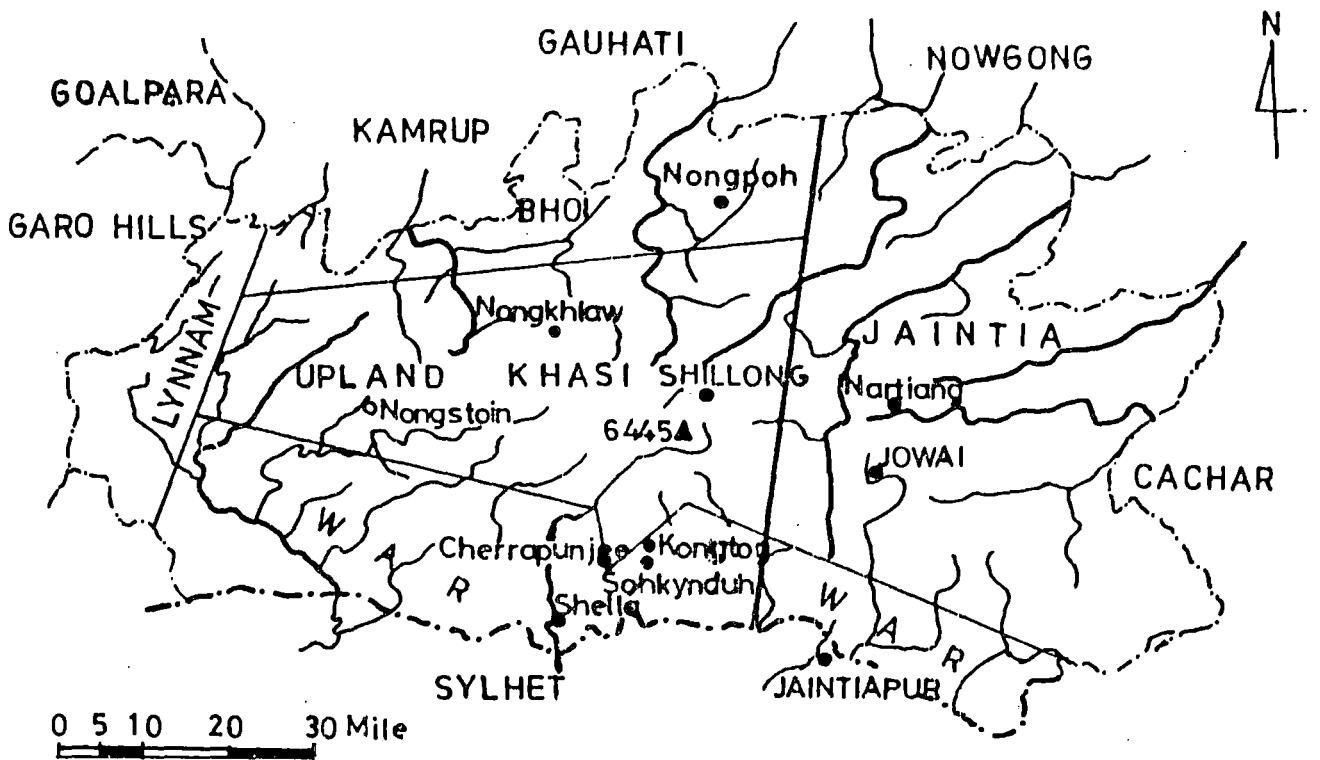
SHILLONG TOWN



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References

- BOUNDARY TOWN 
- NATIONAL HIGH WAY 
- LOCAL ROAD 



Map of the Khasi Jaintia Hills with Classification of Groups.

CHAPTER - I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

In the present study, socialization of children have been studied and examined from the perspective of generation. Generation is being defined as a time-scale which corresponds to chronological age. Families have been placed in a time order and in age cohorts.

By Family we mean the primary form of social organization that stratifies people according to sex. It is also seen as the basic form of social organization that stratifies people according to age. Basically, families are hierarchically arranged, which plays a major role in the lives of the next generation. In this sense families are 'determined' by conditions related to the societal pattern under which families must operate. On the other hand, families are also "determiners" in the sense that, extent of their socialization on coming generations has much to do with societal outcomes. Infants, children adolescents and even young adults feel the impact of accepted trainings for specific age grades. Their personalities are shaped and polished through family action, family climates and family model. Whatever personalities emerge from families, they tend to be acted out in the macro systems of other societal institutions. Thus each generation develop ways of life, consistent with specific set of symbolic ideas, values,

standard and norms of behaviour and attitudes co-related with the societal pattern within a common period of time.

Further, the concept of generation in the present study is being adopted as an age-homogeneous group or age-cohorts which refers to the change on age differentiation within the family and its influence on successive generation. The term "cohort" is used in the present study to differentiate age-groups in the population born at the same time and year.

There are different degrees of stratification by age, structurally, age affects how people of different ages relate to each other and influence individual's attitudes and behaviour. People of different age groupings are stratified into different role complexes with differential duties and obligations. Societies demand different behaviour of the individuals at different times during the life cycle.

The term generation, unlike family, is not in common usage. Generation is defined as "cohorts or thousands of persons who share similar, but not identical, experiences because they are born, live and die within a common historical period" (Koller, 1974:9). They may or may not live within the same society or locale. They may or may not experience the same socio-economic environment. But their times provide common points of reference that are central to their lives. Hence one of the hallmarks is their

temporocentrism; all other periods pale into insignificance when weighed against theirs.

It is difficult to designate a precise generation span. Usually, new generations may be said to appear approximately every twenty to thirty years, time enough for one generation to reproduce and rear the next one to physical and social maturity. However, as social conditions are rapidly changing, in urbanized, industrialized and technologically based societies, differences between generations may appear more marked. Socialization is geared to meet the increased tempo of events and can differentiate generations within less than five years. Whereas on the other hand, there still remains a number of societies in which change is resisted to preserve cultural traditions. In such societies, generations that succeed each other are not noticeably distinct. The appearance of contrasting generations in such traditional societies may, thus take more than the anticipated thirty odd years.

Troll (1970:6-7) has ably analyzed the various concepts of generations in five different settings.

Generation as a Development Stage

Primarily concerned with the individual as he or she moves through the life cycle, this definition of generation

can be divided into five developmental stages : childhood, adolescence, maturity, middle age and old age. In this sense, generation takes on new meaning; the attempt of individuals to satisfy the biological, social and psychological demands of their chronological age category as well as to develop acceptable ways for making a smooth transition to the next age grade. Childhood occupies approximately the first twelve years of life, adolescence another twelve years or so. Maturity or young adulthood covers approximately fifteen years. Middle age spans some twenty-five years, and old age can extend over thirty years depending on the individuals tendency to longevity.

Generation as Ranked Descent

In the second conceptualization of generation, ranked descent, chronological age is of little consequence. In this context generation refers to one's rank in relation to other family members. The oldest living family member is usually said to be of the first generation. Sons and daughters of this person are considered members of the second generation. Grand children of the elder are members of the third generation. Great grand children of the elder are of the fourth generation, and great, great grand children are said to be of the fifth generation.

Generation as an Age-Homogeneous Group or Age Cohort

The third conceptualization of generation stems from the idea that age groups occupy a sub-cultural status. Historical events strike individuals at different points in their own life cycles. Those who are children or adolescents during major social upheavals do not experience the same treatment or have the same perspective as those who are young adults, middle-aged, or elderly.

Generation as Time-Span

Generational theorists have established the concept of generation as a time span of approximately thirty years. However, the acceleration of social change in more recent times would seem to lend support to a shorter interval - approximately twenty years. In addition, there are those observers of social change who say that three or four years is a more realistic generational time span than the conservative estimate of twenty or thirty years. If such is the case, brothers and sisters with only a few years difference in age could conceivably belong to two different generations, and parents and their children could be separated as many as five or more generations.

Generation as "Spirit of the Age"

Generation as "spirit of the age" suggests that each generation adopts a moralistic style of its own and acts out this style as best it can. This theory offers an explanation for alienation and conflict between generations or, in more popular terms, "generation gap". Persons not of the same generation look at same phenomenon, but the "lenses" they use may be quite different.

Hence according to Troll, we may view generations variously such as (a) positions in a chain of lineal descent (lineage model), (b) age strata across society (cohort model), (c) developmental levels through which an individual moves (developmental-stage model), (d) specific time spans, taken as units of social change, or (e) series of subjective age-group identifications (historical-consciousness model).

Although in the present study the lineage model and developmental stage model guided in conceptualization and illustration of the study, the cohort model proved more useful in interpreting the data as conceptual problem were encountered in defining and distinguishing the term generation. Accordingly, alternative perspective were used in defining generation (see Chapter-III), to interpret the data.

It is seen that generations are tied to each other in a number of ways, but one of the most important and obvious linkages is that between parental generations and offspring generations. These are the living generations with whom much of family life study is concerned. However, past generations, are also linked with living generations. Past events cast long historical shadows. Ideas set in motion by past generations influence present generations.

In this context families are the intervening variables in the socialization of their children. Within families all the symbolic input of past generations, all the give and take of present generations, and all the potentials for future generations come into play.

Socialization, as conceived by social scientist, is a broad all-encompassing process in which an individual encounters, moves through, and is affected by human groups throughout his or her life time. According to Child, "the process by which the society moulds its offspring into the pattern prescribed by its culture is termed socialization - the process by which an individual born with potentialities of enormously wide range, is led to develop, actual behaviour which is confined within a much narrower range - the range of what is customary and acceptable for him according to the standards of his group" (1960:332).

Leslie White (1971) refers to the process of socialization as the "overall process of taking neonates and making them into persons capable of living in society". In another sense, socialization is an educational process in the broadest meaning of the term, it allows each generation to imprint successive generation with whatever values, ideas, knowledge, skills or beliefs that are deemed worth perpetuating.

Anthropologists regard socialization as the process by which culture are transmitted to each new generation. Illustrating this point of view, Ruth Benedict says, "Culture exists in the habituated bodies and minds of the people who belong to that culture. Babies are born with undifferentiated responses and children have to be conditioned to acquire the habits and characteristics which give individuality to their community; they must learn the particular habits of a particular culture. By the way, parents treat their children, in which older children behave towards younger children, emotions are selected and cultivated which adopt new generations to the life of their own community" (1934:510-511).

Margaret Mead expresses the inter-relatedness of growth and socialization by saying "It is necessary to recognize that the growing child is systematically patterned in every detail, in posture, in tempo as well as in speech,

in his way of thinking, as well as in the content of his thinking in his capacity feel as well as in the forms which his feelings take" (1946:45-46).

Thus one can say that socialization refers to the processes by which the individual comes to conform to the norms of the group into which he is born and of which he becomes an active participant. Thus, the kind of being he becomes is the inevitable expression of the kind of world in which he lives. We have our first contacts with the world through the members of our immediate families. And each family reflects the mores of the larger group in ways that are unique.

Melville Herskovits has proposed the term "enculturation" to signify the process of "socialization". In fact, both refer to the process of 'growing into' culture, becoming the kind of creature encouraged by it. 'taking in' the culture as a part of the self" "At the time of birth, the human infant is unable to take part in any human society. It has no conception of a 'self' of its own. Gradually, human infants develop into an adequate member of human society. This gradual development is largely a process of learning. Socialization is, therefore, learning, that enables the learner to perform social roles". (1957:215-218).

It is obvious from the above that we hold almost all behaviour of the mature individual to be socially derived, socially induced and patterned. Growing up in a group means learning to be a member of the group. It means perceiving what is considered to be correct and essential in a group and learning to behave in congruence with them. This process includes ways of thinking and feeling as well as ways of behaving and it covers attitudes towards one's self as well as attitudes and behaviour towards other people.

The human infant thus cannot survive unless it has been socialized to live a normal life. Man thus depends heavily on learning. The family is one of the institutions which can cope up with the problem of transforming a biological organism into a social human being. Therefore, the family's responsibility for the socialization of children is no less important than their physical care. The burden of socialization falls primarily upon the family. Perhaps more than any other single factor, collective responsibility for socialization weld the various relationships of the family firmly together. Whilst fulfilling these functions the family introduces the child to the culture of the society, thereby shaping the basic character structure of the culture as well as forming the child's personality.

Hence once present, children need to learn the written and unwritten rules of their society. To neglect this function even in part, is to socially handicap, cripple or mal-adjust them for life. This is no small task to ask of parental generations because all the rules of the society may not be known or available for transmission to the younger generations. Typically, consciously or unconsciously, parents select from among these rules which may then be over- or under-emphasized, interpreted in different ways, or rendered in some distorted fashion. Further, new generations do not merely absorb what is offered to them by their elders, they also determine for themselves what facets of the society they will adopt, modify or reject. Nevertheless, families, as the first human agency, new generations encounter, are charged with the primary responsibility of socialization. At first informally and unconsciously and later formally and consciously the traditions of both past and present generations are passed on to the young.

Further social mobility and major social changes, such as ongoing urbanization and industrialization involve the resocialization of people of all ages. By and large, then it is rare for individuals not to have to confront actual or potential new roles in adult life which would require from them the acquisition of new skills and

attitudes. Thus we would err seriously, however, if we define socialization as a process reserved exclusively for the young; it is much more inclusive than that. In its broadest sense, socialization occupies entire life times and so applies to middle-aged and older generations as well as to the young. Each generation not only experience changes, but must also constantly modify its behaviour according to the limitations imposed upon its age rank. In this larger framework families play determining roles in whatever training and retraining are possible.

Thus it can be agreed upon that socialization begins in families, is sustained in families, but ultimately moves outside families as the life cycle takes individuals beyond familial care. Each generation is not simply a passive agent that is being acted upon. In fact, it acts as a major socializing agent. Each generation determines, to some extent, how far it will allow itself to be influenced by other generations and what it, in turn proposes to give to other generations.

Family as the first human agency which every new generation encounter, is charged with the primary responsibility of socialization of children. Hence the type of socialization and educational processes that goes on within the family, to a great extent depends on the type of situation that prevails in the family. Therefore, to study

the development of a child it is necessary to study the home and family situation and its impact on the behaviour pattern of the child. The home has been aptly defined by Bossard and Ball as "the place where the child comes back with his experience. The stage to which he returns to parade the glory of his achievement, the refuge he finds, in which to brood over his ill-treatment, real or fancied. Home in other words, is the place to which one brings the everyday run of social experience to sift, to evaluate, to appraise, to understand or to be trusted; to foster, to be magnified or ignored as the case may be" (1956:222).

Family is regarded as the primary group of social interaction, it is the most universal institution of human society. Its universality arises out of a capacity to serve the fundamental human needs of reproduction, child protection, socialization of the young and economic functions. It is in the family that the child has his first social relationships in which and through which he acquires and organizes his experiences. The family teaches the accepted ways of behaviour within the group to the child. Through it the children are initiated into the patterns of behaviour needed to live out his life in the society. They learn their roles as the roles of the others and thus their socialization takes place. No other institution has so significant a role in the transition of the individual to a

person. Only in the family such social processes take place in such continuous interplay.

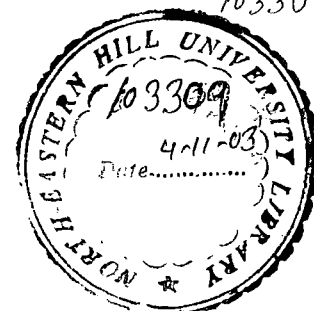
So no less important than the physical care of the offspring, and probably more difficult, is their social learning. Leslie White states "family experience is necessary to turn a new born infant - a less than human puking, bawling brat with visceral urges - into a full human being with value and standards and the ability to live harmoniously with other people" (1967:515).

This burden of educating and socializing the child thus fall primarily upon the family. The family is the major environmental influence and remains throughout life the most pervasive of all influences. It is in the family that the child learns the basic norms of the society. It is in the home that the child first experiences the meaning of love. It is here that he comes to experience the give and take of family life. It is within the family that he imbibes the sentiment of loyalty to the group; thus through the relationship with parents and siblings, etc. the child learns the effective aspects of life.

Finally the importance of family situation in the formation of personality is emphasized to-day by all the sciences which are participating in the study of human behaviour. The family is the first institution in which a child lives. The family being a social institution, has a

structure which depends on its members and their roles, its nature, its size, sex and age make-up depend on its members. To study family as a structure is to consider it as a form of organization. These different structures play a role in the personality development of the child. According to Hurlock, "Personalities are not born, they are formed and developed in the socializing process, through the child's interaction with both parents and siblings. This process does not suddenly cease when the child becomes an adult, it continues throughout life. It is the family's behaviour that specifies what the child shall do, or may do to achieve acceptance and happiness. Since the child's early social experience are mainly with his parents it is they who play the dominant role in moulding his personality pattern (1958:427-429).

Each generational member sees family life from a particular vantage point and identifies his family as presently occupying one phase of the family life cycle. The parental family has been called by Koiler^(1974:6) "the cradle of the personality", because it is within this unit that personalized habits, attitudes, values and ideas are first shaped. In some ways children once socialized by this family, probably are never the same again. The basic personality attributes are laid down within the family's framework and all else builds upon them.



Home and the family more particularly the parents are the immediate environment that influences the development of a child to a large extent. Parents constitute the first of a series of groups that neonates will eventually meet. Parents are assured to function as a model for the child's adjustment of life, particularly at home. Whatever parents do, consciously or unconsciously begins the whole process of socialization. Children are made to conform to the social moulds that are set for them by parental generation. The traditions of the past, the silent influence of prior generations are passed along to children through the socialization process. Each generation is called upon to take its place in human society. Each generation must inhibit itself, restrict itself or denaturalize itself, and the parents operating within their respective family substructure, begin and sustain the process.

The function of socialization can be achieved efficiently only by the family, provided normal conditions prevail. For parents greatly influence the attitudes, behaviour and character of their children through the types of stimulation they provide and the examples of behaviour they display. Furthermore, the parents must be able to supply not only the material requirements but also the psychological needs of the child. Out of the biological

needs, the most important aspect of child-rearing is the psychological needs like affection, security, recognition, responsibility and others which require parents competency in providing the psychological wants. But regarding this psychological aspect, the needs of providing them vary from society to society or from one culture to another, it depends on the social system which they have inherited whether patriarchal, matriarchal, bilateral family, etc. because the cultural influence and the traditional child-rearing methods play a dominant role in the relationship of parents with children. Ralph Linton states "the individuals personality is shaped by culture, what he actually means is that it is shaped by the experiences which he derives from his interaction with parents, siblings and the environment" (1973:128). Hence, the parent-child relationship is so important that it shapes and moulds the character and personality of a child.

The home is thus responsible for the development of human beings of a superior quality. So a family philosophy is so vital and significant as it gives meaning to the lives, thoughts and experiences acquired by the members. It conditions the quality of a child through the daily interaction with all the members of the family. It can thus be said that in many ways the most significant aspect of family situation is the socialization of the child. For as

a child grows and moves from the family world to the peer world, he carries with him the culture of the family into which he has been inducted. His attitudes towards his future life is to a great extent conditioned by the family culture in which he was nurtured throughout his prolonged childhood.

Therefore, in view to the above, in the present study families are not only approached from the context of the social order in which they exists, but they are also placed in a time order. The application of situational approach to study and investigate socialization of children and child-rearing practices from the perspective of generation is emphasized and is found to be important.

1.2 ANTHROPOLOGICAL APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF SOCIALIZATION AND CHILD-REARING PRACTICES

Anthropological studies on child-rearing practices have been preceded and guided to a great extent by studies in psychology and medicine (Mead, 1954).

The cultural anthropologist's view of child development places great emphasis on environmental influences. They believe that the child is a function of specific socio-cultural force. They assert that the values and institutions of each culture produce a distinct personality type (Patrick, 1978).

The contribution of anthropology to the study of child-rearing has been conceptual, methodological and substantive. On the conceptual side, the field of anthropology has contributed cultural understanding of child-rearing practices. On the methodological side, the contribution has been in terms of development of anthropological technique of data collection namely intensive field investigation particularly participant observation. On the substantive side major contribution has been a large number of ethnographic reports which gives a wide variations in child-rearing practices that go far beyond that are found in western society.

Socialization in its broadest sense was once considered to be an integral part of the ethnographer's field of study. During the first part of this century monographs commonly contained studies like 'The life cycle of the individual', 'From birth to puberty', or 'From marriage to death'. In societies in which there is little variety of occupation and life-experience, and in which the biological and social stages of the individual's life tend to be ritually marked, the birth-growth, puberty, marriage, death cycle and the like forms a useful method of presenting a large section of the ethnographer's field data. However, only general descriptive material on the life-cycles were presented in these studies.

The second quarter of the century mainly saw the works of Malinowski and his pupils which covered the period from 1922 to 1935. The fundamental aspect of these studies was to study children's attitudes towards pivotal relatives or their use of kinship terms and to see how far these attitudes of the communities reflected in their daily behaviour. Observations on child-rearing are prominent in the works of Fontes (1938, 1949), Powdermaker (1933), Read (1959).

First presentation of the concept of the culture pattern closely related to studies of socialization appeared in the works of Benedict (1934), Mead (1928, 1930, 1935), Bateson (1936), and Linton (1936). They studied and discussed their theories under the heading of 'Culture and Personality'.

Research studies on human nature were also taken up. Anthropologists who were actively involved in the studies of human nature during 1920-30 were Margaret Mead, Ruth-Benedict and B. Malinowski. During this period anthropologists were reacting to the universal psycho-analytic theories, the theories involved were the Oedipus complex, developmental stages of personality, dream symbolism and differences between male and female psychology. Universalization of the theories propounded by the psycho-analysts were not acceptable to many

anthropologists because they argued that these concepts developed, were based on the studies on western culture and only fragments of these theories were universally applicable.

To prove their point of view, scholars made field studies in different parts of the world, and showed that in particular cultures these theories, were not operating. Probably, the most famous research study in this area was done by Mead in her *Coming of Age in Samoa* (1928). In this study Mead dealt with the cultural relativity of age-roles and the relationship between adolescents and culture. To ascertain whether the psychological disturbances and emotional crises, 'period of stress' characteristic of Western adolescent was due to the nature of adolescent itself or the culture. In the study this criteria has been studied and discussed in detail by contrasting this development between girls in the United States with patterns in Samoa. Her study noted that the conceptualization of childhood and adolescence varies cross-culturally. Her study concludes that the source of such characteristics in American youth stemmed from the social institutions and traditions found in the United States.

Another significant area of study during this period was, cross-cultural studies related to the conceptualization of childhood. Ruth Benedict (1938), in her classic study

Continuities and Discontinuities in Cultural Conditioning, has argued that there is less development from childhood and adolescence to adulthood in societies such as the United States than those found among the American Indian tribes. The emphasis that American culture views the adult-child are specifically, the parent-child relationship in terms of a dominance-submission arrangement. In contrast, many American Indian tribes explicitly reject the idea of a child's submissive or obedient behaviour she asserts that age-grade societies, demand different behaviour of the individual at different times during the life-cycle. Her study supports that persons of the same age-grade are grouped into a society whose activities are oriented towards the appropriate behaviour desired at that age. Her study views that cultural institutions provide sufficient support to persons as they progress through the age-grade life stages.

The work of cultural Anthropologist in the past several decades has shown that many forms of behaviour do in fact differ considerably from one culture to another. Margaret Mead's (1935) case studies on the role behaviour associated with (and expected from), males and females among three diverse societies of American Indian and Polynesian tribes namely the Arapesh, the Tehẽmbuli and Mundugumon, has shown quite convincingly that many male-female differences

in behaviour which we tend to think as universal and an inheritant part of male and female nature are actually determined through the social learning process and differ widely from one culture to another. Her study noted that different characters are conditioned culturally.

Learning theories, like the concept of the basic or model personality of the members of a culture, particularly those developed by Dollard, Doob, Miller, Mowrer and Sears (1939), and by Dollard and Miller (1950). Enterprising application of psychoanalytical theories to anthropological data, forms the basis of these works.

Anthropologist, namely Linton, Cora-Dubois and James West (psychologist) also cooperated with (Kardiner) in describing the basic or model personality of the majority of the members of a given culture. Kardiner (1939-1945).

Abram Kardiner (1939) along with these cultural anthropologist examined the cultural data on personality formation, collected by different anthropologists from different cultures. Of the collaborators of Kardiner were Cora Dubios who collected data on the people of Alor, Ralph Linton supplied data on two culture viz. Marquisian and the Tanala cultures and James West supplied data on an American village known as the Plainville. From these studies Kardiner developed a theory on basic personality of a child. His study viewed that only by knowing how children are

reared in particular cultures and by knowledge of training at the different stages of development like the 'oral' and 'anal' etc. in different cultures will help to predict the adult personality of a person. ✓Kardiner concluded that personality of a child is generated by the culture where he is born and brought up, he also found that the different institutions in a culture are integrated. These concepts and theories were given by Kardiner in two of his books viz. *The Individual and His Society* published in 1939, and was based on Linton's material; and *The Psychological Frontiers of Society*, published in 1945, using cultural data of Linton, Cona-Dubios and James West.

The work of Kardiner and Dubios (1949), stressed on the effects of infant training, the importance of economic activities, (such as the food quest), of structural characteristics, (such as primogeniture and the authority system), and of life-goals and ritual patterns in determining the basic personality.

The study of value system, is another essential part of the process of socialization. Such behaviour patterns as gait and stance, or the tempo of activities and personal relationship which Mead has used in cross-cultural comparisons may well be related to the value system. Firth has long been concerned with values considered as the basis of choices of groups and individuals (Firth, 1953).

J.W.M. Whiting (1953), made significant contribution to the study of socialization and child-rearing. Before Whiting most of the studies on socialization were confined to particular cultures. Whiting's work is important because he for the first time introduced cross-cultural understanding and later from his writings he made it clear the importance of this cross-cultural study. In his monograph, *Becoming a Kwoma* (1953), he used traditional method of Anthropology while describing socialization. Later he gave some universal laws regarding the influence of socialization on adult personality. Here he used cross-cultural data from H.R.A.F. (Human Relation Area Files).

To study aspects of socialization affecting personality Whiting and Child (1953), devised tests suitable for cross-cultural comparisons. These studies showing striking personality contrast has been illustrated in their studies of three primitive culture, namely the Arapesh, Mundugumon and Tehembuli of New-Guinea.

It can thus be seen that Western Cultural Anthropologists have made significant contribution to the study of socialization and child-rearing practices. However, as stated by Mayer (1970:9) "while western social Anthropologists have done much valuable work, there has been a dearth of theoretically interesting work on socialization since 1940". Nevertheless, these works stated above provide

important bases for the study of socialization and child-rearing practices.

1.3 REVIEW OF LITERATURE

In comparison to western countries, studies on the 'socialization process' and 'child-rearing practices' from an Anthropological perspective are comparatively few in India.

A number of empirical researches on the family have been done in India during the last twenty-five years. Several studies of the family have concentrated on tribal communities. These studies are generally limited to the bounds of traditional ethnography. Attention is mostly given to the features of its composition and role-relationship to the familial groupings of the household, the authority pattern, co-operation in economic activities, the pattern of child socialization and so on. But they do not directly deal with role relationship within the family of procreation, socialization process within the family or the impact each generation has on successive generation with regard to the socialization and upbringing of the child in family situations. Such studies are patchy and relatively limited, and much of what has been done is in the form of short articles and small monographs. The following are some

of the available studies on child-rearing practices in India.

In a series of studies on exploring cross-culturally the relation between different patterns of child-rearing and subsequent differences in personality, Minturn and Hitchcock (1966), have dealt with the family and the child-rearing practices among the Rajputs. The study mainly concentrates on the ethnographic background of the families giving in detail the social organization, economy, religion, matrimonial practices, recreative activities and educational background of the families. The study also provides a background to kinship grouping, inter-personal routine within the family, authority pattern, roles of members and the position of women. These features are then related to the growth and development of children's personality among the Rajputs. This research contributes to the study of personality development of the children of a caste group as a whole. The various situations of an individual family and their impact on the child's all round development is an area not explored.

Similarly Raz's (1976), study centres around various patterns of socialization and personality development among three diverse communities of Chotanagpur viz. the Tiwarys, Jolahans and Oraons. The study discusses in detail the kind of treatment a child receives at the hands of the adult.

The areas of aggression, obedience, skills, general training were the various aspects of socialization observed and studied. The study further probes into the attitude of people of the three communities towards each other. the study also briefly touches upon their religious beliefs and practices, economy and social organization. However, the study of socialization of children among the three communities have been limited to mother-child relationship, on which a general account has been given. The study concludes, that differences in living pattern and economic activities account for most of the differences in these three cultural groups.

Several studies on various aspects of child-rearing practices such as toilet-training, infant nutrition and health care, breast-feeding, weaning, and customs beliefs and practices associated with child-rearing and child-bearing have been done particularly on tribal communities and in the context of rural-urban setting. Sachar (1959) studied feeding pattern among Punjabi Sikh families in Bombay; Roy Burman (1961) studied duration of breast-feeding among the islanders of Chitlat Island of the Arabian Sea; Majumdar (1962), studied aspects of child-rearing with reference to feeding and toilet training of infants in Lucknow district; Sethi (1967), studied toilet-training and breast feeding in two villages viz. one in Punjab and the

other in Gujarat; Carstairs (1968), in the study of the "twice born" studied various aspects of toilet-training among children of Rajasthan. Bhogle (1972) conducted a study of child-rearing practices in three cultures, viz. Caste Hindus, backward Hindus and Muslims. The aspects studied were feeding, weaning, bathing and toilet-training practices. However, these studies centres around functions and attitudes correlated to socio-economic factors, urbanisation, education and occupational differentiation. Apart from these several other works have also been done on these areas.

A number of studies have concentrated on the composition of the household, particularly on nuclearity or jointness, size of the family, ordinal position of the child, and number of children in the family. Many such studies have tried to relate the incidence of the joint family to socio-economic characteristics such as caste, occupation and income group. A study by Desai (1964), centred around the concept of jointness of families in a small sea-port town in Gujarat. This study discusses in detail the nuclearity and jointness of the families on the basis of number of generations living in the same household. The study further probes how far jointness is related to religion, caste, occupation, ownership of property, educational level of the family, urbanization and kinship

obligations. He did touch upon generations of the family but in relation to jointness of the family only. His classification schedule of household composition into nuclear and joint families and their sub-types is of worthy adoption as a tool of further research on the structure of Indian families and their social and psychological impact.

Mahale (1987) conducted a study of 775 school-going adolescents in Bombay. The study investigated aspects such as parent-adolescent relationship in different sized families relating () to the social development of the children, the impact of educational level of parents on the interest of their adolescent children in school education and the relative importance of family's economic status to the educational and vocational aspirations of the children and of the parents for their children. The study also focussed on differential attitude of parents towards daughters as compared to sons. The study centres around the role-relationship within the family of procreation, relating it to social and personality development of adolescent children in various family situation. Comparative study of the families in various situation, particularly in relation to the educative process of their adolescent children had been the main theme of the research.

The institution of family has also received attention in village studies. Dube (1955), has veiwed the

family in the wider content of kinship. The study of its structure is made on the basis of generalogies. Besides the details of household composition, inter-household co-operation, obligation between family and kin, rules of inheritance of the property are some of the aspects that are dealt with in the study of rural families. The study of role relationships within the household is limited to husband-wife, mother-son, father-son, mother-in-law, daughter-in-law and so on. But the impact of the family structure and its processes on the offsprings of these families in the rural setting is an area yet to be studied.

In his extensive study on families in the different societies of the world and their changing patterns, William Goode (1970), has presented a comprehensive study of family in India. He asserts the importance of an inquiry into India's family patterns as it is especially fruitful for an understanding of social change in India and he further says that family patterns in India embody or express most of the factors that have impeded its social development. He observes changing family patterns from various angles - from choice of mate to divorce, from joint family system to women's right, from fertility and contraception to infanticide. His comments are based on several empirical studies on Indian families. This study on Indian family, is

a noteworthy textual material for the researchers in this area.

Apart from these studies mentioned above several other researches have been done in India in the areas of family, socialization of children, child-rearing practices and parent-child relationship by several sociologist and social Anthropologist dealing with one aspect or the other of family situations, including various studies by researchers, either for their doctoral degree or for research papers, on the theme of family background and its impact on the parent-child relationship.

However, several aspects of relationship of various family situation in the socialization of children need to be studied in greater detail. Studies on socialization of children and child-rearing practices from the perspective of generation in relation to continuity and change in attitudes, in the parent-child relationship, is limited and has received very little attention. Hence to study socialization of children in various family situations over a period of time has been found essential to cover this gap.

Generational Studies on Family and Socialization of Children

Generations are part of the permanent nature of social existence. But the degree of generational control

varies by the tempo, or within the context of social change in given societies. Socialization is geared to meet the increased tempo of events and the normal relationship between generations may be disrupted. Whereas on the other hand in relatively stable societies, patterns of generational control become traditionalized.

Several studies on family from the perspective of generation have concentrated mainly on the role of social change, changing family pattern, structure of family system, choice of mate to divorce, and institution of marriage. Many such studies have tried to relate incidence of social change to socio-economic factors such as occupation, income, authority structure, but mainly attributed to factors of industrialization and urbanization. The 19th Century and early 20th Century British Anthropologist, Sir James George Frazer (1922), called the tradition-oriented societies characterized by the rule of the old as "gerontocracies". Using the Australian aborigines as the case in point, Frazer described the authority structure of that culture as "... an Oligarchy of old and influential men, who meet in council and decide on all measure of importance."

Similarly Robert Redfield (1947), in his classic work, *The Folk Society*, contrasts the slow-changing of rural folk society with the dynamic tempo of urban industrial societies. The tempo of change is associated with the

attitudes and behaviour patterns between the generations. He also observed that the authority and power of the parents are correlated with the societal pattern that emphasizes the maintenance of tradition.

Stanley Hall's (1904), study on the socialization of adolescents has been based on the principles of recapitulation theory, which held that every individual repeated the history through the various stages of development from savagery to civilization that had already been traced by their race. According to him industrialization, urbanization and the developed intimacy and privatization of the nuclear family has led to the basic forms of today's concept of adolescence and to the treatment of adolescents in society.

Keniston (1961), in his analytical text *The Uncommitted, Alienated Youth in American Society*, viewed that in static and less complex societies, parents rightly bring up their children to be like themselves in several ways. This has been illustrated in the study by showing how young men do what their fathers did; young women copy their mothers; even in societies complex to offer several options, these options are clearly epitomized by the members of the older generation. Relatively, static societies usually permit something approaching a total identification of the younger generation with the one before it. In contrast the

problem of identification is inevitably more complicated for young Americans. His study's views that to choose to be exactly like one's father or mother is to choose obsolescence; it is literally impossible if only because a pattern of life considered normal forty years ago would evoke such a different and incredulous response from one's contemporaries today. The study characterizes that changes in identification is significantly correlated to social and occupational changes. He concludes that partly because of the pace of social change, identification must be cautious, selective, partial and incomplete. Work changes; the skills essential for parents is no longer suffice.

These studies are limited to the bounds of how people of different ages relate to each other and how generational control influences individual's attitude, based on the forces of changes needed to cope with the wide occupational differentiation and skills required.

Murdock (1967), studied cultural variation by concentrating upon family life, based upon field report known as Human Relations Area Files (HRAF) - the cultural inventories that make feasible scientific investigation of family variation. Data from 862 societies, coded for statistical analyses on about fifty different indices were studied. One of his contribution is that "Clusters" of societies exist with many features in common because they

come from a common genetic source. According to him, this suggests the ability of generations to receive, retain and transmit whole cultural systems. In the study Murdock illustrates the Nyakyusa of East Africa as an example of a generationally conscious society. He explains how these people have learned to cope with generational conflict by granting increasing autonomy to their age-graded villages. The transfer of power between the young and the elderly is assured and never left in doubt. His cross-cultural study of item-by-item comparison of the family system among the Northern Tungus of Siberia and the Americans of the United States reveal that families are both culture products and culture carriers and through them generations are adapted to their particular conditions.

Several studies on the family from the perspective of generation have been done by exploring cross-culturally the nature and rate of social change associated with the nature and type of generational control parents have over their children. Mead's (1970:34-341), extensive analysis of permanence and social change in her monograph *Culture and Commitment : A Study of the Generation Gap*, demonstrates how these factors affects different cultures and their respective generational dynamics. Exploring cross-culturally she has presented a comprehensive study on the concept of 'Generation Gap' in contemporary societies. On

the basis of historical interpretation, she illustrates how the elders of the preliterate societies exerted power and authority. She called these societies post-figurative as they derived their authority from the past. The basic premise underlying the social order was continuity with the past. She then compares post-figurative cultures to societies under-going social change, which leads to break in generational continuity. Mead characterizes such societies as configurative as they result in the loss of the individuals links with the past. She asserts that in such societies the future is not anticipated through the traditional past but by the contemporary present. Mead, further anticipated the development of yet another culture which she characterizes as prefigurative, in view of the extreme rapid rates of change in the newly emerging era. She opines that these new cultures will be represented by the child yet to be born and not by parent and grand-parent. The study thus emphasizes how traditional societies are characterized by strong inter-generational bonds and strong central authority in contrast to societies that are undergoing rapid social change, whereby generational continuity is de-emphasized. The study also highlights how conceptualization of childhood and adolescence are an important factor in the way generational attitudes and behaviour become manifest. It also contributes to the study

of changing family patterns over the generations from various angles and gives a comprehensive and fruitful understanding of the concept of 'Generation Gap'. This study is a noteworthy textual material for the researchers in this area.

Similarly Ann Foner (1978), in her study of American families examined family from the an age-stratification perspective and applied it to an historical examination of 19th and 20th Century American families. Her approach emphasized that age must be conceived as a social process as well as a biologic^{al} one. The main variable of the study is age, which is seen as a key component in social structure and social change. The study views that in the analysis of the changing family, which forms the sample of the study, age-stratification perspective incorporates both structural and dynamic elements that have implications at both the individual and societal level for the analysis of the family.

Sweetser's (1964), cross-cultural studies on the effect of three-generational families in Finland, Sweden and Great Britain, suggests that the middle generation (husbands and wives who are middle-aged), acts as mediator between the grand parents and grand children. Her study noted that, depending upon the middle generation's skills and understanding the patterns of three-generation households

are successes or failures. The study is limited to the familial groupings of the household in relation to the role-relationship in the kin group.

Some psychologist and educationist have also correlated both achievement and failure in socialization of children with family background and home environment. Erikson (1963), studied the effect of psychological stages through which American children pass in their early socialization. He contends that the resolution of each stage can be either helpful or harmful and will effect later stages of life. His study characterizes that little children learn either trust or mistrust from their parents depending upon their handling. The study concludes that trust comes from parental concern and distrust from parental neglect.

Similarly Toman's (1969), study of families, drawn upon some 3,000 case histories, supports that families play prime roles in the generational outcome of individual lives. Based on the criteria that "new inter-personal relationships will be co-determined by old ones". The study discusses that, "whatever people a person chooses from spouses, friends, partners, assistants, superiors, and the like will be co-determined by the kinds of people a person has been living with the longest, most intimately and most regularly and by incidental losses of such people." The main concern

of the study centres around the theme that, it is the early intra-family constellation that will be duplicated to some degree in the later, extra family relationships.

However, apart from studies mentioned above, a lot of work has been done in western countries in these areas and sub-areas. Many informative textual materials have been written on different aspects of family, socialization of children and parent-child relationship in various societies of the world. As a discussion on these will make the chapter unduly lengthy they are referred to in the body of this research work at relevant places, in subsequent chapters.

1.4 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The present study is an attempt to examine various patterns of socialization and child-rearing practices over a period of time among the Khasi.

Societies differ tremendously in the structures of the family and the orientations of parents towards their children and such variations are expected to shape the individuals.

The culture of any society is a changing stream in which cultural continuities and discontinuities are

occurring constantly. The point of emphasis here is that the child is the focal point of this recurring relationship between the culture of the successive generations. Turning to cultural continuity we see that the child is the carrier and connecting link between the cultures of the succeeding generations. Kirk-Patrick (1963:612) has emphasized this point, "there has always been some awareness that important social continuities depend upon the parent-child relationship". However, much we turn from the convictions of our parent's generation to the ideas of contemporary, it is likely that our own upbringing may retain some lingering effect. The reconstruction of past child-training ideas in our own culture may have some practical as well as theoretical values.

In a changing culture, ideas on how to bring up children undergo many transformation through time. If we look at the ideas prevailing on this subject a hundred years ago, we find, together with the beginnings of many current developments in child-rearing concepts, which seem remote, alien and repugnant to us. However, the attitudes of the past generations may retain some hold than we generally realize. Certain ideas may continue to exert influence on the levels of less conscious feeling, transmitted from one generation to another through child-rearing itself.

It is a common knowledge that family is an important

institution which plays a very significant role in shaping the lives of its members particularly of the coming up generations. But the question of questions is how exactly this role is performed - Do they operate as initiators or as potentials. The question acquires greater significance in a changing society. What roles families play in maintaining the distinctive identity of each society? In order to understand the roles of families in the socialization of children, the present study places families in a time order.

1.5 Scope of the Study

Family is the primary socializing agent as well as a continuous force in shaping the course of one's life. Keniston emphasized this point "Children, inevitably raised in their families, provide a tangible link with future generation" (1965:32). Throughout history the family has been the social institution that has stood at the very centre of society. It provides intimate and enduring interaction between the family members and acts as a mediator between themselves and the larger society from birth until death. The family transmits the traditional ways of a culture to each new generation. It fulfills human needs as few other institutions can.

The early years of human life are very crucial for the development of the child, particularly for the overall

personality development. The family, being a social institution has a structure, which depends on its members and their roles. To study family as a structure is to consider it as a form of organization. These different structures play a significant role in the personality development of the child.

In the early years of life the most important influence on the child's social behaviour and attitudes is likely to be the child-rearing methods used by parents. Family is regarded as the primary group of social interaction and hence is important in understanding child development. Child-rearing practices are not only the procedure of supplying the material and basic needs of the child, but it is a continuous flow of interaction between the growing child and the caring adult.

There are constant interactive processes going on between the members comprising the family structure. These interactions have a definite impact on the social and educational development of the child. Hence a study of the processes that are involved, the quality of these processes, their most important constituent members and the nature of their operations are required to understand the social personality of the child. The term 'family-interaction' includes reciprocal relationships between the members of the family in their continuing life with each other, and the

result of these interactive processes, so far as the child is concerned, may be thought of as child's social and psychological heritage.

The child-rearing practices which are very important in bringing up children are mainly determined by traditions existing in a particular society. Although family structure and family processes are distinct things, each with its own significance, from the larger point of view both are but means to an end, and the end is the content of the family. This content is culture and it is in many ways the most significant aspect of a family situation in the personality of the child.

However, parents competency in providing the psychological wants will to a great extent depend on the social system which children have inherited whether patriarchal, matriarchal, bilateral family, etc., because the cultural influences and the traditional child-rearing methods play a dominant role in the relationship of parents with their children. Ralph Linton has aptly defined "the individual's personality is shaped by the culture", what he actually means is that it is shaped by the experiences which a child derives from his interaction with parents, siblings and the environment. These different 'structures' and 'processes' play a significant role in the personality development of the child. As the child grows, and moves

from the family world to the outside world, he carries with him the culture of the family into which he has been inducted.

Thus the process of bringing up children can never be alike. Ours being a country of diverse types of people, religion, castes and communities, child-rearing practices also differ from one place to another and even within one community. Even within the same social set up there might be differences according to economic conditions, level of literacy and finally values and attitudes of parents. Regional differences have also been found to exist in the child-rearing pattern. The goal of all child-rearing is to develop in the child the capacity for adjustment as prescribed by the cultural system to which the child belongs. Throughout the centuries there have been shifts in the culturally approved child-training methods.

Further, under the conditions of social change characterized by higher level of education, greater range of occupational choice and greater options for mobility and wider social network, the bonds of solidarity and interdependence which would normally make for inter-generational continuity do so selectively rather than uniformly. Owing to the scope and momentum of social change, there could be much uncertainty about the roles for which the young are being or ought to be prepared and the type of socialization

and educational process that takes place within the boundaries of the family, in discharging its function of socializing the child. Therefore, the study of socialization seems much a key-theme today.

These accepted notions of child-rearing practices clearly indicates the scope for fresh thinking on the subject particularly to view socialization of children in various family situation from the perspective of generation.

To tackle the problem stated above, in our opinion the Khasi of Meghalaya, provide an excellent opportunity. First, they are a matrilineal society which is in sharp contrast to patrilineal societies, which is the general pattern of most of the societies in India as well as in the world. Second, all the evidences indicate that the Khasi are undergoing significant changes, particularly the Khasi of Shillong. These changes have been brought about by intensive penetration of market economy, higher levels of mobility of the people, increase modern communication, attainment of education by larger number of people, opening up of schools and colleges, and diversification of occupation. Their matriliney too is under tremendous pressure, which if true would get reflected in their succeeding generations. In other words we are getting a society which is in dynamic mode. We expect these changes

to reflect on the child-rearing and socialization practices from one generation to another.

1.6 OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY

The study aims at finding out how far these changes have made an impact on the process of socialization and child-rearing practices. The study also attempts to find out whether these changes have made any impact on the attitudes of parents as regards child-rearing between and across generation.

1) An attempt will be made to find out what are the various patterns of socialization and child-rearing practices over a period of time among the Khasi in Shillong.

2) The study will also focus on as to what extent the subsequent generations have either retained or abandoned the values and attitudes with regard to the parent-child relationships, and to assess the modifications and differences, if any have occurred with regard to the child-rearing practices between and across generations.

3) The study will also bring out indigenous as well as exogenous factors, which are responsible for the differences in attitudes, values and practices over a period of time.

4) The study will investigate specific socialization components like toilet-training, breast-feeding, weaning food, job assignment, peer group permissibility, etc.

5) The study will also observe parental attitudes towards formal schooling and other related factors like age and gender preference, guidance and facilities extended to children, educational care, etc.

6) This study will focus on parental attitudes and perceived behaviour in relation to punishment, discipline, obedience, etc. and the responses about reception and rejection of the siblings and children.

7) In dealing with the above mentioned specific questions, some characteristic features of the Khasi society will be highlighted.

CHAPTER - II

**THE KHASIS: THE
LAND AND ITS PEOPLE**

The Khasi Land : Its Physical Structure

The homeland of the Khasis is a hilly state situated in the north-east of India and known as the district of United Khasis and Jaintia Hills, under the State of Meghalaya. Meghalaya came into being as a full-fledged state on January 21, 1972. The state is mainly inhabited by the matrilineal tribal communities of the Khasis, Jaintias and the Garos.

According to the 1991 Census, the state is spread over an area of 2,2429 sq. kms. and has a total population of 17,60,626 (Census of India, 1991). The total literacy rate of the State is 49.10 per cent, viz. males 53.12 per cent and females 44.85 per cent. Further urban literacy rate is 81.74 per cent and rural 41.05 per cent. It has a working population of 42.67 per cent and non-workers comprise of 57.33%. The percentage of birth rate is 32.4 and death rate is 8.8 per cent (Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Government of Meghalaya, 1993).

Meghalaya lies between 85^o49' and 92^o52' East longitude and between 20^o1' and 20^o5 North Latitude. It is bounded on the west and on the south by Bangladesh and on the East and on the North by Assam.

Meghalaya today is a populous and proliferating state. There has been a steady growth of population during the past few decades. A glance at the population figures of

Khasis Hills alone are: 1961 - 3,80,005; 1971 - 4,91,209; 1981 - 5,11,414; 1991 - 6,57,160.

In 1991, the total urban population of the state was males 1,73,817 and females 1,56,262. The density of population per square kilometre in 1991 was 79 persons.

Locale and People

The history of the Khasi Hills had been shrouded in darkness till the beginning of the 19th century except for fragmentary stories such as Khasis raids on the Sylhet people (Nakane, 1961:97). The first reference to the inhabitants of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills occurs about the middle of the sixteenth century. The Khasis are better known since the annexation of the district to the British in 1833 (Gait, 1905:311).

The Khasis and the Jaintia Hills are divided politically into two sub-divisions, with headquarters at Shillong for the Khasi Hills and at Jowai for the Jaintia Hills respectively. The people of both subdivisions are called 'Khasis' in a broad sense and are distinctly marked off from other neighbouring tribes and people by language and social structure. Their language belongs to one of the Mon-Khmer group of the Austro-Asiatic family to which the

Munda of central India also belong. The main feature of the Khasi society is its matriarchal social structure.

Though all Khasis share fundamentally the same language and social structure, their culture, dialects, economy, social usage, and political organization vary owing to the ecological and politico-historical differences among them. Following the geographical and ecological differences, the Khasis are divided into five main sub-groups. These groups are segregated into fairly well-defined cultural areas, each developing a different economy and dialect, namely the Jaintias of the Jaintia Hills also known as the Synteng or Pnar, the Khyntiam Khasis or Upland Khasis of Shillong plateau of the Khasi Hills, the War who inhabit the southern slope of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills (they are called geographically the Khasi-War and the Jaintia-War), the Bhoi occupy the northern slopes of the Khasi Hills and the Lyngam inhabit the western border of the Khasi Hills near the Garo Hills. These sub-tribes are again divided into a number of clans, lineages and families in their respective territories.

"The development of the upland Khasi Hills of the Shillong plateau started with the establishment of its headquarters at Shillong in 1874. Since then, the features of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills have changed a great deal. What was once a small Khasi hamlet, untouched by the light

of history has become a busy modern town where many Khasi intellectuals live, mixing with various outsiders who are engaged in official work or in business. The British administration opened the way to missionary activities, especially that of the Welsh Calvinist Methodists who set up a mission in the Hills in 1841, almost at the same time the British political influence began to make itself felt in the Khasis Hills. Along with the political penetration from Cherrapunjee (1833) to Shillong, missionaries established many institutions, including churches, schools and hospitals, etc. Christian education, bringing with it the promise of clerical positions, attracted young Khasis a great deal; and the majority of the upland Khasis have been converted to Christianity. They have become the modern intellectuals of their people. Besides these political and religious changes there have been very important changes in Khasis economy, along with the development of Shillong and the opening of the motorable road to Gauhati from Shillong after Independence, when Shillong became the seat of the Assam Government as well as the capital of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, Shillong has become an important trading centre. These changes have introduced the Khasis into an active commercial economy which again has brought about various changes in their social life. The history of the

Khasi Hills during the last hundred years has changed a great deal the picture of the Hills (Nakane, 1961:97-99).

Shillong : Its Environment

Shillong the field of the present study is the picturesque state capital of Meghalaya, also known as the 'Scotland of the East', is situated at a height of 5,000 feet above sea level.

"Shillong is the name of the tutelary diety of a state formerly known as *"Ka Hima Saw Kher Lai Lyngdoh"*. This god has his abode on the top of a mountain peak named after him *"U Lum Shillong"*. It is the highest peak in Meghalaya and is held sacred being the source of the nine revered rivers of Khasi Hills known as *"Ki Khyndai Umdih, Khyndai Umtong"* (the nine living waters). The Khasis call this god *"U Lei Shillong"*, and he was the maternal uncle of a divine maiden *"Ka Pah Syntiew"* (flower charmed), who founded the dynasty of *"Ki Syiem Shillong"*, who ruled over the heartland of ^{the} Khasi Hills extending north-wards to the Kolong and Brahmaputra and southwards to the Barak and the Surma. Out of the wedlock of the divine maiden to a man from Nongjri were born children who were chosen by the elders of *Ka Hima Sawkher Lai Lyngdoh* to be their kings. The Khasis being matrilineal *Ka Pah Syntiew* thus became the

founder of the rulers known as "Ki Syiem Shillong" whom we see today in the persons of "Ki Syiem Nongkrem" also called "Ki Syiem Khyrim" (Rymbai, 1973:28-30).

Culture Contacts

The contact of the Khasis with the various socio-cultural or socio-religious influences coming from outside their land-locked region has had a shaking effect on many aspects of their traditional ethos and culture. "It has to be admitted that though the impingement has been considerable in some respects, in many other respects their traditional mores have continued unaffected" (Mathur, 1979:15).

There was no settled habitation by the name of Shillong till the British selected this valley as their district headquarters in 1864. The villages existing in this valley then were a few scattered huts in Laban, Mawkhar, Laitumkhrak, Nongkseh and Lawsohtun. It was the British who gave the name Shillong to these villages taken together.

Marginal effects on the society caused by the British rule and opening up of communications cannot be altogether ignored. "Changes consequent on locations of the capital of Assam at Shillong in Khasis Hills in 1874, such

as influx of outsiders in large numbers leading to more and varied inter-ethnic marriages, the upsurge in economy and improvement in the prospects of trade, greater horizontal and vertical mobility of population better communication, etc. owe their origins to the British rule. But, the prime factor which induced and fostered silent and mammoth changes in the Khasi Society was the work of the missionaries for nearly a century or more. This work also nourished and unfastened forces of adoption, resistance, adaptation and opposition. The changes that occurred by invisible degrees and stages, in the hitherto undisturbed Khasi society grew more tangible over a period of time. Missionary influence was a major catalyst for the metamorphosis in the Khasi society (Natarajan, 1977:91).

Growth and Composition of Population

Shillong, the capital of Meghalaya has overgrown its rural past. It is interesting to study the spiral of population-growth in Shillong town, particularly during the last eighty years. For the preceding eighty years there has been a fairly steady growth of population. The population figures of different periods are: 1881 - 4,288; 1891 - 6,720; 1901 - 9,621; 1911 - 13,639; 1921 - 17,203; 1931 - 26,536; 1941 - 38,192; 1951 - 58,512; 1961 - 1,02,398; 1971

- 1,22,752; 1981 - 1,74,703; 1991 - 2,22,273. It is worth noting in this connection that the steady and rapid growth of Shillong in recent years has resulted in a shift in the mode of life of the growing population.

There were only a handful of Christians in Shillong in those early years. Till 1871, their number did not exceed 400, in the whole district. The first "*Ing-Mane Trai Ri*" (Chapel of the National Church) was established in the Umsohsun area to hold a small number of worshippers (where at present the Sweeper Lane meets the G.S. Road near the Police Point). It was called the Chapel of Babu Don Rai, because it was constructed by him. He was ordained in Calcutta in 1877. He was in-charge of the Umsohsun Church from 1873 to 1889 (Laitflang, 1972:65:68). Today after nearly 150 years of the beginning of proselytisation in a concerted manner the population of Christians (mostly Khasis) comprise of 69,926 Catholics in Shillong City and a total of 2,54,622 Catholics and 3,54,257 Presbyterians in the whole of Khasi and Jaintia Hills (Presbyterian Statistics, Synod house and Archdiocese of Shillong Directory 1993). In 1901, 9 per cent of the Khasis were Christians, 3 per cent were Hindus and nearly all the remainder were orthodox Khasis (Imperial Gazetteer of India). According to the Census of 1911, out of a population of 13,000 in Shillong 1,300 or 10 per cent were Christians.

However, over the years there has been a considerable increase in the number of Khasis converts to Christianity. The Christian population increased rapidly during the first six decades of this century. The population of Christians (mostly Khasis) was, 1961 - 1,44,879 and 1971 - 2,48,000 (approx.). According to Census data 1971, the number of Christians among the Khasis alone was estimated at about 2,12,000 in a total population of 3,52,000. After the conversion of Krishna Chandra Pal in 1800, seven Khasis embraced Christianity. By 1920, 30 per cent of the Khasis population became Christian. But in 1962, only 39.7 per cent of the population had become Christian. In 1965 the figure was 47 per cent of the population, and today about 53 per cent of the total population in the district and 60-65 per cent of the Khasis are Christians. There is a slight discrepancy in the figures as gathered from the Church institutions and the census records.

Seng Khasis (Non-Christian Khasis)

The presence and activities of the missionaries brought out in the open the strong revivalist forces within the Khasi society. These forces got consolidated and began articulating against the spread and conversion to Christianity. It was thus that the Seng Khasi movement was born in 1899. The Seng Khasis was founded with the object

to preserve the ancient Khasi culture and religion. The Seng Khasi adopted four important principles with a view to implement the objective of the organization. These were 1) adherence to the tenets of kinship as specified by the Khasi ancestors, (ii) righteousness through service, love and truth, (iii) respect for one's own fellowmen with humility and faith, and (iv) belief in God, the Sovereign Lord, the Creator and Giver of all. Some prominent Khasis associated with the movement are Jeebon Roy, Sib Charan Roy, Chandranath Roy, Hormu Rai Diengdoh, Dolip Singh and Rashmohon Roy Nongrum. The non-Christian Khasi leaders made great efforts to revitalize the Khasis culture particularly in the fields of religion, moral code and ethics through their publications. Jeebon Roy's pioneer studies (1897, 1900) on Khasi religion "*Ka Niam Jong ki Khasis*" (the religion of the Khasis and "*Ka Kitab Shaphang (Wei U Blei)*") have thrown much light not only on several aspects of the Khasi religion, but also the need for preservation and protection of the Khasi religion and the historical tradition and culture against the onslaught of Christianity which was bringing about rapid changes in the society. In May 1921. The Seng Khasi Free Morning Schools was founded with the objective to give free education to the poor and helpless and illiterate Khasi boys and girls.

Education

Second only to conversion education ranks as the most important contribution of the Christian missionaries in the Khasi Hills. The percentage of literacy in the United Khasi and Jaintia Hills Districts of the different periods are: 1901 - 6.72 per cent (Males 9.64 per cent and females 4.01 per cent), 1911 - 6.51 per cent (Males 9.57 per cent and females 3.62 per cent), 1921 - 9.05 per cent (Males 12.44 per cent and females 5.78 per cent), 1931 - 10.94 per cent (Males 14.73 per cent and females 7.07 per cent), 1941 - 16.51 per cent (Males 21.58 per cent and females 10.81 per cent), 1951 - 22.96 per cent (Males 29.13 per cent and females 16.41 per cent), 1961 - 37.15 per cent (Males 42.70 per cent and females 31.04 per cent), 1971 - 39.69 per cent (Males 43.79 per cent and females 35.26 per cent), 1981 - 44.08 per cent (Males 47.89 per cent and females 39.08 per cent), 1991 - 49.10 per cent (Males 53.12 per cent and females 44.85 per cent).

The important feature of the missionary work was the strong spirit of competition among the various evangelical missions. This led to the intensification of the activities of each denomination in its own sphere. The Roman Catholics who followed the Welsh Mission in 1890, established well-reputed educational institutions namely Loreto (1909), St.

Mary's (1913), St. Edmund's (1905), Don Bosco Technical School (1923) and other reputed schools besides colleges to be followed by St. Anthony's (1935), St. Mary's (1935) and St. Edmund's (1937). By the late thirties Shillong had become the biggest and most prominent centre for higher education and missionary activities not only in the Khasi Hills but in the whole of North-East India.

With the passing of time and shifting of the activities of the Government to Shillong, which grew in importance as the then capital of Assam, the missionaries also carried their activities to Shillong and established a network of institutions. By 1961, the Presbyterians had the maximum number of schools.

The initial impact of missionary work, conversion, availability of employment opportunities, medical facilities, education, etc. led in a way, to an acute awareness on the part of the orthodox Khasi.

Jeebon Roy, a self-educated intellectual from Shella jointed the service of the East India Company in 1858 as an interpreter and retired in 1894 as a senior Extra Assistant Commissioner, being the first Khasi E.A.C. His concerted effort resulted in the founding of the Shillong Government High School in 1878, which marked the beginning of formal English education in Shillong. Jerman Jones brought into existence the Mission High School (today's K.J.P.) in 1884-

85. In 1880 Sib Charan Roy passed the Entrance Examination from Shillong Government High School founded by his father before the Mission High School was started. He was the first Khasi to pass the entrance examination.

The number of educated Khasis began to increase over the years. Among them, were more Christian Khasis than orthodox ones. Solomon Blah and Dohory Ropmay graduated in 1898. In 1905, six Khasis had obtained the degree. Khasi women also began to occupy important positions in the society, by virtue of education. Miss Anamon Tham was the first lady to pass the Entrance Examination in 1902 and F.A. Examination 1904. Enola Khain (Chyne) was the first graduate (1918). Miss Mavis Dunne was the first lady minister in Assam, in the Cabinet of Sir Saadullah around 1937, ten years before Independence of the country. Female literacy began to grow and the report of 1931-32 stated that the Khasis women occupied the first place in India in the pre-Independence days in matter of literacy.

The People : Their Social Institution

The earlier near-static Khasis society underwent transformation that began around the year 1813. However, the matri-centred Khasi society remained as before. According to Nag, "Although Christianity was found to have

made considerable impact on the Khasi education and economic condition, it seems to have a minimal effect on the traditional rules of inheritance and residence and on clan exogamy. The youngest daughter still inherits the largest share than the rest, both among Christians and non-Christians. Matrilineal residence is still the dominant pattern among both" (1965:151). Similarly, Barih states "Christianity accounts for considerable changes, but it has not yet materially changed the laws of inheritance. Adaptation to the western life was quickly made although the matrilineal laws of inheritance and succession and other cultural traits were retained" (1972:321:323). The rules of abstinence in matters of marriage were strictly observed. The exogamous unit, *Kur* or *Jait* (clan) an over-grown family that descended through female has survived through the centuries. The missionaries could not directly or otherwise influence the matri-centred social institution of the Khasis.

Descent and Residence (Their Family Life)

True to its matrilineal principle the Khasis reckons descent through the female line, the children take the name of their mother, are members of their mothers lineage and clan and live in their mothers social group. Social

recognition of the child being centred on the mother in other words children owe to the mother their social placement.

In conformity with the principle the Khasi household is matri-local in nature. The basic residential unit comprise of the mother, her husband and their children.

The social, cultural, political and economic set up of the race is based on a matrilineal system. According to this system, the children belong to the mother and her family, through mothers to the mother to the common ancestors. Children of informal unions do not have a problem of group placement. Hence no Khasi child can be illegitimate child whether the mother borne the child from the husband with whom she has been formally married or not. The child by right of birth has claim to the family to which his mother belongs (Lyngdoh, 1972:78).

The most remarkable feature of the Khasi marriage is that it is usual for the husband to live with his wife in his mother-in-law's house and not for him to take his bride to his house. Divorce is very common in Khasi society. Women not only has a right to property but also has a right to choose their life partners and to re-marry after widowhood (Gurdon, 1975:106).

Khasi - Family Organization

Reverence to the ancient female progenitors constitute an important feature in the family organization where the mother's clan is adopted by her children. Among the Khasis, owing to the matrilineal custom the mother is a person entrusted with the important duties of performing family rites and ceremonies occupying the position of a family priestess though in actual practice, males who are brothers perform the actual task of sacrifice and other religious celebrations of the house.

Family organization centres around the mother in which capacity she acts as a keeper of the hearth and kitchen. She is in-charge of jewels, ornaments, vessels, implements and lands. In all acts of family celebration and the issue of inheritance, the mother exercises her duties, obligations and authority in consultation with her brother's who acts as *Kni* (Uncles) in the capacity of counsellors to her children.

It should be noted the maternal uncle, i.e. the mother's brothers have a great role in promoting the welfare of her children. In fact the former act as counsellors and guardians to their nephews. Khasi children, therefore, receive guidance both from father's and maternal uncles. The father has his part to play in bringing up his children.

It is wrong to think that he is a nobody (stranger) but has an exalted position by maintaining the children (Bareh, 1967:112:114).

Family Organization of the Matrilineal System

According to Gurdon, many of the Khasi clans trace their descent from the ancestress or *Kiaw* (grand-mother) who are styled *Ka Iaw-bei tymmenlit*, grandmother of the root, i.e. (the root of the tree of the clan). The descendants of one ancestress of the clan *Ka Iawbei Tynrai* are called *shikur* or one clan. Then comes the division of the *Kpoh* or sub-clan, all the descendants of one great grandmother being styled *shi kpoh*. The next division is the family (1975:118).

The house where the mother lives is known as *Ka Ingseng* (a foundation house) or the house which belongs to the whole family or clan, which on her death passes on to her youngest daughter and this is one of the foundations of the matrilineal system amongst the Khasis. Apart from being a place for family celebrations and religious sacrifices, important affairs relating to the family and clan are discussed in this house (Lyngdoh, 1972:43:44).

Inheritance

The youngest daughter according to strict usage is merely the custodian of property, the sole management of family affairs lies with the maternal uncle. Pakyntein stated that "The clan or Jait and not the individual is the unit of the Khasi society in which the eldest maternal uncle is the head (*Census, 1961*).

To understand the Khasi rules of inheritance we have to distinguish between two types of property, namely 1) The ancestral property (*Ka Nong Tymmen*) that which has passed down in the family for generations. This may include land, houses, paddy-fields, groves, cash, ornaments, domestic animals, etc. 2) Self-acquired property (*Ka Nong-Khynram*) that which is earned during a person's life time.

Inheritance of ancestral property follows strictly in the female order. It falls from mother to youngest daughter failing which by death or social taboo it goes to her next youngest daughter. If the youngest daughter who inherits the ancestral property happens to be childless or has only sons, then on her death, the next youngest sister inherits the property and then passed on to her youngest daughter after her. Thus the Khasi contributes to the ultimogeniture pattern of inheritance where ancestral property passes on from mother to youngest daughter for generations.

Inheritance of the ancestral property is, however, coupled with certain social obligations, while the elder daughters set up separate households a few years after their marriage, the youngest daughter continues to stay in the mother's house. She not only has to look after the aged parents but if any member of the family is widowed, divorced or fall into any misfortune, it is the duty of the youngest daughter to look after them and to give them shelter if the need arises. The house of the youngest daughter is looked up by the members of the matrikin as a refuge in the midst of any contingency.

The youngest daughter although inherits the ancestral property, she is not free to deal with it as she pleases. Each and every move that she makes should be with the acknowledgement and consent of her brothers or the mother. She is merely the custodian of the property while real control over them is vested in the hands of her male matrikin.

Further, in lieu of the inheritance, the youngest daughter has to see to the execution of the family rites and bear all the expenses incurred. Above all, to maintain the dignity and honour of the youngest daughter's house, she should be free from all social contaminations. It is for this reason that committance of incest, adultery, crime or

change of religion deprive the youngest daughter of her right to the ancestral property.

The above rule of inheritance applies to ancestral property only. As far as the self-acquired property is concerned it can be disposed off according to the will of the beholder. Self-acquired property is considered to be the private monopoly of the owner and he can give it to whoever he likes. Inheritance of a person's self-acquired property need not necessarily follow from mother to youngest daughter. Sons too can inherit self-acquired property if the owner of such property wills it. Determination of the right of inheritance to the acquired property of a man depends upon the period during which the property is earned before marriage that is, before a man goes to live with his wife and children, the property known as *Kamai Ing Kur* (that is, which is earned in one's mother's house) will go to his mother on failing which his sister or sister's daughter. But property which is earned after his marriage known as *Kamai Ing Khun* (that is, which is earned in one's wife's house) will go to his wife and children.

The Khasi in general and those of them inhabiting Shillong in particular, have for a not inconsiderable period been exposed to intensive missionary activities. These contacts, apart from what has come in the wake of the changed situation since independence seem to have made much

of an impact on the traditional society of the Khasis particularly on their socio-cultural life. This study is, therefore, an endeavour to comprehend in what manner families have departed from their traditional norms and practices and to what extent have they found it expedient to retain their traditional system and practices with regard to socialization of children in various family situation, though they have been living in contact with the outside world for the last 150 years or so.

A society in the process of transformation cannot be measured except in terms of both past and future. Hence to acquire a proper perspective for the study of the present, this study is a humble attempt to study change and continuity associated with the attitudes and behaviour patterns between generation with regard to the parent-child relationship in the socialization of their children among the Khasis over a period of time.

CHAPTER - III

**MATERIALS AND
METHOD**

SELECTION OF STUDY AREA

In an attempt to make this study more intensive a homogeneous section of the Khasi population, geographically limited to urban Shillong, viz. three areas under the Laitumkhrach constituency and one under the Malki-Nongthymmai constituency has been taken into consideration. From the voter's list of these four areas, the Khasi houses were marked and a 3 per cent random sampling of the Khasi households has been made. The four localities selected for the purpose of the present study were Nongrim Hills, Nongshiliang, Pohkseh and Rynjah. Besides these four localities, another locality namely Mawlai, was purposely selected since it is predominantly a Khasi area. For this area no statistical sampling was done. Forty households were randomly picked up. These five localities constitute the sampling universe for the present study. As mentioned earlier, Mawlai is predominantly a Khasi area, whereas the other four areas are mostly cosmopolitan in nature. Over the years, many new colonies have sprung-up in these areas and their suburbs, attracting people from all walks of life - from business community to working class and from local people to immigrants. One can see in these areas the luxurious bungalows and multi-storeyed buildings along with chawls and hutments accommodating all sorts of people

belonging to different strata of the urban society - upper, middle and lower classes.

The population of these areas are also composed of people belonging to different religions, castes and communities. There are churches, temples and mosques scattered over these areas, which show multi-religious composition of these areas.

The areas have several aided schools and also unaided private ones. Apart from these, there are schools which are being run by the Christian missionaries and also by various private organizations.

Personal reasons for selecting these areas for the study was that, these areas were adjacent to each other, excepting Mawlai and, therefore, it was convenient to visit for the enquiry. It may be noted that the present researcher, who was born and brought up in Shillong, has been a resident of the area, and many of the informants are personally known to her as childhood friends or friends' friends and their relatives. Further, being able to speak Khasi fluently there was no difficulty in conversing with the different sections of the Khasi people. All these factors have given much opportunity for an intensive observation. The observation not only first kindled the interest of the researcher but also helped considerably in her present research in studying attitudes of parents and also

socialization processes of their children over a period of time.

Regular contact with the people, and often casual, informal and friendly visits to various Khasi families provided ample opportunity to the present researcher^{to} being a non-participant observer of their activities and attitudes in their daily behaviour since childhood both within and outside their home and family . As the interest increased by constant observations, the attention centered around the different factors contributing to the continuity and change in their attitudes towards socialization of their children. One such aspect has been the family situation. The researcher's familiarity with the parents and their children had given her some free access to their houses, and this factor had been of great advantage. It enabled the researcher to conduct intensive interviews on socialization process. The acquaintance kept on enlarging and, therefore, the researcher had no difficulty in moving in and out of the houses of the people she had selected for conducting the interview.

SPECIFIC TOOLS OF RESEARCH

I. The study had been primarily based on field work which has been carried out in two phases :

a) In the first phase, demographic data on 250 households have been collected on basis of structured schedule.

The following information on both parents and children, have been collected for the present study:

1) Religion.

2) Age - present age, age at marriage, age/year of death (in case of any spouse).

3) Level of literacy.

4) Community (to find out any marriage outside the community).

5) Occupation.

6) Present marital status (i.e. married, separated/divorced/widowed).

7) Total number of children (alive or dead) with age and sex.

8) Family composition.

9) Approximate monthly income of family.

b) In the second phase out of those 250 families, a 20 per cent (i.e. 50 families) random sampling of the households had been made to collect data on various aspects of socialization and parent-child relationship through structured schedules which is given in Appendix-A.

II. Generation Length

It is always very difficult to classify any human population according to generation as they are in all cases overlapping. As such, the present population under study has been classified into some arbitrary generations, and the method adopted to classify the generations is explained in the following:-

With a view to understanding the effect of generation (which essentially means chronological age) on socialization processes of the children, the method proposed by Glass (1956:541-555) has been relied upon. The reason for relying on this method is that many individuals, who are more or less of the same age, belong to different social generations, thereby creating problem to find out the actual effect of age on these processes (In Appendix-B, some pedigrees have been given to illustrate these phenomena).

The generation mentioned in the pedigree may be called 'social generation', but in reality by generation, we mean time scale which corresponds to chronological age. For example, in pedigree I (Fig. 1.a), it is seen that the person No.III4 is 60 years old and the person No.III55 is only 32 years old, but both of them socially belong to the same generation. When we assume that there are possibilities of differences in attitudes towards life between these two particular individuals due to their

differences in age, we shall not be able to assess these differences properly since both of them belong to the same social generation. In such cases we find Bentley Glass's method is of much help since such like individuals should be put on the basis of their age, into two separate generations, in spite of the fact that they belong to the same social generation. With this method the data could be analysed in a better way to understand the changes that have been taking place over the years. If we take into consideration the social generations, putting such individuals in the same generation, we may lose the sight of changes due to age, i.e. time (which is generation for our purpose) on such important socialization processes. Hence the present population under study, has been classified into four generations on the basis of the mean age at first child birth of all mothers, as suggested by Glass (1956).

CALCULATION OF GENERATION LENGTH

Following Bentley Glass' (1956) method we have taken into consideration age at first child birth for 246 mothers and the mean age at first child birth has been found to be 21 ± 0.22 years, and consequently, we have taken 21 years as an approximate generation length and the entire population has been classified into four generations. The generation length has been shown in Table 2.

Table 2
Generation Structure

Generation	Years	No. of Mothers
1st Generation	65+	29
2nd Generation	43 - 64	72
3rd Generation	22 - 42	126
4th Generation	21	23
TOTAL		250

On the basis of this generation length we have analysed the socio-economic characteristics of the respondents belonging to each of these four generations, and the findings have been presented in the subsequent chapters.

In the present study, religion has been classified into two major groups, viz., Christian and Non-Christian. Among the Christians, there are two main sections: the Catholic and the Non-Catholic (all Christians other than Catholic, have been referred as 'Non-Catholic Christians'). It has also been found that the Non-Catholic Christians belong to various churches, and for the convenience of analysis they have all been pooled together and designated as Non-Catholic Christians.

On the basis of religion and generation length (Table 3a), marital status of each of the 250 respondents

Table 3.a

Analysis in Terms of Generation and Religion

Religion	Generation (Years)		Total No. of Respondents
Catholic	1st	65 +	9
	2nd	43 - 64	34
	3rd	22 - 42	61
	4th	21	11
			Total 115 (46.0%)
Non-Catholic Christians	1st	65 +	12
	2nd	43 - 64	31
	3rd	22 - 42	61
	4th	21	10
			Total 114 (45.6%)
Non-Christian Khasi	1st	65 +	8
	2nd	43 - 64	7
	3rd	22 - 42	4
	4th	21	2
			Total 21 (8.4%)

has been analyzed, taking into consideration occupation, age at marriage, literacy, income, size of family, etc.

On completion of the first phase of the field work among the 250 families, the second phase of the field work has been carried out in order to make an indepth study among 50 families, randomly chosen of those 250 families which have already been covered for demographic and social proximates. Care has also been taken to see that these 50

families, chosen for indepth study, were from five study areas, with a view to understanding the changes in their child rearing attitudes and the socialization processes of their children.

GENERATION STRUCTURE

To collect all relevant information on the above mentioned social parameters, the method adopted has been explained below.

In the second phase the responses of the subject has been dealt in sequence. Each of the mothers has been taken into consideration for two major roles: (1) mother as a child, i.e. how she was treated by her parents. This information gives an insight of the attitude of her parents, and (2) mother as a mother how she has been treating her children in their socialization process. The former helps one understand what happened in the past whereas the latter helps understanding what is being practiced in the present. These two sets of information helps one to find out the changes that have already taken place or have been taking place over the years. It is also to be noted that in case of the former data, the information collected has been referred to as indirect source whereas in case of the latter, it is considered as direct source of information. Table 3b indicates the frequencies of the

direct and indirect sources of data according to generation lengths. One can further find from Table 3b that there are 14 mothers in the second generation, and these 14 mothers have given information on how they were treated in their childhood by their parents and these types of information have been considered as indirect source of information since they speak about their parents. These 14 mothers of the second generation have supplied data to understand what was really happening in their parental generation. Consequently, we have considered those data for the first generation with a view to finding out the changes and/or continuity that have occurred in the second generation for which those 14 mothers have supplied us with information about how they have been treating their own children. Similarly 19 mothers belonging to the third generation also gave relevant information on how they were treated in their childhood by their parents and this information too has been treated as indirect source of information for the second generation, and these 19 mothers have spoken about the treatment they have been giving to their children, which speaks for the third generation itself. Similar is the case with the 9 mothers belonging to the fourth generation. The point to be noted here is that there are 8, 14, 19 and 9 mothers belonging to the first, second, third and fourth generation, all these mothers have given information on how they as

mothers have been treating their children. In the present analysis, as already mentioned, we have considered these data as direct source of information.

Table 3.b
Frequency of Primary and Secondary Data by
Generation Length

Generation (in years)	Gene-ration Length	Total no. of mothers interviewed	Direct source as a mother	Indirect source as a daughter
65+	1st	8	8	14
43 - 64	2nd	14	14	19
22 - 42	3rd	19	19	9
21 & below	4th	9	9	-

For further analysis, the children have been classified into two groups, viz. (1) Child (5-12 years), and (2) adolescence (12+ years). The reason for such classification is to understand the variation in children's expectation from their parents.

Age is an important determining factor from demographic as well as social point of view. Social relations change along with age. As a child grows older, he will have different social responsibilities and expectations. Moreover, the age at which different social responsibilities should be placed on the child give an idea of the age at which a society considers the child to have developed the capacity of reasoning. So for the convenience

of our analysis, we have divided children into two age categories - childhood, i.e. between 5-12 years of age and adolescent between 12-22 years of age. By and large, this two groups of children are to a great extent dependent on their parents and they have different expectations. In a matrilineal society, as in the case with the present population, it is generally believed that the girls are better looked after in comparison to the boys, and if it is true such differentiation can only occur when children reach the stage of adolescence. In adolescent period, generally one will find that the boys and girls are having different kinds of expectation and demands from their parents, whereas children in their childhood stage have no such definite demand or expectation from their parents. To test this hypothesis we have classified the children into the two aforesaid groups.

Based on these criteria, diversity in patterns of child-rearing and generational differences in maternal attitudes and behaviour and children's responses to various socialization process have been studied. In connection with this the data on the following social parameters have been collected:

1. Children's education: Perceptions, aspirations and attitudes of the parents towards their children's education.

2. Imposition of discipline by parents on their children in connection with -

Child Training - (i) incarnation of sense of discipline and responsibility, and (ii) types of punishment, given to children for their unacceptable behaviour.

3. Sociability - Children's interaction and Recreation.

a) Social activities as viewed by the parents.

b) Sources of influence and social participation.

c) Restriction and permissiveness in terms of interaction and recreation.

4. a) Patterns, trends and benefit of breast feeding.

b) Infant food supplementation.

c) Toilet Training - habits and method adopted.

Keeping these objectives in view, both direct and indirect observation techniques have been used for collecting data on socialization processes of the children in various family situations. The Notes on Queries on Anthropology (6th. Edition, 1960), says "for any given culture or area material must be collected by (1) direct, (2) indirect observation. The two methods must be continually integrated." Throughout the field work, we have relied on both direct and indirect observations. At times,

direct observations have been supplemented by immediate interviews. In some cases, we have thoroughly collected data keeping into consideration many case histories with a view to fulfilling the objectives of the present study. Besides, we have also relied on genealogical method wherever it was felt necessary (some of the Genealogies have been given in Appendix-A, to understand and illustrate the changes taking place over the generations). A structured schedule, comprising many relevant questions, has also been used to collect data on socialization and child-rearing processes of the children (Appendix A).

SCHEDULE

Based on the objective of the study, a preliminary schedule was prepared. Before using the schedule for collection of data, a pretest was conducted on randomly selected 25 families. These families were personally contacted in their respective homes and were requested to answer the schedule. They were encouraged to discuss the schedule and give their opinions. During the course of the informal discussion in pre-test some of these discussions served as a vital clues for studying the problems in detail. Their reactions were useful in reframing the final schedule for the parents. In the light of their responses the final schedule was made.

INTERVIEWS AND CASE STUDIES

The interviews were arranged at the mothers' convenience by appointment, as mothers were the main respondents of the present study. The interviews were focussed and directed on mother's attitudes and methods adopted towards different patterns of socialization of their and child-rearing practices. These interviews were conducted in an informal way as far as possible so as to get both intensive and extensive information on the questions asked. Also to have a composite picture of the family background, fathers and children too were later interviewed, informally to detect the differences that may have been there between the attitudes of parents and their children. Initially, this proved to be difficult but with much prompting and assurances both father and children gave in their opinion. Their replies in most cases were very informative. This gave us an opportunity to have a comprehensive view of the attitudes of both parents and children which were added as case studies so as to supplement certain situations typical or otherwise. Eventually, we have been able to illustrate attitudinal changes and/or continuity over the generations. These case studies also served as valuable material in interpreting the data and writing the final report.

COLLECTION OF DATA

After explaining the nature of the study, permission was taken from the Headman of each of the five localities, and their help was sought in contacting the families to administer the schedule to the informants. In all cases, the headman provided a man, who was familiar to the families of the area, to accompany the investigator to visit the different Khasi families in the capacity of an interpreter and to encourage participation for those who refused or did not wish to participate in the study.. Though the basic interview schedule was in English, it was translated into Khasi in almost all cases. On the appointed day with the help of the interpreter, the selected household was approached.

Initially, the aim of the research was explained to all the informants. They were assured that their answers would be treated confidentially, and their identity would never be disclosed.

In view of the level of co-operation required to obtain information related to the 2nd phase of the study which dealt in sequence, interviews were carried out in several interviewing sessions. Often respondents encountered difficulty in recalling and recollecting their past. Assistance had to be sought from other family members and siblings. To obtain and record responses from a household

the duration of interviews ranged from 8-10 days. The responses were recorded verbally and manually and sometimes it took hours before a satisfactory response could be obtained.

Problems were also encountered in locating some of the selected households, whereby the family have either moved out of the area or have shifted and changed residence.

In the case of the second phase of the interview carried out with the help of the structured schedule, the code numbers given in the first phase of the study were repeated on the structured schedule of the second phase.

The schedules of the first and second phase of the studies were paired together, according to their code numbers, to facilitate the analysis of data.

LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH

One major drawback of the present study, which limits the value of its findings, is the fact that due to the sampling method applied to the study, the selected sample showed an imbalanced distribution of families in terms of generations and religion. Majority of the families in the study were Catholic and Non-Catholic Christians and represented respondents belonging mostly to the second (43-

64 years) and third (22-42 years) generations. Comparatively, the representation of Non-Christian Khasi and respondents belonging to the fourth generation (21 years) were meagre, which proved inadequate in interpreting the data.

Secondly, the actual order of presentation also had its problem and limitation. There seemed no way of discussing childhood experiences in various areas nor was it possible to give a straightforward account of what happened at each age, because the effects of some experiences might not become apparent until later in the child's life. Moreover, there could be errors of memory and changes in practice may also have taken place since childhood. Therefore, to bridge the gap in knowledge, it was decided to present an account which was as nearly chronological as possible including discussions to narrow and pin down similarity and differences between generations.

The third limitation is the inadequacy in collecting sex-wise and age-wise data particularly on the differential attitude of the parents towards sons and daughters and variability and expectations from children of particular age groups. Only a few aspects on sex-wise and age-wise data were collected and they give very valuable information. If all the other aspects were covered throughout the study, it would have given a more complete picture of sex and age role differentiation prevailing in various family situations over

a period of time and its likely impact on the socialization of the children and the child rearing practices among the Khasis.

CHAPTER - IV

**SOCIAL DEMOGRAPHIC
PROFILE**

This chapter deals with the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents. In the present study religion has been classified into two major groups, viz. Christians and non-Christians. Among the Christians there are many denominations like Catholic, Protestant, etc. In the present study we have divided the Christian respondents into two main groups, viz. Catholic and non-Catholic. Again among the non-Catholic Christian respondents it has been noticed that respondents belong to several churches such as Church of Christ, Church of England, United Pentecostal Church, Seven-Day Adventist, Christ National Church, Trumpet, Baptist, Unitarian, etc. Since sufficient data are not available for each of these groups, for convenience of analysis all respondents have been pooled together and designated as "non-Catholic Christians". However, the details have been given in Chapter-III.

Figure-I presents the total number of respondents, according to generation, marital-status, education and occupation. The entire data have been presented under three different categories viz., Catholic Christians, non-Catholic Christians and non-Christians Khasis. From this figure it is seen that total number of respondents are 115, 114 and 21, belonging to Catholic Christians, ^{Catholic} non-Christians respectively. So it is seen that of all the respondents

FIGURE NO 1

CATHOLIC RESPONDENTS (115)

GENERATION	NO.	MARITAL-STATUS				LITERACY				OCCUPATION	
		WEDLOCK		SEPARATED		WIDOW	WIDOW REMARRIED	LITERATE	NON-LITERATE	EARNING	NON-EARNING
		ONCE	MORE THAN ONCE	ONCE	MORE THAN ONCE						
I	9	6(67)	—	—	—	3	—	5	4	3	6
II	34	16(47)	7	4	2	9	3	26	8	21	13
III	61	42(69)	15	13	4	1	1	52	9	48	13
IV	11	9(82)	1	2	—	—	—	10	1	8	3

NON-CATHOLIC CHRISTIAN RESPONDENTS (114)

GENERATION NO	NO	MARITAL-STATUS				LITERACY				OCCUPATION	
		WEDLOCK		SEPARATED		WIDOW	WIDOW REMARRIED	LITERATE	NON-LITERATE	EARNING	NON-EARNING
		ONCE	MORE THAN ONCE	ONCE	MORE THEN ONCE						
I	12	9	1	2	—	—	6	6	5	7	
II	31	17	6	5	2	5	2	23	8	18	13
III	61	42	14	15	2	1	1	51	10	49	12
IV	10	9	—	1	—	—	—	9	1	7	3

NON-CHRISTIAN KHASI RESPONDENTS (21)

GENERATION NO	NO	MARITAL-STATUS				LITERACY				OCCUPATION	
		WEDLOCK		SEPARATED		WIDOW	WIDOW REMARRIED	LITERATE	NON-LITERATE	EARNING	NON-EARNING
		ONCE	MORE THAN ONCE	ONCE	MORE THEN ONCE						
I	8	6	—	—	—	1	1	3	5	5	3
II	7	2	3	2	1	2	—	5	2	4	3
III	4	1	2	2	—	1	—	4	—	3	1
IV	2	2	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	2	—

(250), 46.0 per cent are Catholic Christians, 45.6 per cent non-Catholic Christians and 8.4 per cent non-Christians.

Table 4.1 shows the distribution of the respondents according to generation in each of the three religious groups. It may be noted here that the time span for the fourth generation is not sufficient enough to take into consideration for further demographic analysis of the present data. However, in the said Table the percentage of the respondents in each of these four generations of each of these three religious groups has been given. This Table is self-explanatory and needs no further elaboration.

Table 4.1

**Distribution of the Respondents by Age,
Generation and Religion**

Religion	Generation	Number	Percentage
Catholic Christians	1st (65+)	9	7.83
	2nd (43-64)	34	29.57
	3rd (22-42)	61	53.04
	4th (-21)	11	9.57
Total		115 (46.00%)	100.00

(continued Table 4.1)

	1st (65+)	12	10.53
Non-Catholic Christians	2nd (43-64)	31	27.19
	3rd (22-42)	61	53.51
	4th (-21)	10	8.77
	Total	114 (45.60%)	100.00
	1st (65+)	8	38.10
Non-Christian Khasis	2nd (43-64)	7	33.33
	3rd (22-42)	4	19.05
	4th (-21)	2	9.52
	Total	21 (8.40%)	100.00

Age at Marriage

Table 4.2 shows the mean age at marriage among the Catholic Christians, non-Catholic Christians and non-Christian Khasis according to generations. It is seen that the mean age at marriage is gradually decreasing from the earliest generation to the present generation i.e., generation-IV. It is quite understandable from this Table that the mean age at marriage is gradually going down as generation advances. It holds good for all three religious groups. However, the over-all mean age at marriage is 20.2

for the Catholic Christians, 19.7 for the non-Catholic Christians and 20.2 for the non-Christians.

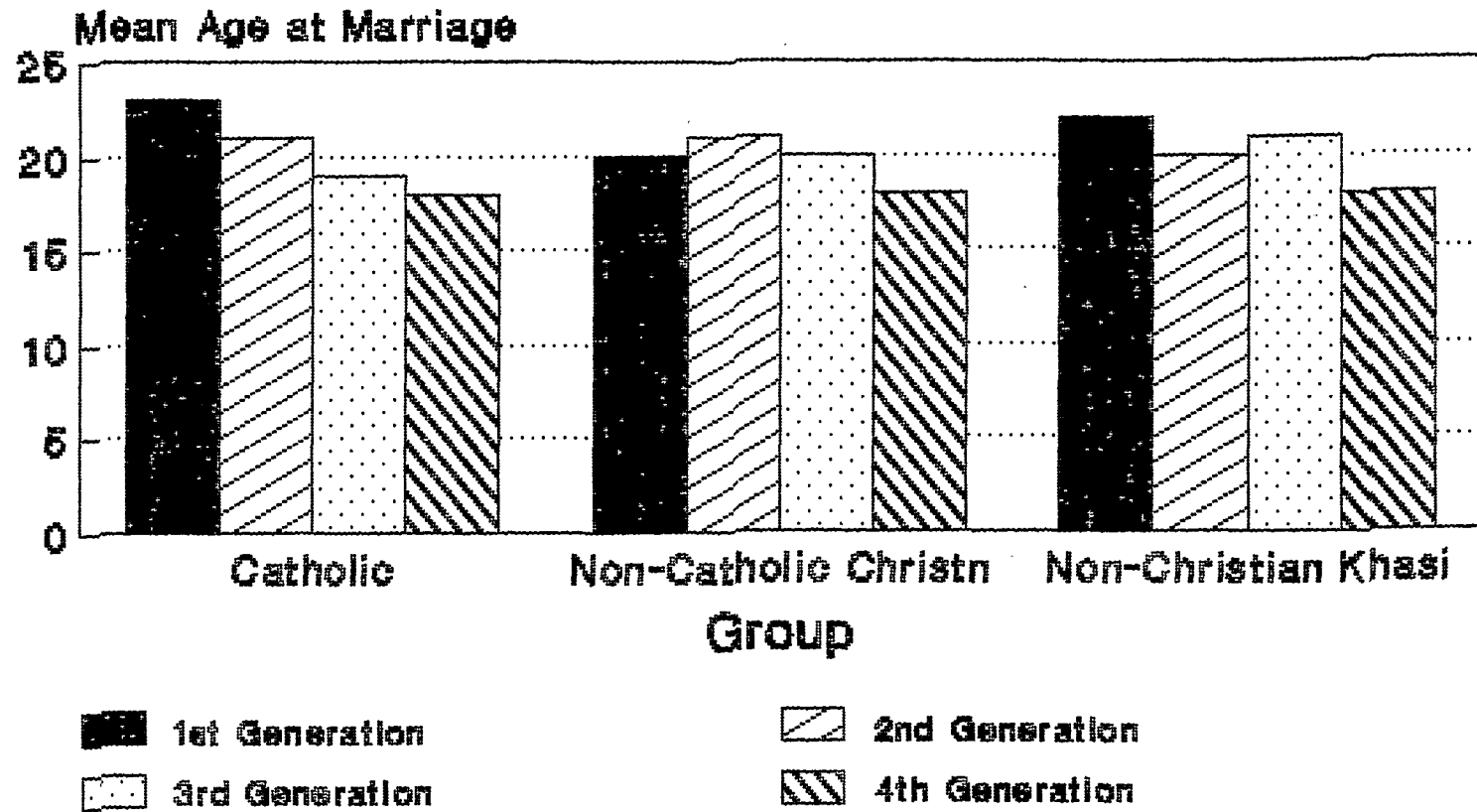
Table 4.2
Age at Marriage

Genera- tion	Catholic		Non-Catholic Christians		Non-Christian Khasi	
	No. of Respon- dents	Mean (in years)	No. of Respon- dents	Mean (in years)	No. of Respon- dents	Mean (in years)
1st	9	23	12	20	8	22
2nd	34	21	31	21	7	20
3rd	61	19	61	20	4	21
4th	11	18	10	18	2	18

Figure-II clearly depicts the change in mean age at marriage. It is quite clear in case of the Catholic Christians, but in case of non-Catholic Christians and also for the non-Christians, though understandable, the trend is not that clear. However, in case of all these three religious groups, the mean age at marriage in the current generation, i.e. the fourth generation it is certainly lower than what it was in the previous generations.

Fig. II

AGE AT MARRIAGE



Non-Catholic Christian: Non Catholic Christians

Marital Status

In Table 4.3, the present marital status of the respondents has been given by generation as well as by religious affiliation.

Table 4.3
Marital Status

Groups	Generation	Number	A	B	C
Catholic Christians	I	9	6(67)	0	3(33)
	II	34	16(47)	6(18)	12(35)
	III	61	42(69)	17(28)	2(3)
	IV	11	9(82)	2(18)	0
Total		115	73(63.47)	25(21.73)	17(14.78)
Non-Catholic Christians	I	12	9(75)	2(17)	1(8)
	II	31	17(55)	7(22.50)	7(23)
	III	61	42(69)	17(28)	2(3)
	IV	10	9(90)	1(10)	0
Total		114	77(67.54)	27(23.68)	10 (8.77)
Non-Christian Khasis	I	8	6(75)	0	2(25)
	II	7	2(28)	3(43)	2(28)
	III	4	1(25)	2(50)	1(25)
	IV	2	2(100)	0	0
Total		21	11(52.38)	5(23.80)	5(23.80)

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage.

A = Currently in wedlock; B = Separated; C = Widow.

The Table shows that in the first generation the frequency of the respondents currently in wedlock, varies between 67 and 75 per cent. In the second generation this frequency varies between 28 and 55 per cent and the same in the third generation between 25 and 69 per cent. It may be mentioned here that in the survey area the inhabitants are mostly Catholic and non-Catholic Christians and there are very few families, who have still been practicing the traditional Khasi religion. Consequently, in the present sample only about 8 per cent of all the respondents are non-Christians.

One remarkable feature that can be seen from this Table, is that the frequency of the separated individuals is increasing from the first to the third generation, irrespective of religious affiliation. In case of the Catholic it is seen that there is no separated woman in the first generation, but in the second generation, the frequency of separated women is found to be about 18 per cent which has further increased to 28 per cent in the third generation. In case of the non-Catholic Christian, the frequency of separated women is found to be 17 per cent in the first generation, which in turn, has further increased to 22.5 per cent in the second generation and 28 per cent in the third generation. In case of the non-Christian no case of separation has been noticed in the first generation, but

the frequency of separated women has increased to as high as 43 per cent in the second generation and in the third generation it has gone upto 50 per cent. Since data are not sufficient enough for the fourth generation in case of all these three religious groups, it will be quite premature to make any observation. But the point to be noted here is that irrespective of religious affiliation, marriage bondage is not as strong as it used to be in the earlier generations among the Khasis.

Frequency of Multiple Marriages

Table 4.4 shows the frequency of multiple marriages by religion as well as by generation. In case of the Catholic Christians there is no case of remarriage in the first generation. However, in the second generation 18 per cent of the respondents have remarried at least once and 3 per cent more than once. In the third generation, the frequencies of once remarried and more than once remarried have increased to 21 per cent and 4 per cent respectively.

In case of the non-Catholic Christians there is a solitary instance of remarriage in the very first generation. In the second generation about 16 per cent of the respondents have remarried and 3 per cent have remarried more than once. These percentages of once remarried and

more than once remarried have increased to 18 per cent and 5 per cent respectively in the third generation..aw off

Table 4.4
Multiple Marriages

Groups	Generation	Number	A	B	C
Catholic Christians	I	9	9(100)	0	0
	II	34	27(79)	6(18)	1(3)
	III	61	42(75)	13(21)	2(4)
	IV	11	10(91)	1(9)	0
Total		115	92(80.00)	20(17.39)	3(2.60)
Non-Catholic Christians	I	12	11(92)	1(8)	0
	II	31	25(81)	5(16)	1(3)
	III	61	47(77)	11(18)	3(5)
	IV	10	10(100)	0	0
Total		114	93(81.57)	17(14.91)	4(3.50)
Non-Christian Khasis	I	8	8(100)	0	0
	II	7	4(57)	3(43)	0
	III	4	2(50)	2(50)	0
	IV	2	2(100)	0	0
Total		21	16(76.19)	5(23.80)	0

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage.

A = No dissolution of marriage; B = Remarried once;

G = Remarried two or more times.

In case of the non-Christians, 43 per cent in the second generation and 50 per cent in the third generation have married more than once.

Combining all these three groups together it is seen that among the Catholic Christians nearly 20 per cent of the respondents have married more than once and this frequency among the non-Catholic Christians is 18 per cent and 24 per cent among the non-Christians.

However, from the present data it may be inferred that marriage bondage among the Khasi, irrespective of religious affiliation, has been weakening over the generations. It may also be inferred that inspite of the weakening of the bond the Khasi tend to re-enter into marriage alliance. It indicates that while the value attached to marriage as an institution is intact and also there is no stigma attached to a separated person, a man or a woman to remarry. These are significant points of differences as compared to larger caste society of India.

Dissolution of Marriage

In continuation of the Table 4.4, we have concised all information in Table 4.5 in order to examine how and to what extent marriage bondage among the Khasis of these three religious groups is getting weaker over the generations. The Table shows that among the Catholic Christians in the first generation marriage was considered as a permanent bondage. This is by and large true for the non-Catholic Christians as

well as non-Christians. As the generation advances, the frequency of dissolution of marriages increases in all these three religious groups. For example, among the Catholic nearly 18 per cent have dissolved their marriages in the second generation; of which, 6 per cent dissolved their marriages more than once. In the third generation this frequency has further increased to nearly 28 per cent of which, 21 per cent have been dissolved at least once and 7 per cent for twice or more times. The trend is same among the non-Catholic Christians too, though it is found that nearly 17 per cent of all marriages have been dissolved in the first generation, but as the generation advances, this frequency increases further and further, e.g., 23 per cent and 24 per cent of all marriages in the second and third generation respectively have been dissolved. Among the non-Christians the frequency of dissolution of marriages in the second and third generations seem to be much higher (nearly 43 per cent in the second generation and 50 per cent in the third generation). However, it may be noted that volume of data on non-Christian Khasis are too meagre to make any significant observations.

From the above discussion it is clear that marriage among the Khasis, irrespective of religious affiliation is no more as stable as it used to be. It may also be noted that many such women who have been separated by dissolving

their earlier marriages, have decided to stay alone only with their children. We shall come back to this point with further analysis at an appropriate place.

Table 4.5
Dissolution of Marriage

Groups	Generation	Number	A	B	C
Catholic Christians	I	9	9(100)	0	0
	II	34	28(82)	4(12)	2(6)
	III	61	44(72)	13(21)	4(7)
	IV	11	9(82)	2(18)	0
Total		115	90(78.26)	19(16.52)	6(5.21)
Non-Catholic Christians	I	12	10(83)	2(17)	0
	II	31	24(77)	5(16)	2(6)
	III	61	44(72)	15(24.5)	2(3)
	IV	10	9(90)	1(10)	0
Total		114	87(76.31)	23(20.17)	4(3.50)
Non-Christian Khasis	I	8	8(75)	0	0
	II	7	4(57)	2(29)	1(14)
	III	4	2(50)	2(50)	0
	IV	2	2(100)	0	0
Total		21	16(76.19)	4(19.04)	1(4.76)

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage.

A = No dissolution of marriage; B = Separated once;

C = Separated twice or more

Widow Remarriage

Table 4.6 indicates the frequency of widow remarriage among the Khasis.

Table 4.6
Widow Remarriage

Spouses	Generation	Number	A	B
Catholic Christians	I	9	3(33.3)	0
	II	34	12(35.29)	3(8.82)
	III	61	2 (3.28)	1(1.64)
	IV	11	0	0
Total		115	17(14.78)	4(3.47)
Non-Catholic Christian	I	12	1 (8.33)	0
	II	31	7(22.58)	2(6.45)
	III	61	2 (3.28)	1(1.64)
	IV	10	0	0
Total		114	10 (8.77)	3(2.63)
Non-Christian Khasis	I	8	2(25.00)	0
	II	7	2(28.50)	1(14.29)
	III	4	1(25.00)	0
	IV	2	0	0
Total		21	5(23.80)	1 (4.76)

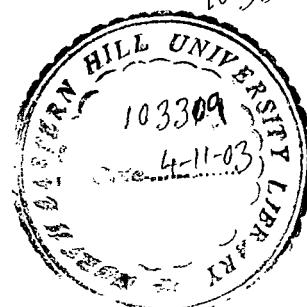
Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage.

A = Widow currently; B = Widow remarried

Before we analyse this Table the point to be noted is that in Tables 4.4 and 4.5, we have discussed about dissolution of marriages, but we have not considered any dissolution of marriage by death of spouses. So in Table 4.6, we have included widow and widow remarriages.

It is seen that in all these three religious groups widow remarriage in the earliest generation is certainly not prevalent. Among the Catholic in the second generation nearly 35.29 per cent of the respondents are currently widow and have not gone for remarriage, whereas 8.82 per cent of the respondents who became widow and have gone for remarriage. In the third generation 1.46 per cent of the total respondents became widow and have remarried again, whereas 3.28 per cent of the widows have never gone for remarriage.

Among the non-Catholic Christians in the first, second and third generations the frequencies of widow are 8.33 per cent, 22.58 per cent and 3.28 per cent respectively. In the second generation nearly 6.45 per cent of the total respondents and in the third generation 1.64 per cent have gone for remarriage after becoming widow. Among the non-Christians the percentages of widow are 25, 28.57 and 25 per cent respectively in the first, second and third generations. Only 14.29 per cent of the respondents in the second generation have decided to remarry again.



From the above discussion it is seen that widow remarriage, though being practiced in all these three religious groups, is not generally appreciated. Consequently, most of the widows in all these three religious groups prefer to stay with their children without going for remarriage.

From the above analysis it is seen that there are five classes of mother in the present set of data viz., 1) those who have never been separated and are still staying in wedlock; 2) those who have been separated by dissolving their earlier marriages and have remarried again; 3) those whose earlier marriages were dissolved by death of their spouses and have remarried again; 4) those who became widows by death of their spouses and have decided to remain single, and 5) those who dissolved their earlier marriages and have decided to remain single. For convenience of further analysis we have pooled first, second and third groups of mothers together and we have also pooled fourth and fifth groups together. The reasons for clubbing first, second and third groups together is that the mothers in all probability take decisions regarding their children in consultation with their present husbands whereas the mothers of fourth and fifth groups generally take decisions by themselves.

Literacy Rates

By the term 'Literate' we essentially mean that those who can read and write, have been considered as literate, and those, who cannot read and write but some how can sign their names, have been taken as 'non-literate'. With this definition of literacy we have analysed the present set of data on three religious groups. Further, we have classified the literates into 3 categories, which are as follows :

- 1) Primary - read up to class IV
- 2) Secondary - between V and P.U.
- 3) Higher - graduation and above.

Table 4.7 shows the percentages of Literate and non-Literate respondents by generation in these three religious groups.

Table 4.7
Literacy Rates

Generation	No. of (A)	(A)				No. of (B)	(B)				No. of (C)	(C)			
		L	%	N.L.	%		L	%	N.L.	%		L	%	N.L.	%
I	9(8)	5	56	4	44	12(10.5)	6	50	6	50	8(38.0)	3	38	5	62
		(4.34)		(3.47)			(5.26)		(5.26)			(14.28)		(23.80)	
II	34(29.5)	26	76	8	24	31(27.0)	23	74	8	26	7(33.0)	5	71	2	29
		(22.60)		(6.95)			(20.17)		(7.01)			(23.80)		(9.52)	
III	61(53.0)	52	85	9	15	61(53.5)	51	84	10	16	4(19.0)	4	100	0	0
		(45.21)		(7.82)			(44.73)		(8.77)			(19.04)			
IV	11(9.5)	10	91	1	9	10(9.0)	9	90	1	10	2(10.0)	2	100	0	0
		(8.69)		(0.86)			(7.89)		(0.87)			(9.52)			
Total	115(46.0)	93	80.86	22	19.13	114(46)	89	78.07	25	21.92	12(8.0)	14	66.66	7	33.33

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage out of the total population.

A = Catholic Respondents;

B = Non-Catholic Christian Respondents;

C = Non-Christian Khasi Respondents;

L = Literate; N.L. = Non-Literate

Table 4.8 shows the level of literacy among the respondents by generation as well as by religion.

Table 4.8
Level of Literacy

Groups	Genera- tion	Number (%)	* %	** %	*** %	**** %
Catholic	I	9(8)	0	2 22 (1.73)	3 33 (2.60)	4 44 (3.47)
	II	34(29.5)	4 12 (3.47)	10 29 (8.69)	12 35 (10.43)	8 24 (6.95)
	III	61(53.0)	8 13 (6.95)	34 57 (29.56)	10 16 (8.69)	9 15 (7.82)
	IV	11 (9.5)	2 18 (1.73)	7 64 (6.08)	1 9 (0.86)	1 9 (0.86)
Total		115(46)	14(12.17)	53(46.08)	26(12.60)	22(19.13)
Non-Catholic Christians	I	12(10.5)	1 8 (0.87)	1 8 (0.87)	4 33 (3.50)	6 50 (5.26)
	II	31(27.0)	3 10 (2.63)	9 29 (7.89)	11 35 (9.64)	8 26 (7.01)
	III	61(53.5)	7 11 (6.14)	33 64 (28.94)	11 18 (9.64)	10 16 (8.77)
	IV	10(9.0)	2 20 (1.75)	6 60 (5.26)	1 10 (0.87)	1 10 (0.87)
Total		114(46)	13 11.40	49 42.98	27 26.68	25 21.92
Non-Christian Khasis	I	8(38)	0	0	3 37.50 (14.28)	5 62.50 (23.80)
	II	7(33)	1 14 (4.76)	1 14 (4.76)	3 43 (14.28)	2 29 (9.52)
	III	4(19)	1 25 (4.76)	1 25 (4.76)	2 50 (9.52)	0
	IV	2(10)	0	2 100 (9.52)	0	0
Total		21(8)	2(9.52)	4(19.04)	8(38.09)	7 33.33

Figures in the parenthesis indicate percentage out of total population.

* = Graduation and higher; ** = Class V-XII;

*** = KG-Class IV; **** = Non-Literate

It is found that as generation advances more people are going for higher education and consequently, the frequency of non-literate individuals is dropping rapidly. The other point to note here is that even to-day sufficient number of respondents have not gone for "Higher" education but majority of them have got "secondary" education. These observations hold true for all these three religious groups. So the overall trend is that mother's are more educated now than they used to be in the earlier generations. This corroborates with the findings given in Table 4.7.

Marital Status and Literacy

Table 4.9 shows the current Marital Status of the mother's at the time of the present survey by literacy rate. It is seen that there is a greater tendency among the literate respondents to break their marriages in comparison to the non-literate respondents and also this is getting more intensified as generation advances. These observations hold good for all these three groups.

Table 4.9
Marital Status by Literacy

Groups	Genera- tion	A				B				C			
		L	%	N.L.	%	L	%	N.L.	%	L	%	N.L.	%
Catholic Christians	I	4	44 (3.47)	2	22 (1.73)	0		0		1	11 (0.86)	2	22 (1.73)
	II	16	47 (13.91)	0		3	9 (2.60)	3	9 (2.60)	7	20 (6.08)	5	15 (3.34)
	III	38	62 (33.04)	4	6 (3.47)	12	20 (10.43)	5	8 (4.34)	2	3 (1.73)	0	
	IV	8	73 (6.95)	1	18 (0.86)	2	18 (1.73)	0		0		0	
Total	115(46)	66(57)	7(6)	17(15)	8(7)	10(9)	7(6)						
Non-Catholic Christians	I	5	2 (4.38)	4	33 (3.50)	0		2	17 (1.75)	1	8 (0.87)	0	
	II	15	48 (13.15)	2	6 (1.75)	5	16 (4.38)	2	6 (1.75)	3	10 (2.63)	4	13 (3.50)
	III	36	59 (31.57)	6	10 (5.26)	13	21 (11.40)	4	6 (3.50)	2	3 (1.75)	0	
	IV	9	90 (7.89)	0		1	10 (0.87)	0		0		0	
Total	114(46)	65(57)	12(10.5)	19(17)	8(7)	6(5)	4(3.5)						
Non-Christian Khasis	I	3	37 (14.28)	3	39 (14.28)	0		0		0		2	25 (9.52)
	II	2	28 (9.52)	0		2	28 (9.52)	1	14 (4.76)	1	14 (4.76)	1	14 (4.76)
	III	1	25 (4.76)	0		2	50 (9.52)	0		1	25 (4.76)	0	
	IV	2	100 (9.52)	0		0		0		0		0	
Total	21(8)	8(38)	3(14)	4(19)	1(5)	2(10)	3(14)						

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage of total population

A = Wedlock; B = Separated; C = Widow;

L = Literate; N.L. = Non-Literate

Multiple Marriages

Table 4.10
Multiple Marriages

Groups	Genera- tion	Number	A				B			
			L	%	N.L.	%	L	%	N.L.	%
Catholic Christians	I	9(8)	5 (4.34)	56	4 (3.47)	44	0		0	
	II	34(29.5)	21 (18.26)	62	6 (5.21)	18	5 (4.34)	15	2 (1.73)	6
	III	61(53)	42 (36.52)	69	4 (3.47)	7	10 (8.69)	16	5 (4.34)	8
	IV	11(9.5)	9 (7.82)	81	1 (0.86)	9	1 (0.86)	9	0	
Total		115(46)	77	67	15	13	16	14	7	6
Non-Catholic Christians	I	12(10.5)	6 (5.26)	50	5 (4.38)	42	0		18 (0.87)	77
	II	31(27)	21 (18.42)	68	4 (3.50)	13	26 (1.75)	9	4 (3.50)	13
	III	61(53.5)	41 (35.96)	67	6 (5.26)	10	10 (8.77)	16	4 (3.50)	7
	IV	10(9)	9 (7.89)	90					1 (0.87)	10
Total		114(46)	77	67.5	15	13	12	10.5	10	9
Non-Christian Khasis	I	8(38)	3 (14.28)	37.5	5 (23.80)	62.5	0		0	
	II	7(33)	4 (19.04)	57	0		1 (4.76)	14	2 (9.52)	29
	III	4(19)	2 (9.52)	50	0		2 (9.52)	50	0	
	IV	2(10)	2 (9.52)	100	0		0		0	
Total		21(8)	11(52)		5(24)		3(14)		2(10)	

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage out of total population.

A= Married once; B = Married more than once.

Table 4.10 gives the frequencies of multiple Marriages by generation and literacy rate in all these three religious groups. It is glaring that as generation advances more and more literate respondents are breaking their marriages and are going for remarriages. Consequently, the frequency of the respondents, who are married more than once, is gradually increasing as generation advances. Even in case of the non-literate respondents the frequency of more than once married individuals is also increasing over the generations, though it is less than what is found among the literate individuals. This trend is by and large same in all these three religious groups.

Table 4.11 and 4.11a show how the respondents are getting involved in making their livelihood over the generations. Table 4.11 shows that in each of these three religious groups mothers are getting more and more involved in earning their livelihood. This trend is found in all these three religious groups as generation advances. Consequently, it seems that not many mothers at present like to be non-earning house-wives. This is by and large true for all these three religious groups.

Table 4.11
Earning and Non-Earning Mothers

Groups	Generation	Number	A	B
Catholic Christians	I	9(8)	3(33)	6(67)
	II	34(29.5)	21(62)	13(38)
	III	61(53)	48(79)	13(21)
	IV	11(9.5)	8(73)	3(27)
Total		115(46)	80(70)	35(30)
Non-Catholic Christians	I	12(10.5)	5(42)	7(58)
	II	31(27)	18(58)	13(42)
	III	61(53.5)	49(80)	12(20)
	IV	10(9)	7(70)	3(30)
Total		114(46)	79(69)	35(31)
Non-Christian Khasi	I	8(38)	5(62.5)	3(37.5)
	II	7(33)	4(57)	3(43)
	III	4(9)	3(75)	1(25)
	IV	2(10)	2(100)	0
Total		21(8)	14(67)	7(33)

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage.

A = Earning; B = Non-Earning.

Table 4.11a gives the break up regarding the nature of jobs that the mothers are pursuing. The types of jobs have been classified into four different categories which are as follows :

1) Agriculture - Those who are involved in some agricultural activities and earn money.

2) Trade - Those who are involved in one or the other kind of business.

3) Service - Those who are employed in various government or non-government organisation and earn their monthly salary.

Table 4.11a
Types of Jobs

Groups	Genera- tion	A	B	C	D	E
Catholic Christians	I	3(33)	1(11)	0	2(22)	3(33)
	II	3(9)	5(15)	4(12)	9(26)	13(38)
	III	0	11(18)	16(26)	21(34)	13(21)
	IV	0	2(18)	4(36)	2(18)	3(27)
Total		6	19	24	34	32
Non-Catholic Christians	I	2(17)	1(8)	1(8)	2(17)	6(50)
	II	2(6)	6(19)	4(13)	6(19)	13(42)
	III	0	12(20)	13(21)	24(39)	12(20)
	IV	0	3(30)	2(20)	2(20)	3(30)
Total		4	22	20	34	34
Non-Christian Khasis	I	2(25)	1(12.5)	0	2(25)	3(37.5)
	II	0	2(29)	1(14)	1(14)	3(43)
	III	0	2(50)	1(25)	0	1(25)
	IV	0	0	0	2(100)	0
Total		2	5	2	5	7

Figures in the parenthesis indicate percentage.

A = Agriculture; B = Trade; C = Service;

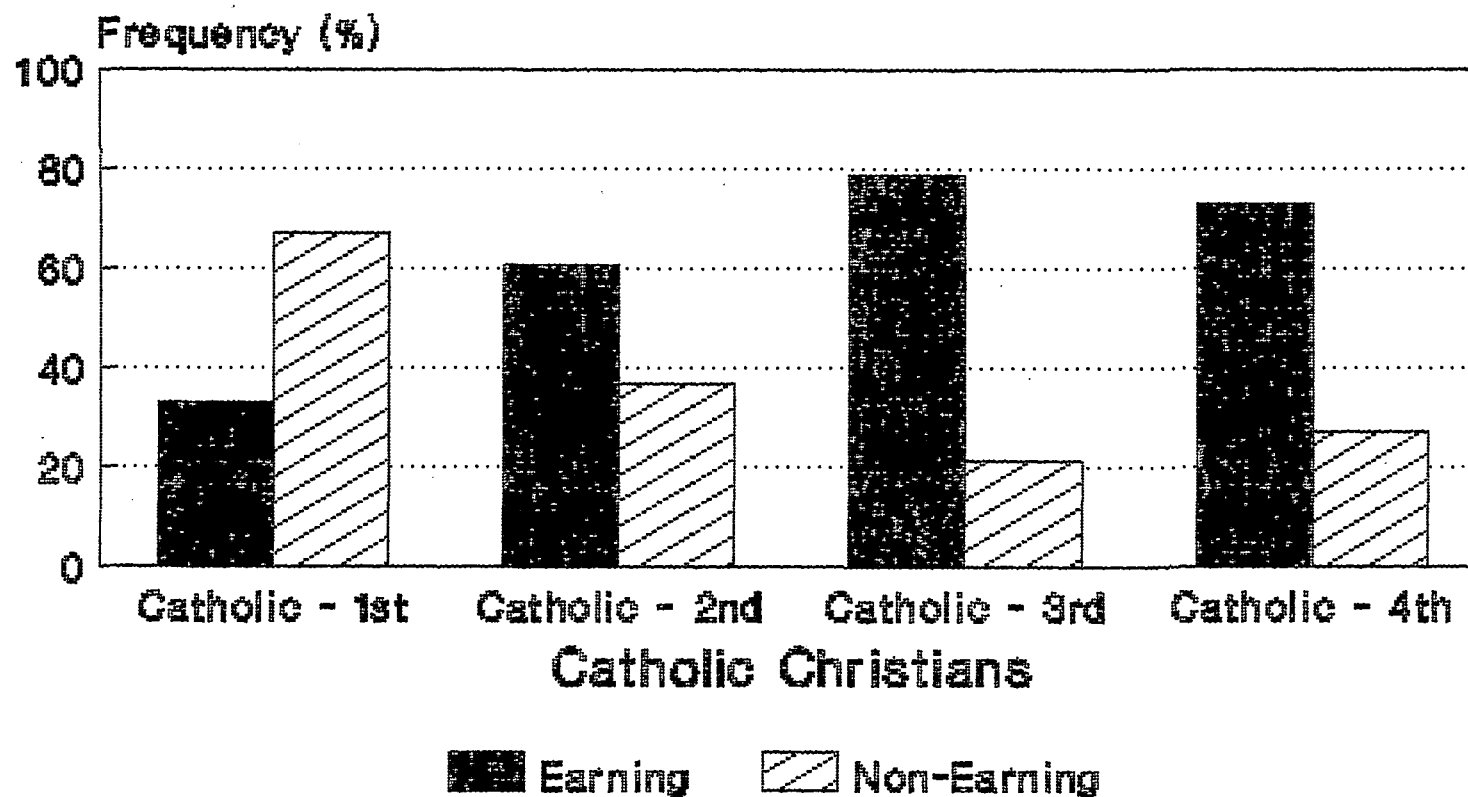
D = Manual; E = Non-workers.

4) Manual - Those who work as daily wagers and earn their daily wages.

It is seen that majority of the working mothers are engaged in manual jobs. Next to them comes those who are holding services. Next to services are those who are doing one or the other kind of trade and very few are involved in agricultural activities. The point to be noted here is that as generation advances less and less number of respondents are going for agricultural work, whereas there is a significant increase in the number of respondents who are mostly engaged in trade or service or other daily wage earning work as generation advances. This picture is more or less same in all these three religious groups. It is also significant to note that the mothers in the later generations are more involved in earning their livelihood compared to the mothers of earlier generations. There is a possibility that some changes in the socialization process of their children may take place due to the fact that the world views of the mothers in the later generations must have undergone drastic transformation. We shall test these hypotheses in a subsequent chapter.

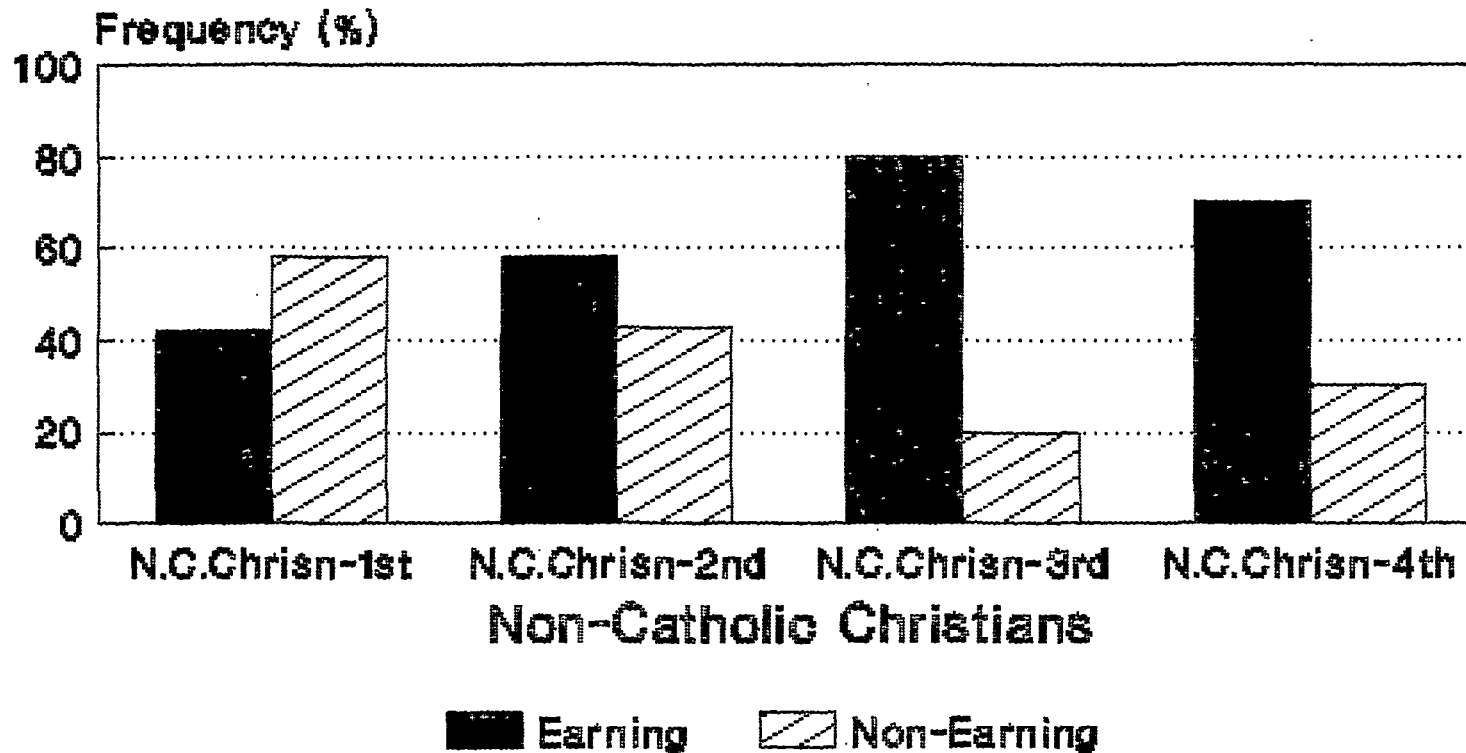
Figure-III gives a comparative picture of the earning and non-earning mothers by generations in each of these three groups.

Fig - III(a) EARNING & NON EARNING MOTHERS BY GENERATION



1st/2nd/3rd/4th: Respective Generations

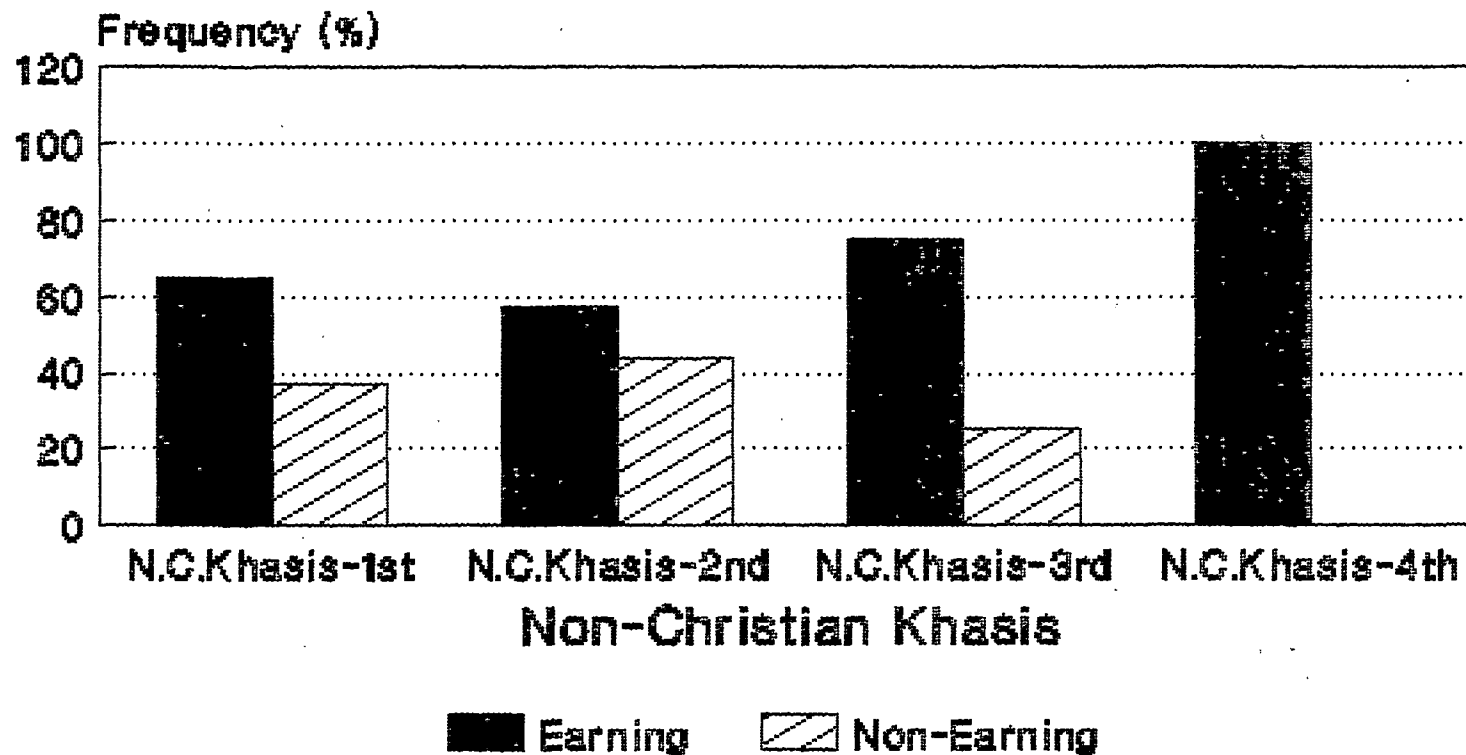
Fig - III(b) EARNING & NON EARNING MOTHERS BY GENERATION



N.C.Christian: Non-Catholic Christians
1st/2nd/3rd/4th: Respective Generations

Fig - III(c)

EARNING & NON EARNING MOTHERS BY GENERATION



N.C.Khasis: Non-Christian Khasis
 1st/2nd/3rd/4th: Respective Generations

While considering income level we have concentrated only on the present generation. Due to obvious difficulties, all earlier generations cannot be taken into consideration. For the sake of convenience we have classified the income level into three categories arbitrarily which are as follows:

1) 'Low' income group - Income upto Rs.1,000/- per month.

2) 'Medium' income group - Income between Rs.1,001-Rs.4,000 per month.

3) 'High' income group - Income of Rs.4,001 and above.

Table 4.12 shows the income level in these three religious groups. It is seen that nearly 23 per cent, 21 per cent and 19 per cent of all the respondents, belonging to the Catholic, non-Catholic Christians and non-Christian groups respectively, are in the 'High' income group whereas 41 per cent, 38 per cent and 43 per cent, belonging to the Catholic Christians, non-Catholic Christian and non-Christian groups respectively are in the 'Low' income group. It is also seen that 36 per cent, 40 per cent and 38 per cent respondents are in the 'Middle' income group and they respectively belong to the Catholic Christian, non-Catholic Christians and non-Christians. It is observed that there is not much economic difference among these three religious

groups. However, we shall use the income criteria for further analysis in a subsequent chapter.

Table 4.12
Income Level

Generation	Total No. of Respondents	Income		
		High	Medium	Low
Catholic Christians	115 (46)	26 (23)	42 (36)	47 (41)
Non-Catholic Christians	114 (46)	24 (21)	46 (40)	44 (38)
Non-Christian Khasis	21 (8)	4 (19)	8 (38)	9 (43)
Total	250	54 (22)	96 (38)	100 (40)

Figures in parentheses indicate percentage.

Table 4.13 shows the size of family by generation as well as by religious affiliation. The families under the present study have been classified arbitrarily into three categories, according to the number of children the parents have. The classification is as follows :

- 1) Small size family - upto 3 children
- 2) Medium size family - 4-6 children
- 3) Large size family - 7- and more children.

It is seen from Table 4.13 that the frequency of medium size family is more in all these three religious groups. In recent generation's it is seen that the small size family is slowly coming into existence. However, it is also seen that frequency of large size family is more among the Catholic Christians and non-Christian Khasis than among the non-Catholic Christians.

Table 4.13
Family size

Groups	Generation	Number	A	B	C
Catholic Christians	I	9(8)	7(77)	2(23)	-
	II	34(29.5)	17(50)	14(41)	3(9)
	III	61(53)	21(34)	28(46)	12(20)
	IV	11(9.5)	-	-	11(100)
Total		115(46)			
Non-Catholic Christians	I	12(10.5)	8(67)	4(33)	-
	II	31(27)	15(48)	13(42)	3(10)
	III	61(53.5)	19(31)	28(46)	14(23)
	IV	10(9)	-	-	10(100)
Total		114(46)			
Non-Christian Khasis	I	8(38)	6(75)	2(25)	-
	II	7(33)	3(43)	4(57)	-
	III	4(19)	1(25)	3(75)	-
	IV	2(10)	-	-	2(100)
Total		21(8)			

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage.

A = Big size; B = Medium size; C = Small size.

Over the generations it is quite clear that irrespective of religious affiliation the frequencies of medium and small size family are increasing, though the frequencies of big size family is quite appreciable in all these three religious groups. There is a possibility that smaller the family greater is the opportunity for parents to look after their children in a better manner. We will take this criteria into consideration when we analyse the data on socialization of children.

In this chapter, the relevant demographic information and some probable hypothesis have been presented. In subsequent chapters we shall test these hypothesis with other data.

In Appendix-D, some genealogies have been given which corroborate the trend of marriage patterns, size and composition of family, changes in educational and occupational status, fertility and mortality as indicated by the Tables presented above. These genealogies are self-explanatory and need no further classification.

With this information we shall in the subsequent chapter deal with the socialization process of children and also try to find out the present parent-child relationship in various family situation and the changes and continuity thereof.

CHAPTER - V

**SOCIALIZATION OF
CHILDREN: IN DEPTH
AND CASE STUDIES**

EDUCATION

In the previous chapter it was found that in respect of all demographic information no significant differences has been observed between the Christian and the non-Christian Khasi as well as the different Christian sects. It can thus be inferred that religion does not have an impact on the demographic structure of these three religious groups. With this consideration in mind we have pooled all data together irrespective of religious affiliation in order to study the socialization of children and child-rearing practices among the Khasi over a period of time.

As this research is limited to studying changes in attitudes over the generations which essentially refers to changes due to age. In the present chapter continuity and change in the socialization of children and parent-child relationship has been studied and examined from the perspective of generation. To study generational differences in attitudes, families have been placed in a time order, with the responses of subject being dealt in sequence, with mother's past and present status, i.e. change associated with the attitudes and behaviour pattern of a mother as a child, and as a mother, how she treats her children (see Chapter-III; Table 3b).

This conceptualization of generation based on age strata has been adopted and referred to throughout this chapter by classifying respondents into four generations in terms of age. It may be noted here that the time span for the fourth generation is not sufficient enough to take into consideration all aspects, as such only a few relevant aspects has been analysed of the present data.

Based on these criteria, diversity in patterns of child rearing and inter-generational differences in maternal attitude and behaviour and also children's responses, has been studied and analysed in the following areas.

1) INTEREST OF PARENTS IN SCHOOL EDUCATION

a) Attitude and aspirations related to the different aspects of education as viewed by the parents.

b) Perceptions of parental expectations.

2) PARENTAL DISCIPLINE : The aspects studied are :

a) Child Training.

b) Control of Behaviour.

c) Responsibility, Punishment and Obedience.

3) SOCIABILITY AND SOCIAL NORMS - The aspects studied are :

a) Social activities as viewed by parents.

b) Sources of influence and social participation.

c) Restriction and permissiveness in terms of interaction and recreation.

4) PATTERNS AND PRACTICES IN BREAST-FEEDING AND TOILET-TRAINING:

a) Patterns, trends and benefit of breast feeding

b) Infant food supplementation and weaning

c) Toilet-training - habits and method adopted.

Socially defined behaviour appropriate to each age grade is known by parents and children alike, each generation taking it for granted as natural and correct. However, dominance of tradition that may look so threatening and rigid may quietly fade away during the decades that follow, leading to differences in attitudes in different generation, very wide and large. Thus, views held in each generation, may to some extent, be determined in part by the attitudes of the previous generation, in part by the socialization-techniques employed by the previous generation as well as by events in society. Riesman (1950: 56-58), has contrasted traditional societies, in which there is little change over the generations with societies that are changing and expanding and in which there is much opportunity for individual advancement. He is of the opinion that "the tradition-directed person feels the impact of his culture mediated through the specific small number of individuals

with whom he is in daily contact. These individuals expect of him not so much that he be a certain type of person as that he behave in the approved way. According to Riesman, in these circumstances socialization need not be strict, since the values of the society need not be internalized by the individuals to the same extent. Constant supervision by others in the community provides a continuous social control over behaviour. In contrast with the traditionalists, parents in a changing society have conscious problem of socialization. Parents cannot be sure what the adult working role and mode of life of their children will be neither can conformity to that role be left to chance or behavioural opportunism. To possess the drive that is required to fulfill demanding and ever more demanding roles calls for greater attention to formal character building".

The Khasi society is undergoing rapid transformation. It is expected that this transformation would mean that there has to be a shift from family to formal institutions for the purpose of socialization of the children of the coming generation. In order to examine this aspect, in this chapter, family situations is being studied in terms of generational differences in attitudes of the parents, extent and direction of attitudinal changes over generations in the socialization of children in terms of different aspects of family situation and parent-child

relationship on various dimension has been studied and analysed.

PARENTS AND CHILDREN'S INTEREST IN SCHOOL EDUCATION

In this section, the study is limited to the children's interest in school education; parents' interest in their ward's education and the social norms and activities that prevail in the family; and the aspirations and goals of education as viewed by the parents. These different interests of the parents and the children are analysed and discussed from different angles based on the responses of the parents under this study.

While classifying children according to their educational level, the educational disparity between children of various generation posed a problem. The investigator came across in the study families where children have never attended school and are non-literate.

Since parental interest in the formal education of their children being the main variable on which the interest of both parents and children in education are correlated and analysed, all the families under study could not be included in this section of the study. Hence the present section of the study had to be limited to only those families where children have either attended school or have had some formal

education. Throughout this section, the total percentages as presented in every table, has been calculated based on

Table 5.1

Number of Children having Attended/are Attending School and Children who have not Attended/Not Attending School

Generation	N	N ¹	N ²	S ¹	D ¹	S ²	D ²	B ¹	B ²
I	142	74	68	37 (26)	22 (15)	37 (26)	46 (32)	59 (41)	83 (59)
II	157	80	77	64 (41)	57 (36)	16 (10)	20 (13)	121 (77)	36 (23)
III	121	67	54	61 (50)	54 (45)	6 (5)	0	115 (95)	6 (5)
IV	14	2	3	2 (14)	3 (21)	3 (21)	6 (43)	5 (36)	9 (64)

The figures in parenthesis indicate the percentage

N = Total number of children

N¹ = Total number of son

N² = Total number of daughter

S¹ = Total number of sons having attended/are attending school

D¹ = Total number of daughter having attended/are attending school

S² = Total number of sons who did not attend/are not attending school

D² = Total number of daughters who did not attend/are not attending school

B¹ = Total number of children having attended/are attending school

B² = Total number of children who did not attend/are not attending school.

this criterion. However, the number and percentage of this group are presented in every table in this chapter so that the reader will have the total view of the sample studied. The data are presented in tabular form supported by case studies and both percentages and actual numbers are given in the tables. The figures in parenthesis indicate percentage and the actual numbers have been indicated above the percentage.

Distribution of children according to their educational level by generation is presented in Tables 5.1 and 5.1a.

The figures in Table 5.1 reveal that in the first generation 41 per cent children attended school, which consist of 26 per cent sons and 15 per cent daughters. In the second generation the percentage of children attending school consist of 77 per cent, viz. 41 per cent sons and 36 per cent daughters and in the third generation percentage of children attending school consist of 95 per cent, viz. 50 per cent sons and 45 per cent daughters. However, Table 5.1a viewed as a whole reveals that more than 50 per cent children never attended school in the first generation, this percentage consist of 23 per cent in the second generation and a negligible few (5 per cent) in the third generation.

Table 5.1a presents the distribution of children according to their educational level.

Table 5.1a

Distribution of Children according to their Educational Level

Generation	N	Having attended/Attending School		Non-Literate		Literate but below Primary		Primary below Matric		Matric below Graduate		Graduate above	
		N ¹	N ²	A ¹	A ²	B ¹	B ²	C ¹	C ²	D ¹	D ²	E ¹	E ²
I	142	37 (26)	22 (15)	37 (26)	46 (32)	29 (20)	17 (12)	6 (4)	5 (3)	2 (1)	-	-	-
II	157	64 (41)	57 (36)	16 (10)	20 (13)	24 (15)	19 (12)	19 (12)	19 (12)	16 (10)	14 (9)	5 (3)	5 (3)
III	121	61 (50)	54 (45)	6 (5)	-	7 (6)	3 (2)	9 (7)	5 (4)	34 (28)	34 (28)	11 (9)	12 (10)
IV	14	2 (14)	3 (21)	3 (21)	6 (43)	2 (14)	3 (21)	-	-	-	-	-	-

Figures in parentheses indicate percentage

- N = Total number of children
- N¹ = Total number of sons having attended/are attending school
- N² = Total number of daughters having attended/are attending school
- A¹ = Total number of sons non-literate
- A² = Total number of daughters non-literate
- B¹ = Total number of sons literate but below primary
- B² = Total number of daughters literate but below primary
- C¹ = Total number of sons primary but below matric
- C² = Total number of daughters primary but below matric
- D¹ = Total number of sons matriculate but below graduation
- D² = Total number of daughters matriculate but below primary
- E¹ = Total number of sons graduation ^{and} above
- E² = Total number of daughters graduation ^{and} above.

The classification adopted for the educational level of children are as follows :

- i) Literate but below primary
- ii) Primary but below matric
- iii) Matric but below graduation
- iv) Graduation and above
- v) Non-literate.

Table 5.1a reveals that the highest percentage (32 per cent) of children in the first generation who attended school were below the primary level. This percentage consist of 20 per cent sons and 12 per cent daughters. In the second generation this percentage consist of 15 sons and 12 per cent daughters and in the third generation this percentage consist of 6 per cent sons and 2 per cent daughters. Further, a comparative study of Table 5.1a reveals that the educational attainment of children appears to be increasing as generation advances. For example, in the third generation nearly 20 per cent children have either attained graduation and have gone for further studies, as compared to the earliest generation (first generation), where such attainment appears to be totally absent and consist of merely 6 per cent in the second generation. It is also to be noted that children having attained secondary level (Matric but below graduation), consist of a mere 1 per cent in the first generation, which increases to 19 per cent

in the second generation, viz. 10 per cent sons and 9 per cent daughters and 56 per cent in the third viz. 28 per cent for both sons and daughters.

ASPIRATION AND INTEREST OF PARENTS IN SCHOOL EDUCATION

We view Education as an important process of socialization and parents as the main socializing agent. Differences in parental ambition and extent of parental interest in the formal education of their children may have different impact on their children. In this section these aspects have been studied and analysed.

The areas of studies are :

- 1) Parents aspiration for their children.
- 2) Facilities available to children at home.
- 3) Outlook of parents towards higher studies.
- 4) Attitude of the parents towards extra-curricular activities of their children.
- 5) Views of the parents towards their children dropping out of school.
- 6) Choice of reading material.
- 7) Time allotted and pattern of study habits of children at home.

"In a changing society, 'the natural processes' of education in the family are no longer adequate. They have

been replaced by a more formalized institution that is set apart from the rest of the society and that covers a longer span of time. As a consequence, society is confronted no longer with a set of individuals to be trained towards adulthood, but with a distinct social system" (Coleman, 1961: 361-362).

Initially the family was the most influential, but development and change have brought a shift in the nature of child training. Prior to development, training children for adulthood was the primary responsibility of the family. Not only would the family supply the occupational training but it would also play a paramount role in transmitting values, norms and attitudes to the child to last his life time. But as society advanced and training became specialized, it was beyond parents' reach and capacity to train their children. The formal system of education has taken up many of those functions. It has specially trained functionaries and institutions. Moreover, sending children to school has become a social and economic compulsion. Thus parents have to depend on these institutions to educate their children.

However, even today the family is recognised as an institution which provides the primary setting for the personality development of children. As such the child's achievement and success in the formal educational system will depend on the social learning which he has acquires in

the family. Thus, education to a great extent will depend on parents creating interest and motivation to achieve education in their children as aspired by them. "The parents are the transmitters of culture of their offsprings. They orient the child with the values of education. Belief in the value or otherwise of education, is deeply rooted in the value-system of the particular family in which the child is reared" (Mahale, 1987:56).

Differences in the views of parents regarding the formal education of their children; the aspirations they hold about the future of their children and the role of male and female student as viewed by parents over the generations, has been analysed and discussed based on the responses of parents.

How active an interest do parents take in the formal education of children, by depending upon educational institutions to impart education to their children? This aspect has been studied and analysed by the extent of interest shown by parents towards school and its importance in terms of the following :

- 1) Children's regularity/irregularity in attending school and frequency of children's irregularity.

- 2) Reaction of parents to children's irregularity in attending school.

3) Regularity/irregularity in children's habit of studying.

4) Reasons stating children's irregularity in study habits.

5) Action taken by parents when children do not fair well in school/fail in examination.

Tables 5.2-5.2e show the distribution of the responses of mothers towards school and its importance.

It is observed in Table 5.2 that as generation advances children's regularity of attending school appears to have increased from 63 per cent in the earliest generation (first generation) to 92 per cent among the children of the present generation (third generation). Further, sex-wise comparison reveals that irregularity in attending school is found to be consistently higher among boys than girls in all the three generations. However, the differences are not very wide. For example, this percentage varies between 20 per cent boys as against 17 per cent girls, 9 per cent boys as against 6 per cent girls and 5 per cent boys as against 3 per cent girls in the first, second and third generation respectively.

Table 5.2

Children's Regularity/Irregularity in Attending School

Generation	A	A ¹	A ²	S ¹	S ²	D ¹	D ²
I	59	37 (63)	22 (37)	21 (36)	16 (27)	14 (24)	8 (14)
II	121	64 (53)	57 (47)	52 (43)	12 (10)	51 (42)	6 (5)
III	115	61 (53)	54 (47)	52 (45)	9 (8)	51 (44)	3 (3)
IV	5	2 (40)	3 (60)	2	-	3	-

Figures in parentheses indicate percentage

A = Total number of school going children.

A¹ = Total number of sons.

A² = Total number of daughters.

S¹ = Regular sons.

S² = Irregular sons.

D¹ = Regular daughters.

D² = Irregular daughters.

Table 5.2a gives the frequencies of irregularity of children in attending school. The figures in the table reveals that in the third generation a negligible 3 per cent sons are irregular 'occasionally' while 7 per cent sons and 5 per cent daughters are 'seldom' irregular. It is also to be noted that in the third generation frequency of children

being irregular 'quite often' is totally absent as compared to 27 per cent and 8 per cent viz. 26 and 10 per cent sons and 28.5 and 7 per cent daughters being irregular 'quite often' in the first and second generation, respectively.

Table 5.2a
Frequency of Irregularity

Generation	N		1		2		3	
	S	D	S	D	S	D	S	D
I	12 (39)	10 (36)	8 (26)	8 (26)	4 (13)	2 (7)	0	0
II	18 (11)	7 (12)	6 (10)	4 (7)	3 (5)	2 (3)	2 (3)	1 (2)
III	6 (11)	3 (5)	0	0	2 (3)	0	4 (7)	3 (5)

Figures in parentheses indicate percentage

N = Total number of children who are irregular.

S = Sons.

D = Daughters.

1 = Quite often.

2 = Occasionally.

3 = Seldom.

Table 5.2b gives the break-up of the attitudes of parents towards their children's irregularity in attending school. To study the methods adopted, mothers were asked to

Table 5.2b

Reaction of Parents to Children Irregularity in Attending School

Gene- ration	N		Responses	1		2		3	
	S	D		S	D	S	D	S	D
I	16	8	A	-	-	-	-	-	-
			B	-	-	-	-	-	-
			C	-	-	3	2	-	-
			D	-	-	(13)	(8)	13	6
							(54)	(25)	
II	12	6	A	-	-	2	-	-	-
			B	-	-	(11)	-	-	-
			C	-	-	5	3	-	-
			D	-	-	(28)	(17)	5	3
							(28)	(17)	
III	9	3	A	5	-	-	1	-	-
			B	(42)	-	-	(8)	-	-
			C	2	-	-	-	-	-
			D	(17)	2	2	-	-	-
			(17)	(17)	-	-	-	-	
			D	-	-	-	-	-	-

Figures in parentheses indicate percentage

N = Total number of children who are irregular

1 = Regularly; 2 = Occasionally; 3 = Never

A = Beat; B = Bribe; C = Insist; D = No response

S = Sons; D = Daughters.

state which of the following methods stated below is being adopted in such circumstances :

1) Beat; 2) Bribe; 3) Insist; 4) None/No response.

The data has been analysed and presented in Table 5.2b.

Percentage of responses showing negative parental attitude of not taking any action towards children's irregularity is found to be totally 'nil' in the third generation as compared to a significant 31 per cent (29 per cent boys and 21 per cent girls) and 7 per cent (8 per cent boys and 7 per cent girls) in the first and second generation, respectively.

The figures in Table 5.2b also reveals that in the third generation cent per cent parents apply pressure when children are irregular by adopting either of the methods stated above, to motivate children's regularity in attending school. For example, 'spanking' is being adopted by 7.5 per cent, 'persuading by giving incentives (bribe)' consist of 4 per cent and 'insisting' either by threatening or by giving reasons consist of 5 per cent.

Table 5.2c shows the regularity in children's habit of studying which has been evaluated on the basis of the points such as the extent to which children regularly (every day) devote a few hours at home, to their studies to keep up to their study level at school, to do their home assignments given by the teacher and to revise what is being taught in the school.

Analysis of mothers' responses showing children's habit of studying is presented in Table 5.2c.

Table 5.2c
Children Habits of Studying

Genera- tion	N		Responses	A ¹		A ²		
	S	D	N ¹	S	D	S	D	
I	37	22	59	C	12 (20)	8 (14)	25 (42)	14 (24)
				A	10 (17)	6 (10)	27 (46)	16 (27)
II	64	57	121	C	30 (25)	25 (21)	34 (28)	32 (25)
				A	29 (24)	27 (22)	35 (69)	30 (25)
III	61	54	115	C	49 (43)	49 (43)	12 (10)	5 (4)
				A	42 (37)	47 (41)	19 (17)	7 (6)
IV	2	3	5	C	2 (40)	3 (60)	-	-
				A	-	-	-	-

Figures in parentheses indicate percentage

N = Total number of sons attended/attending school

N¹ = Total number of daughters attended/attending school

N² = Total number of school going children

S = Sons. D = Daughters. C = Childhood.

A = Adolescent. A¹ =Regular. A² = Not regular.

It is seen in Table 5.2c that in the third generation, nearly 80 per cent children, i.e. both adolescent and children in their childhood, have the habit of studying regularly as compared to a negligible percentage in the first and second generation. A further analysis reveals that in the third generation regularity in children's habit of studying is found to be higher among girls (49 and 47 per cent), than that of boys (40 and 33 per cent). Thirdly, though difference in percentage is not very wide, nevertheless, it is worth observing that some extent of regularity in children's habit of studying is found to be higher among children in the childhood stage than among adolescent children, in almost every generation.

Thus when compared to the small percentage of children in the first and second generations, Table 5.2c shows majority of children in the third generation have a favourable attitude towards school which is demonstrated by their regularly devoting some amount of time at home to their studies.

Table 5.2d shows mothers' responses, explaining the kinds of pressure that is being applied to children, to regularly keep up to the level of study at home and the reasons and causes that hinder regular study habits.

Table 5.2d

Reasons Stating Children's Irregularity in Study Habits

Generation	N	N ¹	N ²		A		B		C		D		E	
			S	D	S	D	S	D	S	D	S	D	S	D
I	59	39 C	25	14	3 (8)	2 (6)	0	0	0	0	17 (31)	6 (17)	5 (14)	9 (25)
		43 A	27	16	2 (5)	0	0	0	0	0	17 (34)	6 (16)	8 (16)	10 (29)
II	121	66 C	34	32	10 (14)	8 (11)	5 (7)	2 (3)	2 (3)	2 (3)	14 (17)	10 (14)	3 (4)	10 (17)
		65 A	35	30	5 (7)	2 (3)	2 (3)	0	0	1 (1)	18 (24)	14 (18)	10 (4)	13 (20)
III	115	17 C	12	5	0	0	8 (46)	3 (23)	4 (15)	2 (15)	0	0	0	0
		26 A	19	7	4 (17)	1 (4)	7 (26)	0	6 (17)	3 (13)	2 (9)	2 (9)	0	1 (4)
IV														
NIL														

Figures in parentheses indicate percentage

N = Total number of children attending school

N¹ = Number of children irregular in study habits

N² = Number of sons and daughters irregular in study habits.

S = Sons; D = Daughters; C = Childhood; A = Adolescent

Reasons stating Children's Irregularity in Study

A = Only when has assignments/examinations, etc.

B = When forced or compelled

C = Insisted strictly

D = Disability to help with studies

E = Whenever could/can afford time.

It is observed in Table 5.2d that in the first and second generation majority of parents have responded by stating either 'disability to help in studies' viz. (49 and 44 per cent) and 'whenever could afford time' viz. (42 and 26 per cent), both for children and adolescents respectively. Whereas in the third generation highest percentage stating children's irregularity as responded by parents consist mainly of 'when forced or compelled' (42 per cent) and followed by 'insisted strictly' (30.5 per cent). It is also noted that higher percentage of boys have to be forced upon and insisted strictly to develop regular study habits than that of girls.

Thus on the whole one factor in general that emerges is that in the earlier generation conditions that hindered children's regular study habits were mainly due to prevailing situations and attitudes of the parents at home.

Hence it may be inferred that in the third generation (present generation) conditions favourable for children to concentrate in their studies are provided at home. This fact is further supported by responses revealing, problems that obstruct and hinder studies at home, is being encountered by negligible 4 per cent children in the third generation.

Table 5.2e

What Action is/was taken when Children do not Fair Well in School/Fail in Examination

Generation	N		Responses	A		B		C		D		E	
	S	D		S	D	S	D	S	D	S	D	S	D
I	37	22	Always	-	-	3 (10)	2 (7)	-	-	-	-	-	-
			Sometimes	-	-	-	-	4 (13)	3 (11)	-	-	30	17
			Never	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
II	64	57	Always	-	-	9 (15)	8 (14)	7 (11)	6 (10)	-	-	23 (45)	22 (44)
			Sometimes	7 (4)	2 (1)	5 (3)	3 (2)	6 (4)	3 (3)	7 (11)	13 (22)	-	-
			Never	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
III	61	54	Always	6 (11)	3 (5)	15 (28)	17 (33)	6 (7)	3 (5)	15 (24)	18 (36)	-	-
			Sometimes	6 (6)	2 (3)	-	-	6 (11)	5 (8)	-	-	7 (13)	6 (10)
			Never	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
IV	2	3	Always	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
			Sometimes	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 (100)	2 (100)	-	-
			Never	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Figures in parentheses indicate percentage

N = Total number of school going children; S = Sons;
 D = Daughters; A = Corporal and physical punishment;
 B = Constantly nagging; C = Ridicule; D = Scoled and
 advice; E = No response

Table 5.2e gives the extent of interest parents have in the education of their children and the attitudes of parents towards children's academic performance has been studied by the type of action parents take when children do not fairwell in school or fail in examination.

Table 5.2e viewed as a whole reveals that in the third generation disciplinary action being taken by parents consist of nearly 90 per cent (75 per cent 'regularly' and 14 per cent 'at times'), as against 20 per cent (8 per cent 'regularly' and 12 per cent 'at times') and 46 per cent (25 per cent 'regularly' and 31 per cent 'at times') in the first and second generation respectively.

Further a comparative study of Table 5.2e reveals that among those who say 'always' is significantly higher (75 per cent) in the third generation, than those 'at times' (14 per cent). Whereas in the first and second generation responses showing 'always' is considerably lower than responses of 'at times'. For example, parents taking 'regular' action consist of 8 and 25 per cent as against 12 and 31 per cent who takes 'at times'.

Thirdly study of responses for each of the type of method adopted by parents the data shows that as generation advances higher percentage of parents are adopting the method of 'scolding followed by advicing children'. For example, this percentage consist of 17 per cent, 'at times'

in the second generation and 31 per cent (24 boys and 36 per cent girls) in the third generation (present generation). It is also to be noted that this method adopted by parents in the earliest generation (first generation) is found to be totally absent. Further, Table 5.2e shows that percentage of parents giving corporal punishment is very small - only 18 per cent of the total sample, viz. 4 per cent 'at times', 12 per cent 'always' in the third generation (present generation) and by 4 per cent parents in the second generation, 'at times'. Another remarkable factor worth observing is that 'ridiculing' children for not faring well in school and examination is being adopted by parents of 23 per cent children in the third generation (present generation), viz. 6 per cent 'always' (11 per cent boys and 8 per cent girls). Whereas in the second generation method of 'ridiculing' children was adopted by parents of 17 per cent children either 'at times' or 'always' and by 8 per cent parents 'at times' in the first generation (earliest generation).

A comparative study of Table 5.2e reveals that 'scolding and advising' children is being preferred by a higher percentage (31 per cent) of parents in the third generation, followed by 'constantly nagging' and rebuking (25 per cent), viz. 13 per cent sons and 17 per cent daughters.

Thus when viewed together Table 5.2e brings forth one single trend, that a very negligible per cent (10 per cent) in the third generation (present generation) ignore their children 'at times' viz. 13 per cent boys and 18 per cent girls, as compared to 80 per cent and 44 per cent children being ignored in the first and second generation, respectively.

Hence the outstanding fact emerging from Table 5.2e is the significance of parents' interest in the schooling of their children in the present generation.

Thus the Tables 5.2 to 5.2e viewed together, show that attitudes of the parents towards school and its importance for imparting education to children has certainly changed. It has become more positive. Parents of the present generation, apply various kinds of pressures on their children including physical punishment so that they become more regular in attending school and in studying. This is further supported by the analysis of responses showing conditions favourable for children to concentrate in their studies that are provided by majority of parents in the present generation. The following cases may illustrate these points.

Case 1 - Mrs. V age 37 years - belongs to third generation, secondary but below graduate, a single parent and is a working mother. Mother of four children, two sons

and two daughters. "Being a single parent and having to bring up four grown up children is not an easy task. My husband left me when the children were mere kids. At that time we were putting up with my mother. After my husband left us, I took up a job of a salesgirl. I must admit - that I dropped out of studies, after getting through my school leaving examinations, thereafter, I had settled down. But when the children's father left, and having taken up a job, side by side I also resumed my studies - and after getting through my Pre-University (privately), I got into service". She emphasized - "I have got up from degradation of ignorance working myself up to a better position in life. I have made my children realise, early in their life to distinguish between the various degrees and extent of my approval and disapproval, neither do I discipline and punish simply to express my anger or disapproval; but its pointless particularly where my sons are concerned. I used to shout and nag a lot, at times even beat, but I soon realised that its 'no good shouting at them or beating. They became used to being shouted at and took no notice". Mrs. V provides an illustration for this "They never heeded to whatever I said, to the extent that I had to lock up the music system, when I leave for work and take the keys along, but that did not stop them from bringing in their friends and making a mess of the place. Often I would get to hear from my neighbours

how my sons and their friends make a racket, by playing the music loud and noisily, and when my eldest son could not get through his school leaving examinations, in spite of my consistent and painful effort that was the final straw - I turned him out of the house, to fend for himself. Having to put with others and getting a taste of the painful consequences of being deprived for some time has more or less brought him in order of being much more dutiful, responsible and obedient. He is now in his second year of college and getting on with his studies. The younger one too, has followed suit, having seen for himself, that I do not make idle threats.

Case 2 - Mrs. E (widow age 42 years), secondary but below matric is in service (fourth grade), mother of a child (one son): "Prior to my settling down in this area we were staying close to my mother, which is quite some distance from here. I certainly would not have shifted, but I was compelled to when I came to know and saw for myself the kind of friends my son (aged 17) started keeping and moving about with and this began reflecting in his behaviour. He started being out till late in the evenings in the company of these friends, started smoking and demanding money from me. He began faring badly in his studies too, and failed that year (he was in Class IX), being the first time of his not being able to get through. It was then that I decided that

somehow I had to get him away, my mother and brother too advised me as they too were unable to make him heed to their advice. So, I shifted and got him admitted to another school. At first he was reluctant and created a lot of fuss, in fact, he refused to come and started putting up with my mother so that he could be in the company of his friends". Mrs. E admits - "I bribed him into coming by promising to get him a leather jacket and gloves, which he had been asking and longing for quite sometime, but I could not afford as it was really beyond my means, moreover, I was not all keen on his having those things. But I was desperate and all that really mattered was that I should get him away. So I told him that I would get it for him provided he comes and joins the new school. It has been nearly two years now that we have been here, though I know that he still visits his friends occasionally, but I am not that worried and worked up as I used to be, knowing that he is not exclusively in their company throughout the day. Staying away and not being able to keep in touch regularly has helped a lot in getting him away from his friends and getting him to continue with his studies.

The following case sums the attitudes and views of several parents who persuade and make their children develop regular habits in attending school by giving incentives particularly in the childhood stage :

Case 3 - Mr. and Mrs. K remarked : "In the beginning when we admitted our daughters to school and they would often cry and refuse to stay, we persuaded and cajoled them into staying by buying them sweets and at times by giving them small amount of money of 50 paise or a rupee, to spend on 'some eats' and thereby persuading and making them stay in school'.

DEVELOPING EFFECTIVE STUDY HABITS

Though parents today depend upon educational institution to impart education to their children the parents are to a great extent responsible for creating interest for studies in their children and thus motivating them to achieve education as aspired by them.

The interest of the parents in the education of their children are determined by the type of value system they themselves have. What are the methods adopted by parents in developing effective study habits has been studied and analysed from three different angles which are :

- 1) Assisting children in their studies
- 2) Making children and Adolescent study
- 3) Reasons for assisting and not assisting children in their studies.

The data on this three aspects as responded by mothers is analysed and presented in Tables 5.3-5.3b.

Table 5.3 presents the data showing the extent of parents participation in assisting children with their studies.

The figures in Table 5.3 show that more than 50 per cent children in their childhood viz. (31 per cent by

Table 5.3
Assisting Children in their Studies

Genera- tion	N	Respon- see	A ¹	B	C	D	E	F
I	59	C	6 (10)	4 (7)	8 (14)	-	-	41 (69)
		A	1 (2)	-	4 (7)	-	7 (12)	47 (80)
II	121	C	21 (17)	14 (12)	18 (15)	2 (2)	10 (9)	56 (46)
		A	17 (14)	11 (9)	14 (12)	5 (4)	15 (12)	59 (49)
III	115	C	33 (29)	31 (27)	26 (23)	18 (16)	7 (6)	-
		A	26 (22)	22 (19)	11 (10)	26 (23)	18 (16)	12 (10)
IV	5	C	2 (40)	3 (60)	-	-	-	-
		A	-	-	-	-	-	-

Figures in parentheses indicate percentage

N = Number of children attended/attending school.

C = Childhood; A=Adolescent; A¹ = Father;

B = Mother; C = Sister/Brother; D = Tutor;

E = Any other; F = Nobody.

fathers and 27 per cent by mothers) and 40 per cent adolescent children viz. (20 per cent by fathers and 19 per cent by mothers) in the third generation (present generation) are being assisted by parents in their studies as compared to a negligible 17 per cent children in their childhood viz. (6 per cent by fathers and 4 per cent by mothers) and 2 per cent adolescent children of the first generation. It is further observed that only 12 per cent adolescent children of the third generation are not being assisted by 'any body' in their studies, as compared to earlier generation of 69 and 46 per cent children in their childhood, and 80 and 49 adolescent children in the first and second generation respectively.

Parents differential attitude towards children's education can be further supported from the responses of mothers in the third generation showing 36 per cent children viz., 16 per cent children in their childhood and 23 per cent adolescent children are being assisted by 'tutor' in their studies as compared to mere 6 per cent children in the second generation. Thus it can be inferred that as generation advances parents concern pertaining to education of their children seems to be increasing. However, it is also to be noted that in the third generation too, nearly 40 per cent children in their childhood and 60 per cent

adolescent children are not assisted by parents in their studies.

Table 5.3a shows the methods adopted by parents in making children and adolescent study. It is seen that by and large parents in the third generation (present generation) are to a considerable extent very particular in taking an active interest in developing effective study habits in their children as compared to the parents of first and second generation. For instance in the third generation (present generation) 41 per cent children's parents make it a point 'to sit with their children and supervise their studies'. Whereas this method was not adopted by the parents of the earliest generation.

A comparative study of the responses shows that parents "expressing displeasure when children fair badly in School", is gradually increasing from one generation to the next. This percentage consist of 3, 16 and 22 per cent in the first and second and third generation respectively. However, responses of parents who say they only "ask their children to go and sit down for studies" consist of 35, 34 and 20 per cent in the first, second and third generation respectively. However, parents being rigid towards developing effective study habits in their children appears to be gradually increasing when compared from the earliest to the present generation.

It can be seen from Table 5.3b that responses of mothers who say that children are assisted by parents for they want "to take proper care" shows a wide disparity in percentage when compared from the first to the third generation. For instance in the third generation (present generation) we see that 78 per cent children viz. 43 per

Table 5.3a

Making Children and Adolescents Study

Genera- tio	N	A	B	C	D	E
I	59	-	9 (15)	2 (3)	4 (7)	25 (42)
II	121	28 (23)	32 (26)	19 (16)	11 (13)	31 (26)
III	115	39 (34)	38 (33)	21 (18)	17 (15)	-
IV	5	2 (40)	0	1 (20)	0	0

Figures in parentheses indicate percentage

N = Number of children attended/attending school

E = No response

A = Father/mother makes it a point to sit with children and supervise them

B = Insists on children regular study hours

C = By showing displeasure when children do badly in school for not putting effort in their studies

D = Children study themselves without being told.

cent children in their childhood and 35 per cent adolescent children are being assisted by parents because they want to 'take proper care' as against a small proportion of parents who say they personally assist children in their studies for they 'cannot afford tutor', consist of only 20 per cent children viz. 13 per cent children in their childhood and 7 per cent adolescent children.

Further, it is noted that percentage of children who are not assisted by parents in their studies is consistently high in all the three generations than children who are being assisted. A further analysis on the reasons as to why children are not being assisted by parents in their studies, responses of mothers show that in the first generation 80 per cent children viz. 34 per cent children in their childhood and 46 per cent adolescent children could not be assisted in their studies for parents were 'not qualified enough'. Whereas on the other hand in the third generation (present generation) as against only 12 per cent children viz. 4 per cent in their childhood and 8 per cent adolescent children parents are not 'qualified enough' to assist in their children's studies, Table 5.3b further shows 79 per cent children viz. 36 per cent in their childhood and 43 per cent adolescent children are not assisted by parents because of 'lack of time' on the part of the parents.

Thus the three Tables (5.3-5.3b) viewed together bring out the fact, that though a strong desire for the educational success of one's children appears to be the hall mark among majority of parents of the present generation

Table 5.3b

Reasons for Assisting/not Assisting Children in their Studies

Genera- tion	N	Respon- ses	A ¹	B	Total	C	D	E	Total
I	59	C	10 (17)	-	(17)	20 (34)	17 (29)	12 (20)	(83)
		A	-	1 (2)	(2)	27 (46)	21 (35)	10 (17)	(98)
II	121	C	28 (23)	7 (6)	(29)	23 (19)	24 (20)	39 (32)	(71)
		A	19 (16)	9 (7)	(23)	33 (27)	26 (21)	34 (28)	(77)
III	115	C	49 (43)	15 (13)	(56)	4 (3)	6 (5)	41 (36)	(44)
		A	40 (35)	8 (7)	(42)	10 (8)	8 (7)	49 (43)	(58)
IV	5	C	4 (80)	1 (20)	(100)	-	-	-	-
		A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Figures in parentheses indicate percentage

N = Total number of children attending school.

C = Childhood; A = Adolescent; A¹ = To take proper care;

B = Cannot afford Tutor; C = Not qualified;

D = Too many children; E = No time.

(third generation), nevertheless there appears to be telling difference in the degree of parental ambition. Such differences are partly a question of 'attitude'. Such differences in parental attitude may be attributed to the fact that the better educated parents, with their more successful children are to a marked degree more interested and ambitions for their educational future of the children. The following case may illustrate this point.

Case 4 Mrs. S - age 48 years - of the second generation, a graduate and a teacher by profession, is a mother of 7 children (6 sons and one daughter): "I got married at the age of 18, just after completing my school leaving examination, my husband was a graduate and was in service. When my second son was about five, a friend of mine asked me to substitute her for a couple of months in the nursery class where she was teaching. For those couple of months not only did I enjoy working but it was also the little bit of extra which I earned added to the income of the family. That was my first step at improving myself and my determination to continue with my studies, which I did with much help and support from my husband. Eventually, I got through my graduation, and in course of time, I joined the very same school where I had substituted for my friend, where I am still teaching". Mrs. S remarks : "I must admit, I was and still am, marked degree more interested and

ambitious for my children's educational future. Our effort (both Mrs. S and husband) in educating the children were definite and consistent. We encouraged them in every possible way. We set up standards and taught our children to live up to them. To-day my eldest son has a degree in Agriculture, he is married and well established, my second son too has a degree in Engineering, and has recently got into service. My third eldest daughter has completed her post-graduation and is working in a government-aided school. The fourth and fifth are still in college and the sixth and seventh are in High School".

However, the following excerpts from interviews may give an insight of the extent of parental ambition for children among 'majority' of the parents of the present generation:

Case 5 Mrs. J - for instance said: " My parents were not concerned with our schooling. We could go to school or not as we pleased. If we were wanted to help in the house, we were kept away from school. This was not considered wrong or thought of as likely to handicap the child. Our parents did not put themselves out much for the sake of us children, not least so far school was concerned. But today Mrs. J is 47 years and a mother of eight children (5 daughters and 3 sons), a literate but below primary is in trade by profession, remarked, "It bothers me that my eldest

son could not get through his school leaving examination even after several attempts, he has now dropped the idea and has joined his fathers footsteps of being a technician (motor mechanic). My daughter too could not get through her school leaving examination last year, but she will sit for it again this year, we do not know how the others will do when their turn comes, but we are hoping. Like several other parents of the present generation who expressed similar views, Mrs J said, with so many children and not being qualified enough, I cannot personally attend or see to their studies, but we do take an interest in our children. We encourage them all we can - though my son and daughter could not get through in their first attempt, I did not give up hope - Did I not send them for coaching classes and hired a tutor? - You can see how important it is for them to pass - at least get through their school leaving examination, I must admit", said Mrs. J, "I am looking forward to seeing my children enter non-manual rather than manual occupation. We both (Mrs. J and her husband), point out to our children (encourage), if you work hard now, you will appreciate it later in life - when you apply for a job, not only because it stays with you all your life but it is also a means of rising socially".

Further the three Tables (5.3-5.3b) viewed together, brings out the fact that though parents concern pertaining

to education of their children appears to be increasing as generation advances, it is also to be noted that among the third (present) generation too nearly 40 per cent children in their childhood and 60 per cent adolescent children are not assisted by parents in their studies for one reason or the other, as responded by mothers. The following cases may illustrate this point.

Case 6 Mrs K - age 36 years - of the third generation, secondary but below graduate, a housewife and mother of six children (four sons and two daughters), says "It is not possible for me to attend personally to the studies of my children regularly. the youngest child is only one and half year. I help out with the younger two who are still in their Junior School. The third and the fourth manage by themselves though at times I ask my eldest daughter to help them out, while she herself goes for tuition. I find it difficult to cope with the studies of my elder children and moreover, I also have to attend to all other chores in the house; as for my husband he is forever busy, engaged in one or the other activity of the community and is hardly at home, only during their examination time he sees to their studies."

Case 7 Mrs G - age 42 years - of the third generation, a secondary but below graduate, a single parent and a working mother, a nurse by profession and mother of

three children says, "I cannot attend to the studies of my children. Being a nurse, my work involves a lot of odd hours as I am on shift duty. My children are looked after by my mother, but she cannot help them in their studies as she is a non-literate. My eldest son of 18 years had appeared for his School Leaving Examination last year, he could not get through and has dropped out this year. The other two children, my daughter who is in Class 8 and my other son in Class 10 are being tutored and assisted by my neighbour."

Case 8 Mrs I - age 40 years - of the third generation, secondary but below graduate, is in service by profession, mother of four children says, "At times I regret having ever married - no sooner do I get back from work that I have to see to the cooking, at the same time help my youngest child (daughter), who is in Class 4, with her studies, the elder three go for tuitions, this has to be done for neither do I have the time and patience nor can I cope with their syllabus. Moreover, having to pay nearly Rs.500/- per month for their tuition is pinching, but there is no choice. I am looking forward to the day when my eldest child (son) gets through his school exams and can get a job - the sooner they start earning for their keep, the better. The burden of having to look after the children is entirely on me, as my husband is away on official tours most of the time."

PARENTS KEEPING THEMSELVES INFORMED ABOUT THEIR CHILDREN'S ACADEMIC PROGRESS AND ACTIVITIES IN SCHOOL

These two aspects have been studied and presented in Tables 5.4 - 5.5b. To gauge the extent of interest parents take in their children's education, mothers were asked to state as to how they keep themselves informed about the academic progress and activities of their children. If so, what is the media through which they make themselves aware.

Table 5.4 shows that in the third generation (present generation), cent per cent of parents whose children are attending school are aware of their children's progress. It is also seen that more than 40 per cent in the first generation and 15 per cent in the second generation have abstained from responding.

A comparative study of the responses shows that highest percentage (47 per cent) of parents in the third generation keep themselves informed of their children's progress by "personally attending to their studies regularly." It is further observed that the percentage of parents depending entirely upon term or periodical school reports to keep themselves informed about their children's progress in school is decreasing over the generations. This percentage consists of 49 per cent, 52 per cent and 18 per cent in the first, second and third generation respectively.

The following excerpt from interview may illustrate this point among the parents of the present generation.

Case 9 Mrs S - age 33 years - secondary but below graduate, a housewife and mother of five children, says

Table 5.4

Parents Keeping Themselves Informed about their Children's Progress in School

Genera- tion	N	N ¹	A	B	C	D	E	F
I	142	59	29 (49)	4 (7)	0	0	0	26 (44)
II	157	121	63 (52)	16 (13)	14 (12)	7 (6)	3 (2)	18 (15)
III	121	115	21 (18)	26 (23)	54 (47)	14 (12)	0	0
IV	14	5	0	0	5 (100)	0	0	0

Figures in parentheses indicate percentage

N = Total number of children.

N¹ = Total number of school going children.

A = Annual periodical school report.

B = Asking from/discussing with children.

C = Regularly spent time in checking and going through their studies.

D = Discuss with teachers.

E = Discuss with children's friends and parents.

F = No response.

"Every evening I make it a point to make my children go and sit down for their studies, while I attend to the cooking and other chores. But when they brought home their mid-term report, two of my children, one in Class 6 and the other in Class 4, have failed in more than four subjects. I now send them for tuition with their respective class teachers." Several other parents have expressed similar views, that though children sit down for their studies regularly, their annual or term reports show poor results.

The Table 5.4 further shows that depending upon and 'discussing and asking children' about their progress in school is adopted by 23 per cent parents in the third generation. The following case may give us an insight.

Case 10 Mrs D - age 49 years - of the second generation, a non-literate, a housewife and mother of seven children (three sons and four daughters) says "My husband is a carpenter and earns daily wages, both of us never had any education, in my case my parents could not afford to and it was not uncommon in my time for children not to go to school. We were twelve of us in the family, eleven sisters and one brother. Each of us in the house were allotted work accordingly to our ability. My daily routine was to go to the jungle along with my friends to fetch firewood. But today all my children are attending school. I want them to work with their brain than with their hands, and if the

children have to have a better job than their father, then they must go to school to learn. But we being ignorant are not of much help. So often when my children are not able to cope with their studies, I send them to my neighbours who attend the same school as my children but are in higher classes, they help them as and when possible and often I ask my children about their progress in their studies, otherwise we are entirely dependent on their annual and periodical reports." It is also seen that parents adopting the means of "discussing with teachers" to keep themselves informed is gradually increasing among the later generations though this percentage consist of only 16 and 12 per cent in the second and third generation respectively. Several parents have expressed that they contact teachers only, as and when the occasion arises.

Thus the Table 5.4 viewed as a whole brings out the fact that as generations advances more and more, parents are personally attending to their children's study. For example, this percentage consists of 47 per cent in the third generation, however, the Table 5.4 also reveals that more than 50 per cent children are not being attended and guided personally by parents in their studies.

Secondly mothers attitude and participation regarding their children's activities has been studied and analysed in terms of the following aspects.

(1) Children reporting/not reporting when punished in school.

(2) Parents awareness of children's punishment at school.

(3) parents taking into consideration/not taking into consideration, the punishment children receives.

The data to the above has been analysed and presented in Table 5.5 - 5.5b.

Table 5.5 reveals that children reporting to parents when punished at school appears to be decreasing over the years. It can be observed that as generation advances, the percentage of children attending school is increasing on the one hand, whereas percentage of children reporting to parents about their activities in school such as punishment is decreasing on the other. For instance, in the first generation, only 40 per cent children attended school but children reporting to parents about their activities consisted of more than 50 per cent whereas in the third generation (present generation), percentage of children attending school is nearly 90 per cent but more than 60 per cent do not report at home about their activities. Further it is also seen that the percentage of daughters reporting to parents is consistently higher in all the generations as

Table 5.5

Children Reporting/not Reporting to Parents when Punished at School

Generat- ion	N	N ¹	N ²	Yes		No	
		S	D	S	D	S	D
I 74/68	59	37	22	8 (25)	10 (36)	23 (75)	18 (64)
II 80/77	121	64	57	13 (21)	19 (32)	49 (79)	40 (68)
III 67/54	115	61	54	12 (18)	18 (29)	42 (82)	43 (71)
IV 5/9	5	2	3	0	0	0	0

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage

N = Total number of children attending/attended school.

N¹ = Total number of sons attending/attended school.

N² = Total number of daughters attending/attended school.

S = Sons; D = Daughters.

compared to sons, namely in the first and second generations we find 36 and 32 per cent daughters reporting as against 25 and 21 per cent boys respectively. In the third generation, this percentage consists of 29 per cent daughters reporting as against 18 per cent sons.

To study the extent of mothers awareness when children do not report of bring punished - Mothers were asked the question "When children do not come and report of being punished, do you come to know of your children's

punishment ?" The analysis of responses as given by mothers is presented in Table 5.5a.

Table 5.5a

Mothers Awareness of Children's Punishment at School

Generat- ion	N ¹		N ²		A		B		C		D'	
	S	D	S	D	S	D	S	D	S	D	S	D
I	31	28	0	0	7 (27)	4 (15)	0	0	9 (35)	6 (23)		
II	62	59	4 (7)	6 (11)	14 (25)	8 (14)	9 (16)	0	11	7 (12)		
III	54	61	11 (18)	13 (22)	0	0	21 (39)	10 (16)	3 (5½)	2 (3)		
IV	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage

N¹ = Total number of sons attending/attended school.

N² = Total number of daughters attending/attended school.

Responses

A = Question children when unusually late from school.

B = Siblings reported to parents.

C = Informed by authorities; S = Sons; D = Daughters.

D' = No response

Responses show that as generation advances, mothers are showing favourable attitude in taking an active interest in children's formal education. This can be seen in the percentage difference between the second generation of 8 per

cent to that of more than 20 per cent mothers in the third generation (present generation) who say they "Question children daily about their activities particularly when children are unusually late from school." It is also to be noted that responses on this method being adopted by parents of the earliest generation is totally absent. It is also observed that "sibling reporting" to parents appears to be decreasing from one generation to the next. This percentage consists of 18 per cent in the first and second generations respectively and appears to be totally absent in the third generation. The following example may illustrate this point.

Case 11 Mrs N - age 38 years - of the third generation, a graduate and in service by profession, a mother of three children (all daughters) says "My children do not report nor do I come to know, for they dread the punishment that will be meted out at home. But once they get into some quarrel and fight among themselves, it is then that keeping to themselves 'gives way'. For example, 'I did not know nor was I informed by any of them that my elder daughter who is in Class 7 was detained and kept out of class for sometime for not taking her books nor doing her home work regularly. It was during one of their fights that the younger one blurted out and reported to me."

The other significant difference worth observing is that more than 27 per cent in the third generation, namely 39 per cent boys and 16 per cent girls come to know of children's punishment only "when informed by the authorities." The following case may give us an insight.

Case 12 Mrs X - age 54 years - of the second generation, having eight children (two sons and six daughters), a literate but below primary, is in trade by profession, belonging to the high income group, had this to say about her younger son, "I always had problems with my younger son, from the time he started going to school at the age of six plus. Every year or two, I had to admit him to a different institution. In my effort to make him continue with his studies, I spent a lot of money and sent him to four different schools. At the same time I had engaged a tutor too, all along. But after a year or so he would always end up refusing to go back to the same school, finally in Class 9, he dropped out of school totally. Within the span of nine-ten years of his being in school, I still remember the countless times I was called for by the authorities, initially to be informed about his irregularity in his lessons and in attentiveness in the class and subsequently to be informed about his irregularity in attendance (used to absent himself from school without my knowledge), and about

his bullying other boys of his class to help him out with answers during examinations.

Table 5.5b shows an overwhelming majority of more than 80 per cent mothers who takes into consideration punishment of children as against a mere 20 per cent mothers who do not.

In terms of generation, however, we find that there has been a moderate increase from 7 per cent mothers in the first generation to that of 20 per cent mothers in the fourth (present generation) who say "they do not take into consideration the punishment received by their children in school." Further, a total of 15 per cent mothers of the third and fourth generations are of the opinion that "children should be treated with more understanding." Though this difference in attitude is being observed in a negligibly small percentage of mothers of the third and fourth generations (present generation), nevertheless it appears from the data that there is an indication of mothers realizing the importance of psychological approach in dealing with children rather than resorting to punishment alone as compared to the earlier generations. The following case may illustrate this point.

Case 13 Mrs Z - age 32 years - of the third generation, a graduate and in service by profession, mother of two children (both daughters) says, "A teacher by

Table 5.5b

Mothers Awareness of Children's Punishment at School

Generation	N	N ¹	Taking into consideration				N ²	Not taken into consideration		
			A	B	C	D		E	F	G
I	59	55 (97)	26 (44)	0	16 (27)	13 (22)	4 (7)	0	0	4 (7)
II	121	105 (85)	38 (31)	22 (18)	25 (21)	20 (17)	16 (13)	0	2 (2)	14 (12)
III	115	94 (82)	32 (28)	37 (32)	16 (14)	9 (8)	21 (18)	13 (11)	8 (7)	0
IV	5	4 (80)	2 (40)	2 (40)	0	0	1 (20)	1 (20)	0	0

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage

N = Number of children attending school.

N¹ = Number of respondents who take punishment into consideration.

N² = Number of respondents who do not take punishment into consideration.

Taking into consideration (Responses)

A = To correct the child. B = Perform better in school.

C = Instill obedience. D = Spare the rod & spoil the child.

Not taking into consideration (Responses)

E = Children should be treated with more understanding.

F = Makes the child more rebellious.

G = Far from helping the child in his/her studies it could discourage the child instead.

punishing a child discourages a child from learning. I was really looking forward to my daughter taking up Hindi as her second language in school. I must admit, that now my daughter dreads the subject, for as my daughter puts it 'Miss is always with a ruler in the class when she makes us write the alphabets' - and slight mistake of not being able to get it right means down comes the ruler on you or out you are sent. I agree that a teacher should punish to discipline and correct a child, but punish in a reasonable way, and surely not by getting physical on mere eight year olds who are having to learn and pick up a subject which is so new to them, it takes time. I believe that given some time and with a little more patience, my daughter could have surely picked up, but having resorted to physical punishment, the zest to learn and communicate had been lost because of the constant fear in the child. In the process, I had to make her drop the subject and opt for another rather than let her associate the subject with fear."

Thus the Tables 5.5 - 5.5b viewed together reveals that in the later generations significant percentage of mothers are showing favourable attitude in taking an active interest in children's formal education. This is further supported by the analysis of responses showing more than 30 per cent mothers who have abstained from responding in the first and second generation as compared to a negligible 8

per cent in the present generation. One of the reasons could be that parents of the earlier generations, having little or no ambition towards school and studies, did not participate and take an active interest resulting in indifference towards their children's activities and progress in school. Hence significant percentage of parents of the first and second generations under study may have abstained from responding.

To study the attitude and reaction of parents in situations where children have dropped-out and have refused to continue with their studies, mothers were asked their views on the methods adopted. The aspects studied are:-

1. Drop-out rates.
2. Reaction of parents to children dropping out.
3. Reasons explaining reaction of parents.
4. Action taken by parents when children drop-out of school.

Table 5.6 to Table 5.6c gives an analysis of the views of mothers on the above mentioned four aspects.

Table 5.6 reveals that, as generation advances, percentage of drop-out rates among children appears to be decreasing. For instance, in the third generation (present generation), drop-out rate is 30 per cent as against 69 per cent and 36 per cent in the first and second generations respectively.

However, when compared from the first to the third generation, Table 5.6 shows a progressive rise in the drop-

Table 5.6
Drop-out Rates

Gener- ration	N	N ¹	N ²	N ³	A		B		C	
					S	D	S	D	S	D
I	59	24 (41)	17 (29)	41 (69)	20(49) 34%	13(32) 22%	4(10) 7%	4(10) 7%	0	0
II	121	29 (24)	14 (12)	43 (36)	10(23) 8%	4(9) 3%	14(33) 12%	8(19) 7%	5(12) 4%	2(5) 2%
III	115	22 (19)	13 (11)	35 (30)	3(9) 3%	2(6) 2%	7(20) 6%	3(9) 3%	12(34) 10%	8(23) 7%
IV										

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage

Percentage below the parenthesis indicates the percentages out of the total number of children who attended/are attending school.

N = Total number of children attending school.

N¹ = Number of sons who have dropped out.

N² = Number of daughters who have dropped out.

N³ = Total number of children who have dropped out.

S = Sons. D = Daughters.

A = Below Primary. B = Primary but below Matric.

C = Matric but below Graduation.

out rates among children in the third generation in the secondary and higher levels. For example, in the third

generation, drop-out rate consists of 19 per cent boys and 11 per cent girls in the primary level, which further increases to 20 per cent boys and 9 per cent girls in the secondary level and consist of 34 per cent boys and 23 per cent girls in the higher level.

Further, sex-wise comparison reveals that drop-out rates among boys is consistently higher in all the three generations. Table 5.6 further shows a total of 25 per cent drop-out rates among boys as against 14 per cent girls. For instance, drop-out rates among girls is 29 per cent, 12 per cent and 11 per cent as against 41 per cent, 24 per cent and 19 per cent boys in the first, second and third generations respectively.

The figures in Table 5.6a shows a significant percentage of nearly 60 per cent drop-out in the present generation whose mothers have expressed 'unhappiness' over their children dropping out of studies as compared to a negligibly small percentage of 10 and 26 per cent in the first and second generations respectively. It is also observed that in the third generation (present generation) attitude of 'indifference' is being adopted by parents of only 14 per cent children as compared to 51 per cent in the first and 44 per cent in the second generation. Further, it is also noted that in the present generation, 23 per cent

have expressed of being neither 'happy' nor 'unhappy' over their children dropping out of school and studies.

Table 5.6

Reaction of Parents to Children Dropping Out

Gene-ration	N	N ¹	A	B	C
I	59	41 (69)	16(39) 27%	4(10) 7%	21(51) 36%
II	121	43 (36)	13(30) 11%	11(26) 9%	19(44) 16%
III	115	35 (30)	8(23) 7%	22(63) 19%	5(14) 4%
IV					

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage.

Percentage below the parenthesis indicates the percentages out of the total number of children attending school.

N = Total number of children attending school.

N¹ = Number of children who have dropped out.

Reaction of Parents

A = Neutral. B = Unhappy. C = Indifferent.

The figures in Table 5.6b shows that in the present generation mothers of more than 50 per cent drop-outs have expressed of being 'unhappy'. This factor is further supported by responses of 37 per cent drop-outs, whose mothers have expressed 'unhappiness' by stating 'Education

Table 5.6b

Reasons explaining Reaction of Parents

Generation	N	N ¹	NEUTRAL				UNHAPPY			INDIFFERENT			
			A	B	C	D	A ¹	B ¹	C ¹	A ²	B ²	C ²	D ²
I	59	41 (69)	1(3) 2%	0	0	15(37) (25%)	0	0	4(10) 7%	18(44) 31%	0	2(5) 3%	1(3) 2%
II	121	43 (36)	2(5) 2%	2(5) 2%	3(7) 2%	6(14) 5%	5(12) 4%	2(5) 2%	4(9) 3%	11(26) 9%	2(5) 2%	2(5) 2%	4(9) 3%
III	115	35 (30)	4(11) 3%	2(6) 2%	2(6) 2%	0	13(37) 11%	7(20) 6%	2(6) 2%	0	4(11) 3%	0	1(3) 0.8%
IV													

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage.

Percentage below parenthesis indicates the percentages out of the total number of children who attended/are attending school.

N = Total number of children attending school.

N¹ = Total number of drop-outs.

REASONS

Neutral

- A = Child is not intelligent enough.
- B = School is too expensive.
- C = Not important, won't guarantee job.
- D = Impractical for the family.

Unhappy

- A¹ = Education is the only criterion for success in life.
- B¹ = Children not educated is as good as 'dead' or 'lost' to the family.
- C¹ = Everybody is educated, my children also require education.

Indifferent

- A² = Too uneducated to understand the meaning of education.
- B² = Children have to decide for themselves.
- C² = Financially sound, so education is not important.
- D² = Fatalistic - "What ever will be will be".

is the only criterion for success in life," further 20 per cent responded by saying "Children not educated is as good as 'dead' or 'lost' to the family."

However, a comparative study shows that in the third generation responses of mothers of 14 per cent drop-outs have responded by admitting 'indifference' and 23 per cent mothers have admitted of being 'neither happy or unhappy' (neutral). It is also to be noted that maternal attitude of indifference is being expressed by ~~11%~~ (11%) ^{mothers} in the third generation who stated "Children will have to decide for themselves." Similarly, the majority of mothers in this category of being neither 'happy nor unhappy' have responded by stating 'child is not intelligent enough.'

However, what ever the difference, it appears from Table 5.6b that as generation advances parents are becoming aware of the need for higher education in achieving the goal they aspire for their children, unlike the earlier generations.

Finally to gauge the attitude of parents in convincing children to stay in school and continue with their studies, mothers were asked to respond which of the actions below is being adopted in such situations:-

1. Tried to force your wish on the child.
2. Left him/her alone to decide.

3. Explained the value of higher education and tried to convince.

4. Tried to convince through others,

5. Agreed with the child to discontinue.

The analysis of responses to the above questions is presented in the following Table 5.6c.

A comparative study of Table 5.6c reveals that highest percentage of parents of 40 per cent drop-outs in the third generation "to a great extent" adopt the approach of explaining to the child the value of higher education, in order to motivate them to continue with their studies being followed by 30 per cent drop-out whose parents try to apply pressure by 'forcing their wish on children' to continue as compared to a mere 14 per cent in the second generation.

Further, when compared to the first and second generations percentage of drop-outs whose parents tried to convince children 'through others' is being adopted by more than 40 per cent parents either to 'a great' or 'some extent' as compared to a negligible 17 per cent drop-outs whose parents tried only 'to some extent' only, to convince their sons through others. It is also to be noted that inconsistency in attitude among parents of the third generation (present generation) can be seen from responses of those who left it to the child to 'decide', while those who 'agreed and yielded to the wish of the child' consist of

Table 5.6c

Action Taken by Parents when Children Dropped/Drop-out of School & Studies

Gene- ration	N	N ¹	N ²		N ³	Respon- ses	'A'		'B'		'C'		'D'		'E'	
			S	D			S	D	S	D	S	D	S	D		
I	59	(69)	41%	29(39)	17(41)	'1'	-	-	-	-	-	-	2(5)	-	-	-
						'2'	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	16(39)	14(34)
						'3'	-	-	6(15)	3(7)	-	-	-	-	-	-
II	121	(36)	24%	29(67)	14(33)	'1'	3(7)	3(7)	-	-	3(12)	2(5)	9(21)	2(5)	4(9)	1(2)
						'2'	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
						'3'	-	-	4(9)	2(5)	2(5)	2(5)	1(2)	4(9)	2(5)	-
III	115	(30)	19%	22(63)	13(37)	'1'	6(20)	3(10)	-	-	8(27)	4(13)	-	-	-	-
						'2'	-	-	-	-	-	-	5(17)	-	2(7)	1(3)
						'3'	-	-	2(7)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage

Percentage below the parenthesis indicates the percentages out of the total number of children who attended/are attending school.

N = Total number of children attending school; N¹ = Total number of drop-outs; N² = Number of sons who have dropped out; N³ = Number of daughters who have dropped out.

S = Sons. D = Daughters.

Action Taken by Parents

'A' = Tried to force your wish on the child; 'B' = Left him/her to decide; 'C' = Explained the value of higher studies, and tried to convince; 'D' = Tried to convince through others; 'E' = Agreed with the child to discontinue.

Responses

'1' = To a great extent; '2' = To some extent; '3' = Very little.

a negligible 7 and 10 per cent in the present generation as compared to a significant 22 and 73 per cent in the earliest generation.

To sum up, the Tables 5.6 - 5.6c together reveals that parental ambition for wanting children to stay in school and continue with their studies is being favoured by majority (70 per cent) of parents among the present generation. This is further supported by the data showing various pressures being adopted by the parents in the present generation in trying to motivate children in accepting their advice to continue with their studies. At the other end, negative parental attitude towards children 'dropping out' for one reason or the other as responded by the mothers appears to be decreasing when compared from the earliest to the present generation. However, this percentage consists of 90, 74 and 40 per cent in the first, second and third generations respectively. It is also to be noted that percentage of drop-out rates among boys is consistently higher in all the three generations as compared to that of girls.

The following cases may give us an insight towards parents being 'unhappy' in their children's dropping out of school in the present generation.

Case 14 Mrs L - age 49 years - a single parent, of the second generation, a graduate and in service by

profession, mother of two children (a son and a daughter), says "My parents did not have any strong desire for my educational success. Their views were typical of parents of their time. In fact they did not recognise that education was of much value, whereas to earn or to be of practical use to the family was of prime importance. They felt that if I left home (my village) for further studies, they feared that I would marry someone outside the community and would not go back home and take care of them. Moreover, I was the only child though I had an elder sister who died when she was just a couple of months old. In spite of such adverse circumstances, not only did I get through my school, but attended college as well and got through my graduation. This, of course, was allowed and granted only after much pleading and convincing my parents into allowing me to go to college. It was only after completing my graduation that I got married and settled down.

In contrast, Mrs L remarks "I had put myself out much for the sake of my children, they benefited from all the facilities which I had go without, but they never showed any inclination or initiative, in fact they never were keen on education or attending school. I must admit that when their father left me, I could no longer give my undivided attention to my children or supervise their activities closely as I used to.

Soon I got into service for I had to provide for my children as well as I had to take care of my aging parents. I would leave for work and my children for school, but instead of attending school, they would be out roaming in the streets. They got into all kinds of bad company; at that time my son was in Class 8 and my daughter in Class 7. All this was brought to my notice much too late. When I came to know, I had beaten my daughter unconscious, but instead of admitting her guilt and be ashamed and admit her guilt, she eloped and ran off with a good for nothing jobless ruffian, and today she is extremely sorry and regrets but I am not having or taking her in. Soon after, my son too dropped out in Class 9 and no amount of shouting and advising him even to this day has done him any good. On the contrary, he walks off in a huff and threatens me to keep quiet by throwing stones on the roof top. Today, my parents are no longer there and I am all alone with my son." Remarks Mrs L, "Inspite of all painful consequences, so long as I am there, they will always have me to fall back upon (I am their mother, after all), but when I am gone, they will realise that they too are as good as 'dead' or 'lost' for education is the only criteria for success in a today's world. I was brought up with fear, awe and respect for my parents and elders, but now-a-days, you can't touch them!"

Case 16 Mrs T - age 38 years - mother of two children (one son and one daughter), says "I come from a well to do family. We are six sisters, my parents are in trade by profession and we children were well provided for by my parents. When I was about 21 years and had entered my first year of graduation, I started courting a boy. He too was in his first year and we were of the same age. A couple of months later, we got married and soon after I quitted my studies as I was in the family way. My parents were really disappointed and strongly objected to my settling down for they were really anxious and looking forward to my completing graduation as my elder sister too had dropped out of college half way. How I wish I has heeded and listened to my parents! Today, I am a single parent having to look after my children aged fourteen and twelve, as my husband has left me and I am more or less dependent on my parents.

Case 17 Mr H - age 50 years - of the second generation, secondary but below Matric, is in service (fourth grade) and father of six children (four sons and two daughters), says "My eldest son, now aged 21 years, dropped out of school when he was in Class 10, and no amount of shouting, advicing or forcing my wish upon him (beating) could make him continue with his studies. He being the eldest, should have set an example for the others in the family. I must admit that I was really looking forward to

his going to college but unfortunately that was not to be!" Mr H related that "I often remark at my son saying, 'Now that you have dropped out of school, what are you planning to do? These days, even to get a job of a driver or any manual occupation, you need the minimum of education. Son, my days are over, in my time even without education one could get hold of a job. Today, even if you want to "till" the land or work in the fields, it is no longer there - asking you to "assist" in carrying the *khoh* (basket) to the market is beyond your "class" and "dignity" - can you imagine yourself toiling in the fields given an opportunity?' I must say, "he is as good as 'lost' to the family."

The following are examples of negative parental attitude towards children dropping out of studies among the present generation.

Case 18 Mrs F - age 40 years - of the third generation, secondary but below Matric, a housewife, mother of five children (two daughters and three sons), and whose husband is in trade by profession, says " I am not sending this son of mine (second son), who is in Class 6, to school again, if he cannot get through his examinations this year. It is pointless spending and wasting so much of money on him. All along he has been attending an English medium school and has not yet been able to pick up the basics,

neither does he have the inclination." Mrs F remarks "It is better for him to go and take some technical training. The sooner he picks up the hammer and goes and earns some wages, the better. What is the point in sending him to school when he does not have the brains for it?"

Case 19 Miss O - age 34 years - of the third generation, a daughter and eldest child in a family of nine children, says "We were poor and father worked as a labourer earning daily wages. Mother was most of the time ill and bed ridden. Being the eldest child, in the family, often I had to absent myself from school to look after my mother and the family as father had to go for work to earn for our keep. Slowly and gradually, this set into a pattern and I too lost the will to carry on with my studies. Eventually I dropped out of school when I was in Class 7. This was accepted by my parents without any fuss. In fact, more or less my parents wanted me to give up school and stay back and take up the household tasks and duties. So when I gave up school, neither of my parents were sorry or regretted."

Case 20 Mrs R - age 52 years - of the second generation, a widow, literate but below primary, is in trade by profession, mother of nine children (five sons and four daughters), says "My eldest son who could not get through his school leaving examinations inspite of attempting twice, has now joined the police force. My eldest daughter has

dropped out of college after her first year and has joined a private school as a Nursery teacher. The next two have also dropped out of studies, where one is officiating for a friend of his in the office as a messenger and the other has joined as a government driver. The remaining five are still in school and are continuing with their studies." Mrs R remarked - "I am not very keen on the educational advancement of my children. What is important is that they are not non-literates like us, and I was looking forward to see my children enter non-manual rather than manual occupation. It is also important that they are now earning and bringing in their wages. Having to bring up nine children, and my only source of income coming from the grocery shop, had really been hard indeed, for the children's father expired when they all were still very young."

Case 21 Mr P (son) - age 26 years - of the third generation, a secondary but below Matric, says "My mother remarried after my father left us. I was about 7 years old and the only child from my mother's first marriage. When my mother remarried, I stayed with my maternal grandmother. My mother had four children (three daughters and one son) from her second marriage. As long as I was with Grandma, life was comfortable, I attended school and was well taken care of. But after my Grandma expired, I was left with no choice but

to go and stay with mother and my stepfather. He often would keep me away from school to help in the house, while the other attended school regularly. There always existed a discrepancy towards me in my parents attitude and behaviour, particularly my stepfather. Whether it was in food, play or for that matter in all other respects, I was always set apart from my sisters and brother. When I was 15 years old and in Class 7, my stepfather opened up a small tuck shop and I was made to assist my stepfather throughout the day. In the process, I had to drop out of school. My mother, all the while, drifted along and abided with to whatever my stepfather said and decided." He remarked - "Today, I am 26 years old, my three stepsisters are in service and my stepbrother is in his final year of college, while I am 'posed' and 'made out' to look like I never had any ambition, goal or wishes." As he puts it, " I have nothing to keep me going, I am living from moment to moment, drifting aimlessly - I did not drop-out, rather I was made to drop-out of studies."

Views of Parents on Different Goals of Education

To study the type of accomplishments parents of different generations foresee in the son's and daughter's social and economic life, and to study their aspirations, mothers were suggested to select from the four different types of accomplishments. the suggested types were:-

1. Be outstanding in chosen life and reach a high social status.
2. Do what gives him/her most satisfaction.
3. Be a respected and useful citizen of the community.
4. A financially secure life.

Though mothers showed preference for multiple responses, instructions were given to select any one which they aspire most. Hence Table 5.7 presents the data only on the responses of mothers on their single most important accomplishment as desired by them for their sons and daughters in their adult life.

Table 5.7 shows that as generation advances, percentage of parents "wanting children to have a financially secure life" ranks significantly high. This percentage consists of 36 and 43 per cent for sons and 30 and 39 per cent for daughters in the second and third generations respectively. It is also to be noted that this percentage is higher for sons than for daughters. Secondly, Table 5.7 further shows that in the later generations, aspiration for the rise in the "social status of their children by being outstanding in chosen life" appears to be gradually increasing particularly in the third and fourth generations. This percentage consists of 32 and 44 per cent

Table 5.7

Single most important accomplishment desired by parents in the adult life of their sons and daughters

Generation	N	'A'		'B'		'C'		'D'	
		S	D	S	D	S	D	S	D
I	22	0	0	14 (64)	16 (72)	8 (36)	6 (28)	0	0
II	33	8 (24)	9 (27)	8 (24)	10 (30)	5 (15)	4 (12)	12 (36)	10 (30)
III	28	9 (32)	8 (29)	4 (14)	5 (18)	3 (11)	4 (14)	12 (43)	11 (39)
IV	9	4 (44)	4 (44)	1 (11)	2 (22)	0	0	4 (44)	3 (33)

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage

N = Total number of respondents.

'A' = Be outstanding in chosen life and reach a high social status.

'B' = Do what gives him/her most satisfaction.

'C' = Be a respected and socially useful citizen of the community.

'D' = A financially secure life.

S = Sons. D = Daughters.

for sons in the third generation and 29 and 44 per cent for daughters in the fourth generation. Thus the interest shown by parents of the later generations in the education of their children reflects the level of aspirations parents

have for their children's accomplishment in their adult life, as compared to such aspirations being totally absent among parents of the earliest generation. Sex-wise comparison too, shows only minimum variation in percentage among parents of the later generations in their aspirations for their children.

Further, parents wanting children to have the kind of life "that would give them most satisfaction" is significantly decreasing over the generations. This percentage consists of 64 and 72 per cent and 11 and 22 per cent for sons and daughters when compared between the first (earliest) and fourth (present) generations. It is also to be noted that consistently higher percentage of parents in every generation prefer for daughters than for sons a life that would give them most satisfaction. For example, this percentage for daughters consists of 72 per cent, viz. 30 per cent, 18 per cent and 22 per cent as against 64 per cent for sons, viz. 24 per cent, 14 per cent and 11 per cent for sons in the first, second, third and fourth generations respectively.

Finally among those parents who aspire for children to be "respected and useful citizens of the community", the percentage of parents favouring such aspirations are seen to be comparatively higher in the earlier generations as compared to such aspirations being preferred by a small

percentage of 11 per cent for sons and 14 per cent for daughters in the third generation. Further, such accomplishment is found to be totally nil among parents of the fourth generation (present generation). It is also observed that parents aspiring their children to be "respected and useful citizens", the percentage favouring daughters is consistently higher in all the generations.

Thus Table 5.7 on the whole brings out the fact that as generation advances, parents aspire more of a economically sound life for their children, whereas parents of earlier generations wished a respected social type of life for their children. It further reveals that parents wanting children to have a financially secure life is higher for sons than for daughters. It is also to be noted that higher percentage of parents for daughters than for sons expressed that the primary purpose for education should be to develop attitudes and values to make them aware of their obligations and responsibilities as members of the community. It is, therefore, quite reasonable to assume that higher percentage of parents in the present generation wanting sons than daughters to have a financially secure life, could be that when sons get married and go to their wives homes, the responsibility of parents ceases, but parents want their sons to be educated persons capable of

earning and establishing their status in their respective homes. The following cases may illustrate these points:-

Case 22 Miss H - age 21 years - of the fourth generation, a daughter and third eldest child in a family of six children (all girls), a secondary but below Matric (drop-out), says "When I was 19 and was appearing for my school leaving examinations, I met this boy whom I liked very much and started courting. After some time, I was expecting his child. I was terrified and scared to tell my parents, but I did not have any choice, I confessed and told my parents. I was severely beaten up, in fact in that moment of anger, my parents had asked me to get out of the house. But slowly my parents started making enquiries about the boy and when they came to know that he was jobless, my parents made it very clear that I would not be allowed to settle down with him until and unless he gets a job. Now my daughter is about two years, and I am still staying with my parents waiting for him to get a job, for my parents will not allow me to leave home and settle down with him until he starts earning and can stand on his own so that he can provide for me and my daughter.

The following case may illustrate parents wanting daughters than sons to do what gives them most satisfaction:-

Case 23 Mrs D - age 56 years - of the second generation, mother of four children (three daughters and a son), a non-literate, is in trade by profession, says "Both my elder daughters are doctors though only one is practicing and my son is an engineer. All the three are married and well settled in life, while my youngest daughter studied only till her Pre-University (Science). My youngest daughter too wanted to study medicine, which meant that she too would be away from home, and we would get to see her only once in a while, but my real fear was that she too like her elder sisters would marry outside the community. Honestly, I am not that ambitious, I would have been more than happy even if my other three children were only graduates and would have got into service but nevertheless, I am happy and proud of their achievements. My only regret is that they stay so far away and have married outside the community. However, my youngest daughter, though she got admitted into medical college, she quitted and came back after a year. She is now settled, married a man of her choice, but with our approval, and working as a teacher and I am happy that things have worked out this way."

To study the choice of reading material other than text books, mothers were asked to respond to the type of books children were/are interested in reading.

The types of books suggested were:-

1. Comics/Fairy Tales/Short Stories.
2. Mythology/Religion.
3. Biographies/Classical literature.
4. Magazines.
5. General type (Novel, Detective etc.).

Table 5.8 reveals that 57 per cent of children in the third generation are interested in general reading 'very often.' Thus as generations advances, children's reading habits other than text books seems to be gaining interest among children of the third generation (present generation) as compared to children of the first and second generations.

Secondly, it is also seen that the small number of responses in the first and second generations children who showed interest in reading 'at times', preferred books related mainly to "Mythology/Religion". For instance, 20 per cent of children, namely 17 per cent and 6 per cent in the first and second generations respectively, showed preference for such reading as compared to a mere 3 per cent in the third generation.

Thirdly, comparative study of responses reveals that among children of the third generation, percentage of children who read "Comics/Fairy Tales/Short Stories", 'very often' is highest (27 per cent) followed by reading of "Magazines" with children of the third generation, namely

Table 5.8
Choice of Reading Material

Genera- tion	Total Number of Children	Total number of school going children	VERY OFTEN (1)										% of responses among child- ren who read often TOTAL										SOME TIMES (2)										N ²		NEVER						
			A		B		C		D		E		A		B		C		D		E		TOTAL		(3)																
			No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%													
I	142	59	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	17	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	17	49	83
II	157	121	7	6	5	4	-	-	-	-	2	2	14	12	16	13	7	6	3	2	5	4	11	9	42	35	65	54													
III	121	115	31	27	-	-	4	3	19	16	12	11	60	57	10	9	3	3	2	2	9	10	7	6	32	28	18	16													
IV	14	5																																							

A = Comics/Fairy Tales/Short Stories.

B = Mythology/Religion.

C = Biographies/Classical literature.

D = Magazines.

E = General type (Novel, Detective etc.)

16.5 per cent who read 'quite often' and 10 per cent 'at times.'

The second aspect of parent's interest in children's education analysed is the type of academic atmosphere created by parents at home which is conducive to the reading habits of the children.

Tables 5.8a to 5.8c presents the data showing 'sources which cater to the need of general reading among children' and family getting newspapers and discussing daily news respectively.

Table 5.8a
Source Catering to the Need of General Reading among Children

Genera- tion	Total number of families	Total Number of Children	Total number of school going children	Provided by parents	Borrowed from lending libraries	Borrowed from friends	Not aware
I	22	142	59	-	-	6 (10%)	4 (7%)
II	33	157	121	6 (5%)	10 (8%)	40 (33%)	25
III	28	121	115	14 (12%)	40 (35%)	35 (30%)	10 (9%)
IV	9	14	5	-	-	-	-

Table 5.8a reveals that lending libraries are the largest source (35 per cent) that caters to the needs of general reading among children of the third generation.

Apart from libraries and friends (30 per cent), it is worth observing that a small 12 per cent children in the third generation are provided reading material by parents.

A comparative study of responses reveal that a significant percentage of children under study in the third generation (present generation) are interested in general reading material other than school text books. The other factor observed is that parents providing children with reading material from being totally absent in the first generation, we find a small 5 per cent in the second generation, which further increases to 12 per cent in the third generation (present generation). Thus, it appears from Table 5.8a that parents inducing children to develop reading habits is slowly gaining interest.

Table 5.8b reveals that subscription of newspapers

Table 5.8b

Subscription of Newspapers

Genera- tion	Total number of respon- dents	YES		NO	
		No.	%	No.	%
I	22	-	-	22	100
II	33	7	21	26	78
III	28	17	61	11	39
IV	9	6	66	3	33

extends to 61 per cent in the third generation and 66 per cent in the fourth generation (present generation).

Table 5.8c reveals that the extent of discussing daily news and views at home and with children is limited to only 27 per cent, namely 25 per cent in the third generation and 33 per cent in the fourth generation. It is also to be noted that in the third and fourth generation, though discussing of daily news consists of a negligible 27 per cent only, nevertheless it appears that families "discussing daily" news may induce children to read them and thus develop a habit in them.

However, as mothers were not asked to respond on the types of items from newspapers and the type of content

Table 5.8c

Discussing the Daily News

Genera- tion	Total number of respon- dents	ALWAYS		SOMETIMES		NEVER	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
I	22	-	-	-	-	22	100
II	33	-	-	7	21	26	81
III	28	7	25	12	43	9	32
IV	9	3	33	5	55	1	11

material from magazines children are interested in reading, the analysis of their reading interest in detail is not

possible. As this aspect was not covered in the schedule,
the limitation of the study is obvious.

PARENTAL CONTROL AND DISCIPLINE AND ROLE OF CHILDREN IN THE HOUSEHOLD DUTIES AND ACTIVITIES AS VIEWED BY THE PARENTS

Discipline means a process of training and learning that fosters growth and development.

The moral development of children is influenced to a large extent by the type of environment the child is in, from the earliest childhood. Of the many factors in the child's environment that influences his morality, the family is the most important. By the use of approval or disapproval, reward or punishment, the parents teaches the child to behave in a socially desirable manner. "It is believed that a child needs disciplining because society needs him to behave in a certain way and would not tolerate deviations from the approved pattern, it is essential that the child needs discipline if he is to be a happy and well adjusted individual" (Mahale, 1987).

It takes a young child many years to learn and to act in a manner approved by the social group. No child is experienced enough to know how to discipline himself. Parents help the child to learn, to behave in a socially approved manner, so that as he grows he will learn to discipline himself. The whole purpose of discipline is to teach the child what is right and to see that he acts as society expects him to. If discipline is of the right type, the ethical conduct sooner or later becomes habitual.

The type of discipline that is being adopted depends on the parents expectation from the child and the type of situations that prevails in the family in which the child lives. However, what technique is used is less important than how it is used. Uncertainty about norms and behaviour is often due to contact with other cultures. Generally, social change leads to uncertainty about upbringing. "With growth of a city and its increased communication with the outside culture it is likely to worry parents. With new people around, there are more alternatives of behaviour visible to the growing child and he is more likely to experiment than if he had to invent each new piece of mischief by himself. In such circumstances, the more traditional the mother is, the stricter she will be with the child, for more the child imitates others, the more things he will be doing which will appear 'naughty' to his traditional mother. A society which is just ceasing to be traditional, in which changes of this sort are going on, is therefore one which presents more problems of socialization than a traditional society" (Klien, 1967). Thus it may added that in situations where families are subjected to these factors, they are more open to influence than people secure in their tradition. Changes in the climate of opinion makes parents less certain about the proper way to treat children.

On the other hand "family with its complex of attitudes and practices for disciplining and regulating relationships between the sexes and between the generations is too massive and deep-rooted an institution to be rapidly transformed under any circumstances" (Lynds, 1976). Hence it can also be said that attitudes of the past generations in disciplining and regulating control of behaviour in children may retain more of a hold on us than we realize, it may continue to exert influence, transmitted from one generation to another through child rearing itself.

In view of the above, the second dimension on which the parent-children relationship has been studied in terms of generational change and continuity, is the method and mode of disciplining children adopted by parents in specific circumstances, which has been analysed in this section of the study.

The areas of studies are:

1. Participation of children in household duties and domestic chores.
2. Allotment of tasks and duties to children based on sex and age of children.
3. Reaction and attitude of children towards domestic tasks and chores.
4. Views of parents for inculcating responsibility training and obedience in children.

5. Types of disciplinary action adopted by parents towards disobedience.
6. Attitudes and reactions of parents towards children aggression and control of this behaviour.

CHILDREN'S PARTICIPATION IN HOUSEHOLD ACTIVITIES AND ATTITUDE OF PARENTS TOWARDS THEIR CHILDREN'S PARTICIPATION

Parents are definite about the roles their children will play as adults. To enact these roles adequately in adult life the experiences gained in childhood is very important. The extent and nature of household routine entrusted to the children and adolescent may prepare them for an efficient adult role.

Secondly, another factor that has an impact on the parent-child relationship is the parents differential attitude towards the sex role of their children. In most societies, the criteria of age and sex of allotting rights and duties to different family members are used, i.e. parents differentiation in their function of socialization based on sex roles. The parents usually do the responsible work and children assist the parents in their work. In most families there is a clear cut division in the tasks allotted to girls and those allotted to boys. Therefore, apart from the need of division of labour, the parents in their

function of socialization need to train their children to play their adult roles.

A statistical analysis and the study of Tables 5.9 to 5.9g show the responses of the parents towards children's and adolescent's participation in the household activities of the family. Under this section, the aspects studied are

1. Age from when children assists parents and the reaction of parents when children do not comply at this age.

2. Types of household tasks and responsibilities allotted and participation of their adolescent children.

3. Extent of participation and entrusting adolescents and children with household duties and domestic chores.

4. Attitude of children in complying by these tasks and duties.

5. Attitude and reaction of parents towards household responsibilities and task performed by their adolescent children.

Table 5.9 presents the data as responded by parents, the age from when children assist parents with light chores, tasks and errands. The second aspect studied (Table 5.9a) shows the reaction of parents when children do not comply and respond to these tasks assigned by their parents.

Table 5.9 shows that among the present generation, only 11 per cent children within the age of four to seven

years are asked to assist parents with light chores to 'some extent' as compared to 29 per cent among children of the earliest generation. Further, the Table shows that irrespective of generation, a majority of parents ask children from the age of eight onwards to assist with light chores and errands to 'some' extent. This percentage consists

Table 5.9

Age from when Children started helping with Light Chores and Errands

Gene-ration	N	N ¹	A	B	C
I	142	4-7 yrs	41 (29)	18 (13)	83 (58)
		8 +	38 (27)	81 (57)	23 (16)
II	157	4-7 yrs	29 (18)	78 (50)	50 (32)
		8 +	68 (43)	76 (48)	13 (8)
III	121	4-7 yrs	13 (11)	82 (68)	26 (21)
		8 +	58 (48)	63 (52)	

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage

N = Total number of children.

N¹ = Age of children.

A = 'Some'; B = 'Little'; C = 'No response'

of 27, 43 and 48 per cent in the first, second and third generation respectively. Thus the Table shows that as generation advances more and more, children are being asked by parents to assist with light chores and errands from a comparatively later age, when compared from the earliest to the present generation.

Table 5.9a presents the data as responded by parents, showing reaction of parents when children at this age do not comply and respond to the call of their parents.

The Table shows that percentage of parents in the later generations who 'always' or 'sometimes' abuse or curse the child for not responding consist of 30 and 41 per cent in the second and third generations respectively, in comparison this percentage comprises of only 21 per cent parents in the earliest generation. It is further observed that spanking the child 'always' for not responding and complying consist of higher percentage in the earlier generations than in the later generation. For example, this percentage consist of 25 per cent, in the first and 13 per cent in the second and third generations respectively. Table 5.9a also shows that parents in the earliest generation (first generation) who 'always' or 'sometimes' rebuke or show anger to correct the child for not responding or complying consist of 18 per cent as compared to only 15 per cent in the third generation (present generation). It is

Table 5.9a

Reaction of Parents when Children do not Comply

Generation	N	R	A	B	C	D	E
I	142	1	26 (18)	36 (25)	30 (21)	0	40 (28)
		2	38 (27)	81 (57)	23 (16)	81 (57)	
II	157	1	32 (20)	20 (13)	12 (8)	0	28 (18)
		2	0	30 (19)	35 (22)	0	
III	121	1	18 (15)	16 (13)	15 (12)	29 (24)	8 (7)
		2	0	0	35 (29)	0	

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage

N = Total number of children.

R = Responses

1 = Always; 2 = Sometimes.

Reaction of parents

A = Parents purposefully rebuke and show anger to correct children.

B = Spank the child.

C = Those who disobey receive a curse/are abused.

D = Children at this stage do not understand the meaning of punishment so there is no point in punishing.

E = No response.

also to be noted that a significant 24 per cent parents of the present generation opined that "child at this stage do not understand the meaning of punishment so there is no point in punishing," whereas such responses among parents of the earliest generation is found to be totally absent. Thus it may be assumed that children of the earlier generations were expected to help parents with their extensive duties and tasks at a much earlier age whereas responsibility requirements in early years among the later generations are moderate and probably parents expect less from their young children.

The following examples may give us an insight to children being put into harness at an early age and expected to help with more extensive duties among the earlier generation.

Case 24 Mrs K - age 67 years - of the first generation, third child (daughter) in a family of six (three brothers and three sisters) says, "No small amount of work was done by us children even as young as five years of age. When I was about seven years of age, my parents left my three younger brothers and sister in my care, while my elder brothers accompanied my parents to the fields. Carrying my youngest sister on my back (aged about one to 1 to 1½ years then), along with the other children of my age, we would go to the jungle with small baskets to collect firewood. This

was more or less a routine duty of mine. I then had to dry them in the sun and then stack up before it got dark. After my parents returned from the fields, I would then help my brother in bringing water from the river in small pots and as I grew in age, the size of the pots too started increasing. By this time my mother, anxious to start cooking our evening meals before dusk, would hand over my younger sister, I would tie her to my back and run off to play."

Case 25 Mr J - age 49 years - of the second generation, eldest child (son), in a family of four children (three sisters and one brother), says, "As children we hardly tried to escape nor had we to be reminded of our duties at home. We children never shirked from work. Right from our early childhood we were taught to be hard working and developed responsibility training so that we could be of some use to the family. I was elder (9 years) to my sisters (then aged 7 and 5 years and my youngest sister then a few months old used to be taken to the fields by my parents) by a few years. All of us attended the village school and (from which I absented often and eventually left after a short while for which I was neither punished nor asked to go back by my parents). After getting back from school, I not only looked after my younger sisters by serving them food, but also looked after the other household chores including getting the evening meals started. It was only as they grew

older that they took over the household chores, and I started to accompany and assist my parents in the fields and going to the market to sell our products along with my parents which was several miles away.

The following example may give an insight of children among the present generation whose responsibility requirements in early years are moderate and parents probably expect less from their children as compared to earlier generations.:

Case 26 Mrs M - age 31 years - of the third generation, mother of five children (one daughter and four sons), says, "It's nice and useful having a daughter. My daughter aged six years often helps around with light chores like washing the cups and saucers, or at times, sweeps the house. I must admit - that this is allowed only outside her study time. But my elder son aged ten years is ignorant ^{even} of the simplest ^{of} household task;. . . Getting him to fetch the basket of kwai or pan (betel nut and leaf) or to pass on small household articles is done rather reluctantly and never to be put back in its proper place and at times he does not respond to my call; on the contrary he continues playing ignoring and pretending he had not heard and though at times I abuse and rebuke him, often I let go knowing it is pointless punishing him. But I must say that going to the

shop is most willingly offered and done by him even if one of the other kids is being asked."

The present study analyses the responses of mothers on their adolescent children's participation in the household tasks and activities of the family.

A statistical analysis and study of Tables 5.9b to 5.9e show as responded by mothers, to what extent are adolescent children entrusted with household duties. Table 5.9b shows the overall participation of sons and daughters in household chores and activities. Table 5.9c - 5.9e gives the breakup of the extent of children's participation in the various household chores and activities.

The different types of household tasks and activities studied are:

1. Indoor: Activities which are carried out within the house, including kitchen chores and looking after younger siblings.

2. Outdoor: Activities which are carried outside the house, such as yard work, gardening and household repair, herding the cattle, poultry and piggery care, chop and fetch firewood, running on errands, payment of bills etc.

3. Household marketing: Day to day marketing.

To what extent do adolescent children help and assist in the family with *the various* tasks is analysed and presented in Table 5.9b.

Table 5.9b

Children's Overall Participation in Indoor and Outdoor Household Chores and Activities

Gene- ration	N	N ¹	N ²	A		B	
		S	D	S	D	S	D
I	142	74	68	40 (54)	68 (100)	74 (100)	30 (44)
II	157	80	77	41 (51)	75 (97)	67 (84)	25 (32)
III	121	67	54	12 (18)	52 (96)	36 (54)	8 (15)

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage

N = Total number of children.

N¹ = Total number of sons.

N² = Total number of daughters.

A = Indoor tasks and activities.

B = Outdoor tasks and activities.

S = Sons; D = Daughters.

It is observed that as generation advances, percentage of children assisting with all chores and activities is decreasing from one generation to the next. Table 5.9c reveals that percentage of daughters assisting with indoor chores to a 'great extent' is significantly high in all the generations as compared to that of sons. To a 'great extent' this percentage consists of 94 and 86 per cent of daughters as against 24 and 19 per cent sons in the

first and second generation respectively. It is significant to note that percentage of sons assisting to a 'a great" and 'some' extent in the third generation appears to be totally absent as compared to 74 per cent daughters who to 'a great' extent and 15 per cent to 'some' extent in the third generation (present generation) assist in the house with indoor chores. However, it is also to be noted that percentage of daughters assisting to 'some' and 'little' extent appears to be increasing in the later generations as compared to the earliest generation, whereby daughters assisting in the house to 'little' extent is found to be totally nil. Nearly 50 per cent parents have not responded for 'sons' in the first and second generations and more than 80 per cent parents in the third generation (present generation), comparatively the 'no response' group for daughters is as low as 2 per cent in the second generation and consist of 4 per cent in the third generation.

The extent to which adolescent children help in the family with outdoor chores and activities is analysed and presented in Table 5.9d.

The figures in Table 5.9d bring out the fact that percentage of adolescent sons assisting with outdoor chores and activities to a 'great extent' consist of more than 93 and 65 per cent as compared to a negligible 18 and 9 per cent daughters in the first and second generation

Table 5.9c
Indoor Activities

Gener- ration	N	N ¹	N ²	A		B		C		D	
				S	D	S	D	S	D	S	D
I	142	74	68	18 (24)	64 (94)	13 (18)	4 (6)	9 (12)	0	44 (59)	0
II	157	80	77	15 (19)	66 (86)	10 (13)	7 (9)	16 (20)	2 (2)	39 (49)	2 (2)
III	121	67	54	0	40 (74)	0	8 (15)	12 (18)	4 (7)	55 (82)	2 (4)

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage

N = Total number of children.

N¹ = Total number of sons.

N² = Total number of daughters.

Responses

A = Great extent.

B = Some extent.

C = Little extent.

D = No response.

S = Sons; D = Daughters.

respectively. In comparison to the earlier generations, percentage of adolescent sons assisting to a 'great extent' with outdoor chores in the present generation (third generation) consist of 15 per cent only. Further, percentage of adolescent daughters helping to 'some' and 'little'

Table 5.9d

Outdoor Activities

Gener- ration	N	N ¹	N ²	A		B		C		D	
				S	D	S	D	S	D	S	D
I	142	74	68	69 (93)	12 (18)	5 (7)	14 (20)	0	4 (6)	0	38 (56)
II	157	80	77	52 (65)	7 (9)	9 (11)	12 (16)	6 (7)	6 (8)	13 (16)	42 (55)
III	121	67	54	10 (15)	0	15 (28)	0	11 (16)	8 (15)	31 (46)	46 (85)

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage

N = Total number of children.

N¹ = Total number of sons.

N² = Total number of daughters.

Responses

A = Great extent.

B = Some extent.

C = Little extent.

D = No response.

S = Sons; D = Daughters.

extent is comparatively higher than daughters assisting to a 'great' extent with outdoor chores and activities. It is also to be noted that adolescent daughters assisting to a 'great' and 'some' extent is totally absent in the third generation, with only 15 per cent assisting to a 'little'

extent. More than 50 per cent parents have not responded for daughters in the first and second generations and more than 80 per cent in the third generation. Whereas the 'no response' group of parents for sons is 16 per cent in the second generation and 46 per cent in the third generation (present generation).

Table 5.9e presents the data as responded by the parents on how often children are asked to do the day to day marketing of the family.

The general trend observed on the whole brings out the fact that the total percentage of parents who send their adolescent daughters 'always' or 'sometimes' is consistently higher than sending adolescent sons in all the generations. For example, percentage of parents who send 'always' consist of 9 per cent, 18 per cent and 25 per cent for daughters as against only 4 per cent sons in the second generation. Similarly, those parents who say send 'sometimes' consist of 53 per cent, 58 per cent and 61 per cent for daughters as against 19 per cent and 21 per cent for sons in the first, second and third generation respectively. It is further observed that percentage^{of parents} sending sons 'always' is found to be totally absent in the earliest and present generation. It is also to be noted that higher percentage of parents entrust adolescent sons to a 'little' extent only and this frequency appears to be increasing as generation advances.

Table 5.9e

Day to Day Household Marketing

Gener- ation	N	N ¹	N ²	A		B		C		D	
				S	D	S	D	S	D	S	D
I	142	74	68	0	6 (9)	14 (19)	36 (53)	40 (54)	9 (13)	20 (27)	17 (25)
II	157	80	77	3 (4)	14 (18)	15 (19)	45 (58)	44 (55)	3 (4)	18 (23)	15 (19)
III	121	67	54	0	17 (25)	14 (21)	33 (61)	38 (57)	2 (4)	15 (22)	2 (4)

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage

N = Total number of children.

N¹ = Total number of sons.

N² = Total number of daughters.

Responses

A = Always.

B = Sometimes.

C = Occasionally.

D = No response.

S = Sons; D = Daughters.

This percentage consists of 54 per cent, 55 per cent and 57 per cent in the first, second and third generation respectively. This proves that parents entrust adolescent daughters much more than sons with the household and day to day marketing.

The following examples may illustrate this point:

Case 27 - Mrs D - age 42 years - of the second generation, secondary but below graduate, a teacher by profession, mother of six children (4 sons and 2 daughters) says, "My elder daughter aged 16 years and ^{to my} younger sons (aged 18, 20, 23 and 25 years); does most of the weekly and household marketing, and ^{hot} my sons though at times I accompany her, but mostly she does it with the help of the maid, excepting for the monthly rice which is more or less seen to and collected by my sons. I must say that when I was a daughter aged about 19 years, I ^{too} accompanied my elder sister ^{(though} in the household marketing' Mrs D had two brothers who were elder to her and her sisters). Remarks Mrs D, "Similarly, in my mother's time too, mother did the marketing for the family, I can tell you, for she would often remark and tell us how she eagerly looked forward for going marketing, especially on 'Sngi Iewduh' (the market day in Bara Bazar which occurred once in eight days) and getting three to four fowls for just a Rupee, and buying of pears and peaches which my mother referred to as 'ki soh phareng' (fruits of the foreigners) and was much fond of, as mother would often recall of not having tasted such fruits prior to her coming and settling in Shillong from Mawphlang.

Case 28 - Mrs K - age 39 years - of the third generation, a literate, but below Matric, a housewife,

mother of six children (three sons and three daughters). I do the marketing for the family along with my eldest daughter, aged 18 years, including getting liquor for my husband which at times he tells me to get it for him, when I happen to go marketing."

Case 29 - age 52 years - of the second generation, a literate but below primary, is in trade by profession, mother of four children (2 sons and 2 daughters) says, "My two elder daughters see to the household marketing, including collecting the monthly rents for the houses that has been given out on rent." Mrs M has two sons aged 25 and 27 years who are elder to her daughters aged 23 and 21 years.

Table 5.9f presents the data, as responded by parents on the extent of their adolescent children's over all participation of the various household chores and activities in the family.

The general trend observed on the whole brings out the fact that the total percentage of adolescent children entrusted with household tasks 'to a great extent' in the third generation is nearly 62 per cent (namely 45 per cent sons and 83 per cent daughters) as compared to 86 per cent and 83 per cent (namely 84 per cent and 79 per cent sons and 88 per cent and 87 per cent daughter) in the first and second generation respectively. This proves the fact that

Table 5.9f

House Tasks assigned to Children and Adolescents by the Parents

Gene- ration	N	N ¹	N ²	A		B		C	
		S	D	S	D	S	D	S	D
I	142	74	68	62 (84)	60 (88)	12 (16)	8 (12)	0	0
II	157	80	77	63 (79)	67 (87)	12 (15)	10 (13)	5 (7)	0
III	121	67	54	30 (45)	45 (83)	21 (31)	9 (17)	16 (24)	

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage

N = Total number of children.

N¹ = Total number of sons.

N² = Total number of daughters.

A = To a great extent.

B = To some extent.

C = Little.

S = Sons; D = Daughters.

the majority of parents even in the third generation (present generation) do entrust adolescent children with household chores and tasks. However, a comparative study of responses reveals that percentage of adolescent children entrusted with household tasks, only to 'some' and 'little' extent appears to be increasing as generations advances.

A sex wise comparative study of the responses reveals that consistently in all the three generations, higher percentage of daughters than sons participate and are entrusted with household chores and tasks to a great extent. This percentage consists of 88 per cent, 87 per cent and 83 per cent for daughters as against 84 per cent, 79 per cent and 45 per cent for sons in the first, second and third generation respectively. It is further observed that among those parents who say 'to a great extent' and 'to some extent', the percentage difference between sons and daughters is more wide in the third generation (present generation) as compared to the earlier generations. The percentage 'to a great extent' consists of 79 per cent and 45 per cent for sons as against 87 per cent and 83 per cent for daughters, and 'to some extent' this percentage consists of 15 per cent and 31 per cent for sons as against 13 per cent and 17 per cent for daughters in the second and third generation respectively. The other significant difference worth observing is that, adolescent children entrusted with and participating in household tasks and chores to a 'little extent' consists of 7 per cent and 24 per cent in the case of sons in the second and third generations respectively.

Table 5.9g gives an insight into the attitude of the adolescents towards domestic responsibilities entrusted on them, as responded by their parents. Table 5.9h gives us

information on the attitudes and reaction of the parents towards the household tasks and responsibilities performed by their adolescent children.

Table 5.9g reveals that percentage of children in the third generation (present generation) who shoulder responsibility 'always' - without any 'grudge or anger' consist of 78 per cent daughters in the third generation (present generation) as compared to 78 per cent and 60 per cent for sons and 88 per cent and 81 per cent daughters in the first and second generation respectively.

A sex wise comparative study of the responses reveals that in the third generation (present generation) adolescent sons helping parents in the household work 'always - without any grudge or anger' is found to be totally absent, only 18 per cent sons are found to help 'at times - without any grudge or anger'. Secondly, in the third generation (present generation), shouldering of responsibility of domestic work by sons 'always' - only when 'insisted or forced' and having to be 'reminded' consist of 42 per cent as compared to this trend being totally absent in the first and second generations. It is also of much significance to note that among daughters ^{too} in the third generation (present generation), 22 per cent shoulder responsibility of domestic work by 'having to be reminded at times.'

Table 5.9g

Attitude of adolescent Children in complying with the Household Tasks

Gener- eration	N	N ¹	N ²	R	A		B		C		D	
					S	D	S	D	S	D	S	D
I	142	74	68	1	58 (78)	60 (88)						
				2						16 (22)	8 (12)	
II	157	80	77	1	48 (60)	62 (81)						
				2						32 (40)	15 (20)	
III	121	67	54	1		42 (78)	28 (42)	(12)			27 (40)	
				2	12 (18)							12 (22)

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage

N = Total number of children.

S = Sons.

N¹ = Total number of sons.

D = Daughters.

N² = Total number of daughters.

Attitudes of adolescent children

A = Without any grudge or anger.

B = Only when insisted or forced.

C = When feels inclined to, i.e. no matter how much you (parents) crib or nag.

D = Always have to be reminded.

R = Responses: 1 = Always; 2 = Sometimes.

The figures in Table 5.9h show a good percentage of 'no response' among the first and second generation (namely 43 per cent and 38 per cent) as compared to 38 per cent children whose parents responded of being 'happy' in their children's participation of household responsibilities and tasks in the third generation (present generation). The following remarks may illustrate the percentage of responses of parents in the first and second generations who have abstained from responding. Mothers of the first and second generations remarked, "In our time training of children to

Table 5.9h

Attitudes and Reaction of Parents towards their Adolescents Children complying by the Household Responsibilities and Tasks

Gene-ration	N	A	B	C	D
I	142	30 (21)	39 (27)	12 (8)	61 (43)
II	157	39 (25)	41 (26)	18 (11)	59 (38)
III	121	46 (38)	49 (40)	26 (21)	0

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage

N = Total number of children.

Responses of Parents

A = 'Happy'; B = 'So so'; C = 'Unhappy'; D = No response

participate in household responsibilities and tasks was not so much a question of parents being happy or unhappy or of reward and punishment, but it was our duty to contribute to the general domestic welfare which was largely determined by the prevailing social and economic conditions of our time."

Whereas the differential view of being 'happy' observed in the responses of parents in the third generation (present generation) could be attributed to the fact that children (particularly daughters) side by side with their day to day studies and along with other social and school recreational activities, significant percentage of children assist and participate in household responsibilities and tasks. This factor is further supported by the analysis of the data in Table 5.9g. It can further be assumed that responsibility requirements expected from children are far more moderate, leading to parents expecting less from their children as compared to earlier generations.

Thus the study of Tables 5.9 to 5.9h, reveals, that consistently higher percentage of daughters than sons in all the generations, shoulder the responsibility of domestic chores and household work. However, it is to be noted that difference between sons and daughters is significantly wide particularly in the present generation (third generation) as compared to the negligible differences in percentage among

the earlier generation between adolescent sons and daughters. The study further reveals that these chores and tasks ~~are~~ the present generation are more effectively shouldered and participated by adolescent daughters than sons. A further study of the Tables show that adolescent sons among the present generation appears to have developed a weaker sense of responsibility in shouldering household duties though responsibility is emphasized on both adolescent sons and daughters. It may also be a fact that the parents may entrust the duties to only those children who are happy to undertake. This factor is further supported by the analysis of the data in Table 5.9g (happy/unhappy/so so) and Table 5.9f (children's participation in household tasks and activities). The figures throughout the Tables on household duties and activities show a good percentage of 'no response' group for adolescent sons in the present generation (third generation). It may be assumed here that this group of parents may have abstained from responding as their adolescent sons may not be happy to cooperate in attending to the day to day routine of household duties and thereby parents not wanting to reveal in their son's unwillingness in helping out.

The following case sums up the feeling of many mothers towards their adolescent son's lack of responsibility in household duties and activities:

Case 30 Mrs S - age 49 years - of the third generation, a graduate and a teacher by profession, mother of seven children (5 sons and 2 daughters) says, "I have five adolescent sons (aged 16 to 26 years), all of them are attending college except for the youngest who has appeared for his School Leaving Examinations. But I must admit that it is as good as not having them around when it comes to them lending a hand towards household tasks. In the morning when they are hardly out of bed, I find their friends are already on their doorsteps and off they go for there so-called football practice (they belong to some forsaken sports club). No sooner are they back, then it is time to rush for college, and it's evening when I get to see them around in the house. Back home, it's one or the other of their friends dropping in and out, till late in the evenings. So, where is the time for them to study, leave alone lending a helping hand. It takes ages just to get them to do small tasks - it's been nearly two three weeks now, that they have been reminded time and time again to get the cooking gas cylinder for the house, that too is a squabble between them, each asking the other to get it and eventually it will have to be their father or me who will have to get it. It really does not make any difference to them, no matter how much I crib and shout. Why ! Even to collect the newspaper for their father once in a while is often 'I

forget.' But I tell you it's nice having daughters around. They are younger (aged 14 to 16 years) to my sons. They are around most of the time and does help out with small tasks, though I have a hired help who does most of the chores and tasks."

The following is an example of an adolescent daughter having a deep sense of responsibility and extensively participating in household duties and activities among the present generation.

Case 31 - Mrs Q - age 38 years - of the third generation, a literate but below primary, a single parent, is in trade by profession and mother of four children (two sons and two daughters) says, "Life has been one long struggle. My husband left me when the youngest child was just a year old. Since then my children and myself have become more dependent on my mother, who had been looking after us until a couple of years back, today she is no longer there. All along I had taken up several odd jobs to see through my children's education. A couple of years back, I was able to open a grocery shop with the help of my mother. The shop is doing quite well now and life is better and easier. Though I must admit that much of it has been possible because of the help and support of my eldest daughter (aged 19 years) who is attending college. To a relatively large extent, the household tasks is being shouldered by her as I

have to attend to the shop throughout the day. Right from stocking up the firewood for cooking with the help of the younger ones to keeping an eye on them including helping out in their studies, to doing the cooking and washing in the morning, and accompanying me for weekly marketing is mostly done by her. It is only in the evenings, after closing down that I go home and take over the household chores, so that they can get on with their studies." Mrs Q remarked "A lot of burden has been eased off my shoulder by my eldest daughter. In fact when she was just five to six years old, she started helping me with small household chores and errands."

The following is an example of adolescent children, both sons and daughters, brought up with a deep sense of responsibility towards the family.

Case 32 Miss L - age 25 years - a daughter of the third generation, a graduate and is in service says, "We children hardly try to escape any duty at home nor do my brothers and sisters. Right from when we were kids., each of us in the family were given responsibility according to our ability. For all of us, family responsibility is only a natural sequence of early life and we are not upset by them. Take for example my younger brothers, aged 16 and 18 years. Their duty is to see that they fetch water every morning and evening from the nearby tap and fill up the vessels and

buckets in the house and they do not have to be reminded of their duty. On the other hand, we elder daughters help and assist and partially take over the cooking from mother mostly in the evenings. Having to cook for us eight children in the family is not an easy task and the morning meals have to get ready on time, so that my younger brothers and sisters can take their meals before leaving for school and college. In fact, each of us do our share of work according to our ability and without any grudge or anger." Remarks Miss L, "Mother and father had worked very hard to bring the eight of us up. So today, though three of us are earning, and can easily afford servants and hired help, but the circumstances under which we were brought up will not allow us to do so." Further Miss L related ":If father and mother can do it all on their own, when we children were mere kids, then why not now when we are eight grown up children in the family."

PARENTAL ATTITUDE TOWARDS INCULCATING RESPONSIBILITY AND TRAINING IN THEIR CHILDREN AND ADOLESCENTS

In every society parents aims at raising their children to become adults capable of assuming desired roles and being integrated into the social system. Consequently, one can expect that within any given social group, within a

common period of time, there will be similarities in goals and aspirations which the parents hold for their children, for their times provide common points of reference that are central to their lives.

All societies, past and present, have some form and particular type of social differentiation. The parents whilst socializing their children with a perspective of inculcating in them a sense of responsibility, expectations of parents for their children may differ. Parents may adopt to the need of the younger generation and towards the culture that prevails. As a result, parents may not necessarily aspire to follow the attitudes and belief in the values of their fathers and forefathers.

Based on this assumption, parents were asked to give their views on the following. In this section, the aspect studied are:

1. Age from when responsibility training in children in household duties and tasks is inculcated (Table 5.10).

2. Methods adopted by the parents, in developing responsibility training in children (Table 5.10a).

3. Reasons for inducting responsibility training in children.

Table 5.10 shows that in the first generation, nearly 70 per cent children were inculcated with responsibility training 'when comparatively young', whereas

in the third generation (present generation), higher percentage (42 per cent) of parents expressed that 'when children reach the age of reason they will be taught to assume responsibility, i.e responsibility training in children is put off until a later date when children are seriously expected to contribute to the tasks and duties at home, unlike the earlier generations. It is also to be noted that a small percentage of parents in the second and third generation, namely 13 per cent and 17 per cent respectively are of the view that 'responsibility training is related to the economic condition and income of the family.' It can be assumed that in such families, participation in family's household routine by children is not required as there is much scope to employ hired help in assisting with household tasks and chores as they are economically well-off. However, Table 5.10 viewed as a whole shows that irrespective of generation, significant percentage of parents inculcate responsibility training in their children when comparatively young. Secondly, it is also to be noted that even in families which are economically well-off, where there are servants in the house, majority of the parents responded by saying that children do the tasks assigned to them including their studies, except for a negligible percentage of parents who responded by saying 'responsibility training is related to the economic condition and income of the family.'

Table 5.10

Age and reason from when Responsibility in Household Duties and Tasks should be Inculcated in Children

Gene-ration	N	A	B	C
I	142	98 (69)	44 (31)	0
II	157	78 (50)	58 (37)	21 (13)
III	121	49 (40)	51 (42)	21 (17)

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage

N = Total number of children.

Responses of Parents

A = When comparatively young.

B = When they reach the age of reason, they will be taught to assume responsibility - i.e. until a later date.

C = Responsibility training is related to the economic condition and income of the family.

The following case illustrates and sums up the significance of inculcating responsibility training in children, where families are well-off.

Case 33 Mrs L - age 33 years, of the third generation, secondary and in service by profession, a mother of two children says, "I was brought up in a family where my parents had three servants. But still we children had a lot to do. We were trained in all household work. Sometimes when

a servant was away then we had to run the house completely by ourselves, and took over partial charge of my younger sisters including their feeding, as mother was out of the house throughout the day (she was in trade by profession). In this way, we children were trained in the maid's work of sweeping, washing clothes and grinding grain. While my brother had to look after the piggery, feed the pigs and chicken too. Today, I am married and away from my mother's house, but I am able to manage the house by myself, I do not have any servants or hired help for I cannot afford to though ~~mother~~ often sends ^{the} servants to assist me once in a while.

It is seen from Table 5.10a that children's responsibility in performing household activities and tasks is gradually decreasing as generations advance. This can be seen in the percentage difference in the responses of parents between the first and second generations, namely 68 per cent and 48 per cent respectively, who opined that responsibility training in children has been developed with 'no conscious training' as compared to only 26 per cent in the third generation (present generation). It is further observed that as generations advance, higher percentage of children are being made to perform household duties and tasks by being 'nagged and reminded constantly', namely 15 per cent, 21 per cent and 30 per cent in the first, second

and third generation respectively. It is also remarkable to note that as compared to earlier generations, parents of the later generations (15 per cent) are showing preference for developing sense of responsibility in children by explaining their request for obedience rather than forcing their wish

Table 5.10a

Methods adopted by Parents for Inducting Responsibility Training in Children

Gene- ration	N	A	B	C	D	E	F
I	142	0	24 (17)	0	96 (68)	0	22 (15)
II	157	20 (13)	20 (13)	0	75 (48)	9 (6)	33 (21)
III	121	18 (15)	8 (7)	18 (15)	32 (26)	9 (7)	36 (30)

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage

N = Total number of students.

Methods adopted

A = By instilling fear.

B = By forcing your wish.

C = By explaining your request for obedience.

D = No concious training.

E = Incentives.

F = Nagging and reminding constantly.

upon their children which consist of 17 per cent and 13 per cent in the first and second generation respectively. Finally, it is seen that in the second and third generations, 13 per cent and 15 per cent parents respectively, make children develop a sense of responsibility by 'instilling fear' as compared to this aspect being totally absent in the earliest generation.

The figures in Table 5.10b show the views of the parents for inducting responsibility training in their children.

Majority of the parents in the first (46 per cent) and second (41 per cent) generations are of the view that goal for inducting responsibility is to make children 'hard-working so as to be of practical use to the family and train to replace adults gradually', being followed by a slightly lower percentage of parents who expressed that responsibility training is inducted to make 'children useful and respected members of the society so as to develop a sense of responsibility and turn into good citizens', namely 34 per cent and 13 per cent in the first and second generation respectively. Whereas ~~in~~ the third generation (present generation), highest percentage (56 per cent) are of the view that responsibility training should be inducted 'to make children hard-working so as to achieve economic

Table 5.10b

Reasons for Inducting Responsibility in Children

Gene- ration	N	A	B	C	D
I	142	0	48 (34)	28 (20)	66 (46)
II	157	34 (22)	20 (13)	38 (24)	65 (41)
III	121	68 (56)	10 (8)	43 (36)	0

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentages

N = Total number of children.

Reasons for inducting responsibility in children

A = To make children hard working so as to achieve economic security.

B = Useful and respected members of society.

C = To develop a sense of responsibility and turn into good respected citizens.

D = To be hard working so as to be of practical use to the family and train to replace adults gradually.

security.' It is also significant to note that 36 per cent parents in the third generation (present generation) are of the view that responsibility should be inducted so that children grow up 'to develop a sense of responsibility and turn into good citizens.' Some insight into the extent to which such responsibility training should be imbibed has been obtained from some excerpts from ^{the} interviews.

Case 34 Mr B - age 46 years - of the second generation, secondary but below graduate, is in service by profession, remarks "As a father and parent of three grown up sons who are on the verge of going for college studies, I believe that the primary purpose of responsibility training should be to develop attitudes and values which will first of all make children aware of their rights, obligations, duties and responsibilities as adults and citizens of the community and state. As parents we have to train our children to be good responsible citizens or else tomorrow they will be a part of mob activities, and student agitation and unrest which have become so common a routine, and I for one certainly do not want my sons to go to college and turn out to be a rowdy type of youths." Parents with this fear in mind may expect that education today should train children to be good responsible citizens, hence we find significant percentage under this study who have agreed and responded that the reasons for responsibility training should be to prepare their children to be good citizens.

The overall view of the analysis of data, presented in Tables 5.10 to 5.10b reveals that majority of children among the earlier generations were apt to be inducted with, and given more extensive duties of responsibility training at a much earlier age so as to train them to be of practical

use to the family. The study also reveals that in the present generation, the most important determinant of parental desires for inducting responsibility training in their adolescent children is to make them hard working so as to attain educational qualification. It is, therefore, quite reasonable to assume that among the earlier generations, children were taught to be of practical use to the family which was a much needed quality in the early years because of their social and economic pattern. Harsh conditions of life were instrumental in making the parents instruct children in helping out with their more extensive duties without the minimum supervision. Children were put into harness at a very early age so that they could be of practical use to the family and were trained to replace adults gradually. Whereas parents among the present generation, having realised the necessity of educating their children may put pressure on children, so as to make them attain the necessary educational qualification by creating interest in their children and thus motivating them to achieve education as required and aspired by parents. Coupled with the growing ambition of parents to produce well qualified children to replace them in the social system and preferring children to enter non-manual rather than manual occupation, parents motivate children to complete the long years of schooling so that they may perform adequately in

their occupational roles and this can be achieved only through education. This may be one of the reasons, as to higher percentage of the parents among the present generation, have responded by saying when children reach the age of reason they will be taught to assume responsibility - i.e. responsibility training in children is put off until a later date when children are seriously expected to contribute to the tasks and duties at home, unlike the earlier generation, rather parents, "induct responsibility training to make their children hard working so as to obtain educational qualification and thereby achieve economic security. This fact is further supported by the analysis of the data in Table 5.7. It may also be a fact that among the later generation, responsibility requirements in the early years being moderate, children do not have as many chores and extensive tasks as children of the earlier generations. Thus it may be assumed that parents expect less from their children and put off responsibility training until a later date, resulting in significant percentage of parents among the present generation who have responded that responsibility training in household chores and activities have to be developed either by 'nagging and reminding' or by 'instilling fear', unlike the earlier generations showing majority of children developing responsibility by 'no conscious training.' Insight into this aspect of

responsibility training among the earlier and later generations gains further support from the analysis of the data on Tables 5.9f to 5.10a.

The following are examples of children brought up with a deep sense of responsibility and obligation towards their family and attitudes of parents among the earlier generation showing that education was not of much value whereas to earn and be of practical use to the family was of prime importance, unlike the attitude of parents in the later generations.

case 35 Mrs J - age 50 years - of the second generation, secondary but below graduate, is in service by profession, and a mother of four children (2 sons and 2 daughters) says, "As I was the eldest daughter (in a family of five children), I was pushed into taking up the household responsibility at a very young age as early as possible. I had a lot of work around the house and as my parents were often away in the market (was in trade by profession), I had to bear the additional burden. I had to take over the marketing and also attend to my studies, ^{for} which I could scarcely avail ~~of~~ time. Under such adverse circumstances too, not only did I get through my school but studied up to my second year in college. I was obedient and faithful and did nothing to displease my parents. For example, when I was in my second year of college, I still can recall the day

before my final examinations, my mother asked me to go to the market to get rice, which meant that a couple of hours would be gone by the time I went and got back, as the market was miles away. But I did not have the courage to disobey my mother. So I went, there was no alternative. I must also admit that I was fond of betel nut and tobacco, but I did not have the courage to chew in the presence of my parents and elders as my parents strongly disapproved of, so I would often chew in secret even though I was about 16-17 years of age at that time. I never could go against the wishes of my parents and they were proud of us children. Never did our parents even address us children derogatorily as 'Pha' (a feminine gender of 'you'). In contrast, in spite of us parents showing keen interest and concern in the children's educational future, it does not occur to my children in the least to make an effort to benefit from all the facilities that is being provided to them, much of which we had to 'go' and 'do' without as children. But the little that is expected of them, now that they are grown up 'adolescents', towards household duties and activities, it is much resented by them. They lack the responsibility in performing small tasks assigned to them. For instance, after constant reminding and nagging for several days now, my eldest son, aged 21 years, has finally got round to going and paying the grocery and electricity bills. But they rather wait for me

to get it or do it for them. Often I get abusive and derogatory by addressing them as 'Pha', as they are so apt in speaking back and showing their resentment. Children do not owe the same loyalty towards parents as we did." Mrs J resignedly admitted "But I suppose so long as they worked hard and got on with their studies, they can at least benefit from it later in life when they apply for a job, and that is all that I'm asking and longing for."

Case 36 - Mrs Z - age 59 years - of the second generation, a widow, retired from service, and mother of four children (three daughters and one son) says, "I was the third eldest child in a family of eight children. My father died when I was in class six and though I wanted to continue with my studies, I could not. I had to drop out of school when I was in class seven. My family needed me to go and earn. So I opted for a nursing career so that the sooner I earned wages, I could be of some help to the family. Even after I got married and settled down, I carried on with my work and even though my husband expired when the children were still in high school, through thick and thin, I saw to it that my children got educated enough and had the minimum of qualification to get them into service. Only when my eldest two children got into service, I took voluntary retirement as a matron, and anyway just a few more years of service were left. Though only my son and eldest daughter

are graduates, the other two children having studied till their completion of second year in college. But nevertheless, they are all in service and are married and have settled down. Though my son had married, he is now separated from his wife and two children, and has come back home.

Case 37 Mrs N - age 53 years - of the second generation, secondary but below graduate, is in service by profession, and mother of four children (two sons and two daughters) says, "Father left us when we children were mere kids. I was three years old then and my mother was still carrying and expecting my younger brother. Before my father left us, my mother worked as an Ayah in the Deputy Commissioner's residence during the British time and father was the Commissioner's driver. When father left us, mother started working in a Norwegian missionary and earned Rs.40 per month. Fortunately by the grace of God, mother came in contact with some missionary brothers who after coming to know of our financial state, got us children admitted to schools free of cost. Many a days, mother went without meals, just taking the rice water and serving the rice to us children, and as we grew up and advanced in age, to give my brothers a filling meal, mother after kneading the atta would boil the atta balls so as to save fuel, for she could not afford to waste. As soon as my elder brother passed his

School Leaving Examinations, he took up a part time job. So also me; just after completing my Pre-University, I took up a teaching job in a school and slowly and gradually we could afford to see better times and no longer allowed mother to work." Mrs N further related "I do not ^{care} a lot for myself, the main thing is the children. We parents want to give them a better chance than we had." She added "I am not only ambitious for my children, and though I am working I am very particular, strict and consistent in my effort because I want to see them do well in life and stand on their own feet and be good in their chosen field. But over and above all, I have made my children realise it early in their life that we parents are giving them the best of what we have and can and so too we expect to get and see the same in return, for I don't want any children of mine hanging around. They have also been made to understand that there won't be a useless child, living ^{and leeching} off his parents from his house. The definite and consistent effort which the children have been taught to live up to seems to be paying off." As Mrs N confided "So far it's been okay with my elder children; they are doing well for themselves, but we don't know how the other two will do when their turn comes, but we are hoping that they do just as well."

Case 38 Miss C - age 19 years - of the fourth generation, a college going student says "After taking our

meals at night and in the morning, we children often take turns in cleaning up the dishes. We children really do not mind doing house work. But mother, most of the time, takes over and prefers to do it with the part time hired help than allow us children. Besides, she also sees to it and is very particular that whatever other household chores like dusting, polishing, cleaning of closets, dress drawers and cabinets are done in weekends and holidays and not otherwise." As mother of C puts it "Khie, leit pyndep shuwa ia la ki jong ki kamram" (go and do your duty first). What she actually means is that children's future as adults depends on their studies and school achievements.

THE METHOD OF DISCIPLINING AND CONTROL IN THE FAMILY

Parent-child relationship so far studied has been based on the extent of children's and adolescent's participation in household activities and the attitude of adolescents towards domestic responsibilities and the reaction and attitude of parents towards their children's participation. The second dimension studied is the attitude and views of parents for inducting and developing responsibility training in their adolescent children.

The third dimension on which the parent-child relationship has been being studied are the methods adopted by the

parents in disciplining children in specific circumstances. These aspects are analysed and studied in Tables 5.11 to 5.11h.

The factors studied and analysed are:

1. Disciplining and controlling authority at home.
2. Purpose for punishing children and disciplinary method adopted by parents for aggressive behaviour.

3. Reactions of parents when children and adolescents show anger and resentment towards parents, elder members and relatives (aggressive behaviour).

4. Disciplinary method adopted for aggressive behaviour - (a) when children lie and cheat, (b) when they exhibit temper tantrums, and (c) when they are rude (argue and speak back).

5. Disciplinary method adopted when children are disobedient - (a) do not comply by household duties and responsibilities, (b) do something you do not approve of, and (c) do not fare well in examinations.

6. Disciplinary method adopted by parents - (a) fighting with peers and siblings, and (b) when others complain.

The size of the family plays a definite role in the disciplinary actions of the parents towards their children. "In a study conducted at the William T. Carter Foundation revealed that two children family and six or more children

family brought forth, that modes of discipline to enforce authority varied greatly according to the size of the family. Physical punishment or the threat of it, was mentioned more frequently by members of large families than small families. However, the threat seemed to be sufficient to make the actuality occur seldom. In large families a single punishment was usually a deterrent to misbehaviour. Respondents from small families reported little use of physical punishment" (1966:38).

The figures in the Table 5.11 reveals that irrespective of generation, in majority of families under study, the percentage of mother controlled families are at a higher level. This percentage consists of 52 per cent, 50

Table 5.11
Disciplining and Controlling Authority at Home

Gene- ration	N	A	B	C	D
I	142	74 (52)	22 (15)	18 (13)	28 (20)
II	157	79 (50)	30 (19)	28 (18)	20 (13)
III	121	55 (45)	30 (25)	28 (23)	8 (7)

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage

N = Total number of children.

A = Mother; B = Father; C = Both; D = Any other person.

per cent and 45 per cent in the first, second and third generation respectively. Further, Table 5.11 shows that as generations advance, father controlling and disciplining children appears to be increasing when compared from the earliest (first generation) to the present generation (third generation). This percentage consists of 15 per cent in the first generation, which increases to 19 per cent in the second generation and consists of 25 per cent in the third generation. It is also to be noted that both parents controlling and disciplining children appears to be increasing from one generation to the next. For instance, this percentage consists of 13 per cent, 18 per cent and 23 per cent in the first, second and third generation respectively.

Table 5.11a viewed as a whole shows that majority of parents have responded by stating that 'to correct children' is the main purpose for punishing children. This percentage consists of 33 per cent, 35 per cent and 40 per cent in the first, second and third generation respectively. However, a comparative study of the responses for each of the purpose stated in Table 5.11a reveals that highest percentage (38 per cent) in the earliest generation stated that 'disobedience is followed by punishment without explanation', whereas in the second and third generations (present generation), higher percentage, namely 25 per cent

Table 5.11a
Purpose for Punishing Children

Gene-ration	N	Res-ponses	'A'	'B'	'C'	'D'	'E'
I	142	1	54 (38)	-	-	-	-
		2	-	-	-	28 (20)	47 (33)
		3	-	13 (9)	-	-	-
II	157	1	24 (13)	-	-	-	55 (35)
		2	-	16 (10)	40 (25)	-	-
		3	-	-	-	23 (14)	-
III	121	1	-	16 (13)	33 (27)	-	48 (40)
		2	11 (9)	-	-	13 (11)	-
		3	-	-	-	-	-

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage

N = Total number of children.

A = Disobedience should follow punishment without explanation.

B = To instill fear.

C = Conform to discipline and self-control.

D = Disgrace and shame to the family

E = To correct the child.

Responses: 1 - To a great extent.

2 - To some extent. 3 - To a little extent.

and 27 per cent respectively, stated that children are made aware that punishment is given so as to make 'children conform to discipline and self control.' The other factor revealed is that though a small percentage of parents said that 'disgrace and shame to the family is the main purpose for them punishing children', the Table shows that percentage in this respect is higher among the earlier generations than in the later generation, namely 20 per cent, 14 per cent and 11 per cent in the first, second and third generation respectively. It is further observed that as generations advance, percentage of parents who said that the main purpose for punishing children is to 'instill fear in children' appears to be gradually increasing from one generation to the next. This percentage consists of 9 per cent to a 'little extent' in the first generation, which increases to 10 per cent to 'some extent' in the second generation and 13 per cent to a 'great extent' in the third generation.

TRAINING AGAINST AGGRESSION

Training against aggression of any kind plays an important part in controlling the behaviour of children. "Behaviour intended to anger, hurt, harm or irritate another is generally considered aggression and is engaged in more by boys than girls" (Clarke - Stewart and Koch, 1983).

To study parental behaviour and attitude towards younger children's aggression when at times they give vent to their resentment and anger against some actions of their parents and elders and secondly, to study aggression directed at adults by adolescent children. A comparative study of these factors is presented in Table 5.11b to 5.11c.

It is evident from Table 5.11b that by and large, irrespective of generation, majority of parents discourage outbreaks of anger and aggressive behaviour even among children in their childhood 'which is at once stopped sternly, if there is any positive tendency in this direction,' i.e. if repeated often. It is further observed that as compared to earlier generations, in the third generation (present generation), higher percentage (29 per cent) children's parents tend to be moderate in dealing with aggressive behaviour of young children 'to some extent by trying to reason with the angry child and teach him/her to control their feeling as far as possible.' Whereas this method being adopted by parents of the earliest generation appears to be totally absent. In fact, Table 5.11b shows that any 'positive tendency' of aggressive behaviour in this direction by the children at this stage was at once stopped sternly. This percentage consists of 72 per cent in the

Table 5.11b

Reaction of Parents when Children (childhood stage) show Anger, Resentment towards Parents/Elder Members/Relatives

Gene-ration	N	Res-ponses	'A'	'B'	'C'	'D'
I	142	1	-	102 (72)	-	-
		2	-	-	28 (20)	-
		3	12 (8)	-	-	-
II	157	1	-	92 (59)	-	-
		2	-	-	35 (22)	-
		3	30 (19)	-	-	-
III	121	1	-	58 (48)	-	-
		2	28 (23)	-	35 (29)	-
		3	-	-	-	-

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage

N = Total number of children.

A = Ignored if not repeated often.

B = Positive tendency in this direction is at once stopped sternly.

C = Reason with the angry child and teach children to control feeling as far as possible.

D = Consider it funny and are amused by it.

Responses: 1 - To a great extent.

2 - To some extent. 3 - To little extent.

first generation, which decreases to 59 per cent in the second generation and consists of 48 per cent in the third generation. Further, it can also be seen that in the third generation, significant percentage (23 per cent) of children whose parents are of the opinion that "to 'some extent' such behaviour may be ignored if the child does not repeat it often," as compared to a negligible percentage of 8 per cent and 19 per cent 'to a 'very little extent'" in the first and second generation respectively.

Table 5.11c on the whole reveals that any attempt of aggressive behaviour or display of anger and resentment against elders by adolescent children is strongly disapproved of. This is evident from Table 5.11c showing majority of parents irrespective of generations "teach children not to argue and speak back whatever may be the cause of anger or situations." This percentage consists of 80 per cent, 73 per cent and 61 per cent in the first, second and third generation respectively. It is also to be noted that percentage of parents who consider aggression directed at adults "as a grave offense" consist of 20 per cent and 17 per cent in the first and second generation respectively as compared to responses on this aspect consisting of 11 per cent to a very 'little extent' in the third generation (present generation). Significantly, 10 per cent and 28 per cent children's parents of the second and

Table 5.11c

Reaction of Parents when Adolescent Children show Anger,
Resentment towards Parents/Elder Members/Relatives

Gene-ration	N	Res-ponses	'A'	'B'	'C'
I	142	1	-	114 (80)	-
		2	28 (20)	-	-
		3	-	-	-
II	157	1	-	115 (73)	-
		2	26 (17)	-	-
		3	-	-	16 (10)
III	121	1	-	74 (61)	-
		2	-	-	-
		3	13 (11)	-	34 (28)

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage

N = Total number of children.

A = Consider it a grave offence which cannot be pardoned and subjected to severe punishment.

B = Taught not to argue even if they (elders) are wrong, i.e. whatever may be the cause or reason, but children taught/told to place their (adolescent children) point of view politely.

C = Parental reprimanding/scolding necessary depending on the relative status or the person concerned.

Responses:

2 - To some extent;

1 - To a great extent;

3 - To little extent.

third generations respectively, are of the opinion that "to a little extent," severity with which such behaviour is punished depends on the status of the person against whom the aggression is directed. Whereas parental response in the earliest generation dealing with adolescent children's aggressive behaviour on this aspect is totally nil. The following is an example to illustrate parent's flexibility in handling children's aggressive behaviour.

Case 39 Miss P - age 24 years - of the third generation, a graduate and in service by occupation, talks of her maternal uncle (whom they fondly address as 'Mamaton'), "Mamaton who more or less is dependent on my mother, has for the past several years been living with us, since he left his second wife and children, he and his two children from his first wife (who is dead) have come to live with us. Mamaton is always so disapproving towards our friends and the way we dress. Every now and then, we (Miss P and siblings) have arguments and tell him 'to mind his business.' All this goes on with my mother being around but mother neither reprimands nor makes an issue of it and we children consider it as the done thing. But it's a different thing altogether when my eldest brother (who is married) happens to make the same remarks. Mom is fast and quick to ask us to 'shut up' if ever we argue or tell him otherwise."

Thus the two Tables (Tables 5.11b and 5.11c) viewed together brings out the fact that by and large parental attitudes towards children's aggressive behaviour is considered to be an undesirable aspect of social behaviour. However, differences in attitudes is observed in a small percentage among the second and third generation. It appears from the data that there is an indication of difference and flexibility in modes of dealing with aggressive behaviour as generation advances.

METHODS OF REWARDING CHILDREN

Parents expect their children to behave well. To channelise them to good behaviour, parents lay down certain rules and regulations for the children to follow. They expect children to adhere to these rules and regulations. So just as punishing is essential to discipline a child when children misbehaves, rewarding children for good behaviour or a good action is an equally important disciplinary device. While ^{parents} usually recognizes children's good performance like being obedient, behaving well and being successful in examinations, by rewarding children in one way or another; at the same time, some parents may not do anything and ~~may even~~ ignore children's good performance as some would ignore bad performance. "Reward is a positive incentive to right conduct, good

behaviour and good performance. It stimulates and strengthens right impulses and directs them into desirable channels. It also stimulates children to put in their best work. This gives great pleasure more than anything else. Thus the reward tends to strengthen the purpose of good parent-child relationship" (Baldwin, Kalhorn and Breese: 1949:313).

Table 5.11d and 5.11e presents the data on the methods of rewarding children by the parents for obedience, good behaviour and for success in examinations.

Table 5.11d

Rewarding Children - (a) Do you Reward your Children

Gene-ration	N	'A'	'B'	'C'
I	142	44 (31)	48 (34)	50 (35)
II	157	98 (62)	27 (17)	32 (20)
III	121	99 (82)	18 (15)	4 (3)

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage

N = Total number of children.

A = Yes - Number of children rewarded.

B = No - Number of children not rewarded.

C = No response.

Table 5.11d shows that as generations advances, rewarding children appears to be increasing. For example, this percentage consist of only 31 per cent in the first generation, which further increases to 62 per cent in the second generation and 82 per cent in the third generation. It is also to be noted that among the earliest generation more than 35 per cent have abstained from responding and 34 per cent have responded by saying that they were never rewarded. Compared to the earlier generation, among the present generation, a negligible 15 per cent families have responded by saying that they do nothing to reward children. (This factor is further supported by the analysis of the data in Tables 5.9b - 5.9e). This explains reasons for rewarding and not rewarding children among the earlier and later generations.

Table 5.11e gives a break up, showing the various mode of rewarding children. The general trend of parents is the earlier generation, on the whole, was to praise children when they were obedient. A comparative study reveals that among those parents who praise their children the percentage is higher in the first generation (31 per cent) and second generation (29 per cent). Whereas, in the present generation (third generation) modes of rewarding children by 'satisfying childrens' wants' consist of 14 per cent and 26 per cent and 'celebrating children's success' consist of 20

Table 5.11e

Rewarding Children : If Yes - How are Children Rewarded

Gene-ration	N	N ¹	'A'	'B'	'C'
I	142	44 (31)	44 (31)	-	-
II	157	98 (62)	45 (29)	22 (14)	31 (20)
III	121	99 (82)	33 (27)	31 (26)	35 (29)

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage

N = Total.

N¹ = Total number of children.

Responses

A = By praising.

B = Satisfying children's wants.

C = Celebrating their success.

D = Any other (specify).

per cent and 29 per cent in the second and third generation (present generation) respectively. The following excerpts from interviews may sum and illustrate parents rewarding children, other than by praising among the later generations.

Case 44 Mr M - age 38 years - of the third generation, secondary but below graduate, is in service by profession, father of five children (3 sons and 2 daughters)

says, "I promised my elder son that I would give him a pair of football boots which he was longing for and had been asking me for quite sometime, on condition that he makes it within first - fifth position during his final examinations. However, he stood ninth but nevertheless I gave him the boots as promised because from not having secured any position during his quarterly and mid-term examinations to securing ninth position is quite an achievement."

Case 45 Mrs Y - age 42 years - of the third generation, literate but below secondary, housewife and mother of four children (1 son and 3 daughters) says, "My eldest daughter, being the first in the family, who has successfully got through her School Leaving Examinations; the family celebrated her success by inviting close friends and relatives for dinner."

Case 46 Miss T - age 17 years - of the fourth generation, second eldest in a family of nine children says, "When I had been promoted to Class 10, I was praised by all in the family. Mother gave me money enough for four of us friends, to go for a movie and later to treat ourselves to snacks."

Thus, it may be assumed that the simplest and yet most effective reward being recognition in the form of praise, where majority of parents in the earlier generations adopted this method of rewarding children for being obedient

and for behaving well. However, in the later generations, it is seen that more than the child's obedience and good behaviour, the parents expect the child's good performance in their school examination, particularly success in the School Leaving Examination, is seen by parents as a step towards the future career of the child. Therefore, so long as responsibility of educating the children remains with the parents, they struggle in order to see their children get through successfully in their examinations and always nurture high hopes about the child's success. This attitude of the parents in the present generation (third generation), including large size families, whereby parents recognise children's success in the form of praise and by not ignoring, may influence the other children of the family to follow the footsteps of the rewarded child. In this way, the parents who have more children may discipline the whole family. Thus it appears from the data that majority of parents in the present generation (third generation) have realised the importance of rewarding the successful children and thus motivate them to achieve success in the future examination. Further, it is also seen that only a negligible few parents in the present generation ignore their children by doing nothing in such circumstances.

DISCIPLINARY METHODS ADOPTED BY PARENTS FOR PUNISHING CHILDREN FOR DISOBEDIENCE

Tables 5.11f to 5.11h studies and analyses the various methods adopted by parents for punishing children for disobedience. The Table 5.11f - 5.11h when viewed together reveals that in the earliest generations (first generation), majority of parents resorted to beating children straight away. Further, it is observed that in the earliest generation, highest percentage (74 per cent) resorted to spanking and beating children for aggressive behaviour, followed by 54 per cent being beaten for fighting and when others complain and 37 per cent for non-compliance by household duties and tasks. The Tables 5.11f - 5.11h also reveals that attitude of the parents in punishing children for aggressive behaviour have not undergone much changes when compared from the earliest generation to the present generation (third generation), this percentage consist of 74 per cent, 70 per cent and 64 per cent in the first, second and third generation respectively. This factor is further supported by the findings on Table 5.11b - 5.11c.

However, a comparative study of the responses of parents show the trend that as generation advances, the method of straight away beating the children for non-compliance by household tasks, failing in examinations, and secondly for fighting with peers and friends and when others

Table 5.11f

Disciplinary Method adopted for Aggressive Behaviour
 (a) When Children lie and Cheat, (b) Temper Tantrums,
 (c) Rudeness, Argue and Speak Back

Gene-ration	N	'A'	'B'	'C'	'D'
I	142	105 (74)	33 (23)	4 (3)	-
II	157	110 (70)	38 (24)	9 (6)	-
III	121	77 (64)	-	32 (26)	12 (10)

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage

N = Total number of children.

Responses

A = Straight away beat the children/child.

B = Scold/rebuke followed by threat/deprive/isolate.

C = Scold vehemently followed by abuse/curse/ridicule to instill fear.

D = Punishment followed by advice and suggest ways to improve.

complain, appears to be decreasing. For example, when compared from the earliest to the present generation, the Tables reveals that beating children for not complying by household duties and tasks consist of 37 per cent, 23 per cent and 13 per cent. Similarly, beating children for the latter consist of 54 per cent, 27 per cent and 12 per cent

in the first, second and third generation respectively. It is also significant to note that among the later generations parents punishing children by abusing and ridiculing consist of 6 per cent and 26 per cent for aggressive behaviour, 8 per cent and 23 per cent for non-compliance by household duties, tasks and for not faring well, and 20 per cent and 25 per cent for fighting and when others complain in the second and third generations respectively, in comparison such methods being adopted by parents among the earliest generation appears to be totally absent.

The data of the three Tables on disciplinary actions adopted by parents, namely Tables 5.11f to 5.11h, viewed together bring forth one common pattern that irrespective of generations, parents deal severely with children's aggressive behaviour by resorting to beating and spanking. It may thus be assumed that parents having to discipline a large number of children may adopt the method of punishing children by either spanking or beating, so that when one child receives such punishment, the other children take care not to be disobedient. This could be one of the method of disciplining the whole group. While in the other two circumstances - non-compliance by 'household duties and tasks' and does things 'you disapprove of' and secondly, 'fighting with others' and 'when others complain', higher percentage of parents among the later generations have

adopted the method of 'vehemently scolding by ridiculing' and 'abusing' and by severely threatening children to instill control and obedience in children. It may be a fact that repeated scolding and beating make children stubborn and also ignore, thereby children and adolescents do not

Table 5.11g

Disciplinary Method adopted by Parents when Children are Disobedient - (a) Do not comply by Request (Household and Domestic Chores and Tasks), (b) Does Something you do not approve of.

Gene-ration	N	'A'	'B'	'C'	'D'
I	142	52 (37)	90 (65)	-	-
II	157	36 (23)	109 (69)	12 (8)	-
III	121	16 (13)	54 (45)	28 (23)	23 (19)

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage

N = Total number of children.

Responses

A = Straight away beat the children/child.

B = Scold/rebuke followed by threat/deprive/isolate.

C = Scold vehemently followed by abuse/curse/ridicule to instill fear.

D = Punishment followed by advice and suggest ways to improve.

heed to the scolding and beating of parents. This may be one of the reasons why higher percentage of parents among the later generations as compared to the earliest generation has adopted the method of punishing children by abusing and ridiculing and by severe threats to instill fear. This fact gains further support and insight from Table 5.11a.

Finally, the analysis reveals that in the present generation (third generation), preference for punishing children followed by advising, is being adopted by 10 per cent and 19 per cent in all the three different circumstances of the present generation. Thus the three Tables viewed together brings out the fact that though by and large families are still traditional in their outlook, but nevertheless there is an indication of families adopting the method of advising their children by giving reasons. This is supported by the Tables showing that among the present generation, 13 per cent and 12 per cent straight away beat children for disobedience and non-compliance as against a higher percentage, namely 19 per cent parents in both circumstances punish children followed by advising. Parents may not spank the child as the child thus punished may feel that injustice has been done to him. He may create more problems than yield to the punishment. Hence this may be the reason that advising children by giving proper reasons and suggest ways to improve is being adopted by a

small percentage of parents in the present generation (third generation). It, therefore, appears that in the present generation, urban parents are realising the importance of democratic pattern in socialization process of their children. Sears, Maccoby and Lewis (1957:486) found that mothers who frequently resorted to corporal punishment which they combined with reasoning found themselves quite able to

Table 5.11h

Disciplinary Method adopted by Parents - (a) Fights with others, (b) When others Complain

Gene-ration	N	'A'	'B'	'C'	'D'
I	142	76 (54)	56 (93)	-	10 (7)
II	157	42 (27)	67 (43)	32 (20)	16 (10)
III	121	15 (12)	53 (44)	30 (25)	23 (19)

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage

N = Total number of children.

Responses

A = Straight away beat the children/child.

B = Scold/rebuke followed by threat/deprive/isolate.

C = Scold vehemently followed by abuse/curse/ridicule to instill fear.

D = Punishment followed by advice and suggest ways to improve.

control their children, whereas those who did not found that a beating did no good.

The following examples illustrates and gives an insight to the methods adopted by parents in disciplining and controlling children among the present generation.

Case 40 Mr H - age 45 years - of the second generation, a graduate and in service by profession, a father of five children (3 sons and 2 daughters) says, "I really had trouble getting my second son to regularly attend school. When in their childhood, my three sons would leave for school together every morning, but somehow the second son always managed to sneak out of school and would be back home the moment I left for office. This went on for quite sometime, but finally my wife disclosed to me having failed in her repeated attempts to persuade and goad him into going to school. The next day on, I caned him all the way to school and made it a point to see to it that he remained there throughout the day till school was over - I must admit, it did not bother me at that time that I had to absent myself from work for several days or that people and neighbours found it strange to see me dragging and beating my son to school - but what I was most anxious and worried about was to make my son get on with school and his studies. Now he is 15 years old and in Class 7 and it's all because

of the fear which was put in him that has made him stick to school and studies." Retorted Mr H "How does scolding or advising help ? Instead of immediate beating which is more painful and effective makes them count the cost and brings them to order. I will tell you what I think - if children today are to be controlled and disciplined 'properly' for them to get on well, at any rate they must go to school to learn and I for one would prefer to see my children work with their brains rather than with their hands. Punishment needs to be meted out or else you are sparing the rod and spoiling the child."

Case 41 Mrs S - age 43 years - of the third generation, secondary but below graduate, in service by profession, a single parent and mother of seven children (4 daughters and 3 sons) says, "I must admit that having to deal with seven children single handedly is not an easy task, each one is different in one way or the other. For instance, if one thing works for a few, for the others you have to think of some other ways. Picking up the stick or scolding my daughters and the younger one is enough and seems to work for they are sensitive enough. But you cannot scold or beat my adolescent sons, it does not seem to work. They tend to get cheeky and are more apt to 'talk back' without any feeling of guilt and go off on their own rather than admit and feel ashamed. Resorting to nagging and

cribbing appears to work on my sons, particularly in the presence of friends. Though at most times reluctant, I must admit, they comply much more to my nagging and ridiculing rather than to my scolding and beating.

Case 42 D - ^{son}aged 17 years - With much probing and prompting remarked, "Times when I get back home late in the evenings I must admit I consider myself 'lucky' having to face my mother rather than be caught by my father, for though mother often threatens and repeatedly warns 'I'll tell your father,' many times such threats of mother are never carried out for she dreads the excessive punishment that will be meted out on me by father, as mother often remarks when father at times comes down heavy on us children - 'Me te mem ju nang ban shoh ne sneng ia ki khun, me tang shu la ioh ban bom lane shoh i kumba men shu pyniap syndon' (You don't know how to discipline the children, given a chance it appears you are bent on killing them) - in other words, it can be assumed that father's disciplining is more effective than the mother's and is feared more than the mother's, but at the same time is considered more severe.

Case 43 Mrs K - age 36 years - of the third generation, secondary but below graduate, a housewife and mother of six children (4 sons and 2 daughters) says, "It's been ^{made} very clear to my children that once it gets dark means they should stop play and get inside the house, failing

which if they linger on and play on, neither do I call out or remind them, but all I do is once they are in, means they get it with the stick. Seeing one getting it is enough to discipline the lot, for the others hurry to get on in without my having to call out at the others for a second time."

SOCIABILITY - CHILDREN'S INTERACTION AND RECREATION

SOCIAL ACTIVITIES AND SOCIAL PRACTICES AS VIEWED BY THE PARENTS

Sociability has been defined as the "tendency to seek out and remain with others" (Buss & Blomin, 1977:91). The tendency to be sociable is played out through relationships and is modified somewhat by them. The culture-transmitting role of the family increases in importance in a changing society. With rapid accumulation of culture in the contemporary age, from all sources, the family's task of selecting, interpreting and evaluating the culture grows correspondingly. In performing this culture-transmitting role, the family adopts certain social norms and practices. Social pressures arising from the family's acceptance of these norms have definite consequences.

"Social norms are extremely varied and extremely pervasive, they are a peculiar feature of human society, particularly of a family as they are essential to maintain a social order within its boundaries. The members of the family acquire them through the process of indoctrination. The parents indoctrinate the social norms and practices that the family lays down to their offsprings through various means. These norms the children internalize and these become part of their personality. They respect some of the social

norms and practices of the family because of their consequences. Regardless of whether or not they obey the norms completely, they influence their behaviour and their thinking. It is largely through them that their conduct is regulated and integrated with the conduct of the other members of the society of which they are a part and parcel" (Hurlock, 1955:247).

Though the role of the parents in the socialization of the child has changed in the modern industrialized society, the fact that the social learning of the child within the family boundaries remains unchanged. Parents hold the unique role in influencing the child's social learning. They can help him to learn some of the values and behaviour generally accepted in their sub-group and in the society at large. They are responsible for creating in him various interests and motivating him to develop these interests that are necessary to build his own role in his adult life.

To quote Kulhen, "Although some writers argue that the home is decreasing in importance as various other agencies take over some of its functions and as total pattern of living changes, there can be little doubt that the home is still the basic cultural unit which indoctrinates the child with the views and the values of the subculture of which it is a part, and which endows the child with personal assets or deficiencies reflecting the social

and emotional characteristics of the particular family system" (1952:553). Inevitably then, the family exerts a significant influence on the interests, aspirations and the personality development of its children.

The term 'sociability', may be vague. Its application here, however, indicates a set of norms and practices related to children's interaction and recreation which the families have laid down regarding the social life that prevails within its boundaries. The more one comes to observe and study families, the more apparent are the existence and operation of certain prescribed forms of interests and activities of the family. This constitutes an important part of family life and the personality formation process of its younger members. Hence, the study of children's social activities in the family is considered important in the study of socialization of children.

It is attempted here to study and comprehend the social activities and practices in connection with various aspects of family life and the attitude of the parents towards the social norms of the family.

To gauge the attitude of parents in the social development of their children, they were asked to respond to some of the social activities, norms and practices that usually prevail in the family. The data thus collected is analysed and presented in this section of the study. The

activities and practices studied are based on the following:

1. Children's and adolescent's participation in the social and religious activities of the family and celebration of festivals.

2. Children's and adolescent's recreation and interaction with friends and peers.

3. Giving of pocket allowances, adolescent's deciding for themselves and children being familiarised with the norms and traditions of the family.

4. Children's attachments, parent's participation and interaction with their children and friends, and role and views of each parent in disciplining and bringing up of their children.

CHILDREN'S PARTICIPATION IN THE SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES OF THE FAMILY

One dimension on which the parent-child relationship is studied is the children's participation in the social activities of the family.

Social adjustment is generally judged in terms of social activities in which the individual participates. How active an individual is socially will depend on many factors such as interest in social activities that are available to children and the family situations that provide a field for children's social activities and such similar factors that

are conducive to their social development. "A good social adjustment is important in adolescence not only because the adolescent craves for social success but also because his social adjustments in adolescence will determine to a large extent what he will be throughout his adult life " (Beaven, 1949:207-208). Children who gain experience of social adjustments within the family will determine the type of adjustments they will make in the social world outside the family. Their social life stems from the kind of family in which they are reared and to which they are expected to adjust and contribute.

Detailed analysis of the data on the extent of parents and children's participation and interaction on each of the social activities studied are presented in Tables 5.12 - 5.14a.

The norms and activities studied are based on:

1. The celebration of various festivals in the family.

2. Parents sharing and participating together with their children in social activities, namely (a) attending social functions such as weddings of relatives and friends, (b) going for movies and dramas, and (c) going shopping and visiting friends and relatives.

3. Family's interest in religious activity and their attitude towards attending church and service.

To gauge the attitude of parents in the social development of their children, they were asked to respond to some of the rituals and festivals which the family's celebrates.

Celebration of festivals are much awaited social as well as religious events in the family. These activities bring the members of the family and the community in close contact and thus promote sociability. These festivals may be religion based or based on social communions by the members of the community or it may be based on nationalism or social function of the family. Apart from these festivals, there are certain rituals the family observes. They especially pertain to the birth and death rituals and anniversaries.

Detailed statistical tabulations on the extent parents and children enjoy together each of the social activities given above are presented in Tables 5.12 to 5.23a. However, it is to be noted that the figures in Table 5.12 presents the total responses on each of the festivals and rituals celebrated and observed by the families.

Table 5.12 analysis and presents the data on the types of festivals celebrated and the rituals that are observed in the families. It is seen that as generations advances more and more, families celebrate every type of festivals and observe rituals. However, Table 5.12 reveals that irrespective of generation, religious type of festivals

show highest percentage of affirmative responses, namely 41 per cent, 62 per cent and 86 per cent in the first, second and third generation respectively, followed by observing of death rituals and anniversaries. This percentage varies

Table 5.12

Families Celebrating Festivals and Observing Rituals

Gene- ration	N	'A'	'B'	'C'	'D'	'E'
I	142	58 (41)	4 (3)	26 (18)	-	54 (38)
II	157	96 (62)	24 (15)	38 (24)	29 (18)	88 (56)
III	121	104 (86)	28 (23)	41 (34)	87 (72)	81 (67)

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage

N = Total number of children.

'A' = Religious festivals.

'B' = National festivals - bam khanna kur (clan feast), community, locality cleaning etc.

'C' = Celebration of birthdays/wedding anniversaries.

'D' = Death rituals/death anniversaries etc.

between 38 per cent, 56 per cent and 67 per cent in the first, second and third generation respectively. Whereas community and national festivals are comparatively celebrated by a lower percentage. Further, it is also observed that negative responses to each of the type of

festivals and rituals is decreasing when compared from the earliest to the present generation.

A group wise study of the Table reveals that the responses of parents to the other three types of festivals, namely celebration of national and community festivals and celebration of birthdays and anniversaries vary considerably.

Celebration of national festivals are not as high as they are for other festivals. This percentage varies between 3 per cent, 15 per cent and 23 per cent in the first, second and third generation respectively. It is also to be noted that majority of parents of the third generation responded by saying that they celebrated national festivals by going for 'picnics' and 'outings'. At the other end, some of the parents of the earliest generation responded by saying that celebration of national festivals was relatively unknown in their time, as Mrs K - aged 56 years - admitted "As children we were neither aware of the national anthem or the colours of the national flag." Thus, it may be assumed that many of the respondents of the earliest generations may have belonged to the pre-independence period. It may also be assumed that celebration of national festivals is not a compulsory activity sanctioned by the society. It is a voluntary activity which depends on one's outlook towards such celebration.

The figures showing the percentage of parents celebrating community festivals such as 'Kiew Ing' (moving to a new house), 'Bamkhanna' (feast) of the 'Dong' (locality) or 'Kur' (clan), locality cleaning, and celebrating New Year and house warming etc. consist of 18 per cent, 24 per cent and 34 per cent in the first, second and third generation respectively.

Finally, the Table shows that celebrating of birthdays and anniversaries seems to be more in vogue among the families of the present generation (72 per cent) as compared to families of the earlier generations. It is also observed that among the first generation, responses on celebration of birthdays and anniversaries appears to be totally absent, as Mrs R - age 68 years - laughingly remarked "What did we know of birthdays and the like when we were not even aware of our age or exact date of birth. But I must say that at a very tender age (infant), I had gone through the violent convulsions of the earthquake of 1897 and my mother and grand parents in later years used to tell us how they were all sitting outside in front of the house and even attempted to run away from the tumbling and rocking of the house with us infants in their arms and back."

Thus the Table viewed together reveals that irrespective of generation, festivals of religious nature are favoured by highest percentage of families. However, a

comparative study reveals that as generations advance, celebration of festivals of social nature particularly of birthdays and anniversaries followed by community festivals is increasing as generations advance, including such comments by a few parents of earlier generations "Christmas too among the children of today have become more of a social festival rather than religious. Amongst children (particularly adolescent) of today, Christmas especially seems to be more of a time for attending parties and having a nice time rather than the religious emblem for what Christmas stands for."

The types of social activities families can programme and how far the parents enjoy such activities with their children are analysed in Tables 5.13 to 5.13d based on the responses of parents.

Hollingshed (1960) has rightly defined "the participation of children in the social activities of the family along with their parents and the parents responsibility to create situations for such get together and activities of the family develop into a healthy parent-child relationship."

The type of social activities a family normally enjoys are going for movies or dramas, attending social functions such as weddings of relatives and friends, an outing for shopping or visiting friends.

Statistical analysis on the extent of parents and children enjoying together each of the social activities given above are presented in Table 5.13 to 5.13d. The tables also presents the data on the sex-wise distribution of children showing these activities with parents.

Tables 5.13 to 5.13d viewed as a whole shows that in the earliest generation, more than 80 per cent parents have abstained from responding to each of the social activities stated, except for 'visiting friends and relatives' and 'attending social function'. The percentage for the former consist of 26 per cent for sons and 38 per cent for daughters, and the latter consist of 26 per cent sons and 41 per cent for daughters. This could be attributed to the fact that in the earlier generations, social norms and activities were rather marginal and limited, activities tended to be more rigid and less to cooperate creativity, thereby limiting options for social activities. It may also be assumed that social activities may not be a regular activity in many families. Moreover, social functions and activities are usually flexible. They change as the attitude of the family changes towards the society. The changes that take place are closely related to the society's attitude and towards the culture that prevails. The tables further show this ^{trend} even among the present generation.

Table 5.13

Parents and Children going out together for
Movies/Drama etc.

Gene- ration	N	N ¹	N ²	A		B	
				S	D	S	D
I	142	74	68	3 (4)	3 (4)	71 (96)	65 (96)
II	157	80	77	12 (15)	19 (25)	68 (85)	58 (75)
III	121	67	54	16 (24)	21 (39)	51 (76)	33 (61)

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage

N = Total number of children.

N¹ = Total number of sons.

N² = Total number of daughters.

S = Sons; D = Daughters.

Responses

A = Children accompanying parents for movies/drama.

B = No response.

Table 5.13a

Parents going for Sunday outings/Church along with Children and Adolescents

Gene- ration	N	N ¹	N ²	A		B	
				S	D	S	D
I	142	74	68	7 (9)	10 (15)	67 (91)	58 (85)
II	157	80	77	16 (20)	23 (30)	64 (80)	54 (70)
III	121	67	54	15 (22)	24 (44)	52 (78)	30 (56)

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage

N = Total number of children.

N¹ = Total number of sons.

N² = Total number of daughters.

S = Sons; D = Daughters.

Responses

A = Going to Church/Sunday Outings.

B = No response.

Table 5.13b

Parents and Children going together for
visiting Friends and Relatives

Gene- ration	N	N ¹	N ²	A		B	
				S	D	S	D
I	142	74	68	19 (26)	26 (38)	55 (74)	42 (62)
II	157	80	77	21 (26)	31 (40)	59 (74)	46 (60)
III	121	67	54	14 (21)	26 (48)	53 (79)	28 (52)

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage

N = Total number of children.

N¹ = Total number of sons.

N² = Total number of daughters.

S = Sons; D = Daughters.

Responses

A = Going for visiting friends/relatives.

B = No response.

Table 5.13c

Parents and Children (adolescents) attending together
Social Functions

Gene- ration	N	N ¹	N ²	A		B	
				S	D	S	D
I	142	74	68	19 (26)	28 (41)	55 (74)	40 (59)
II	157	80	77	22 (27½)	35 (45)	58 (72½)	42 (56)
III	121	67	54	23 (34)	38 (70)	44 (66)	16 (30)

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage

N = Total number of children.

N¹ = Total number of sons.

N² = Total number of daughters.

S = Sons; D = Daughters.

Responses

A = Going for social functions.

B = No response.

Table 5.13d

Parents and Adolescents Shopping Together

Gene- ration	N	N ¹	N ²	A		B	
				S	D	S	D
I	142	74	68	7 (9)	10 (13)	67 (91)	58 (78)
II	157	80	77	11 (14)	34 (44)	69 (86)	43 (56)
III	121	67	54	14 (21)	36 (67)	60 (89)	18 (33)

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage

N = Total number of children.

N¹ = Total number of sons.

N² = Total number of daughters.

S = Sons; D = Daughters.

Responses

A = Adolescent children accompanying parents for shopping.

B = No response.

Families participating together in the social activities is not very significant, with the exception of activities, namely of attending 'social functions' and 'shopping'. The percentage for these activities consist of 70 per cent and 67 per cent for daughters and 34 per cent and 21 per cent for sons. ^{in the third generation (present generation)} It may also be noted that in both these activities, higher percentage of parents take daughters for shopping and attending 'social functions' rather than sons. It may be assumed that parents and adolescent children usually come in more close contact when they go shopping particularly for things of adolescent's interest. Every family has to have such shopping either occasionally or quite often according to one's needs and capacity of the family members. Girls particularly adolescents by nature are very much interested in selecting clothes and other materials needed for themselves and also for other members of the family. When there are more members in the family, the girls may get the satisfaction of selecting things for their sisters and brothers. Hence it is possible that adolescent girls, more than boys, accompany parents to help them in the suitable selection of things for the family members. Secondly, the other social activity of interest, responded by a high percentage of parents is attending social functions like weddings and such other

celebration of relatives and friends. These are functions which bring together friends and relatives whom otherwise they may not have met for sometime. These are also occasions where new friends are made. It is also possible that the parents may try for new contacts with a matrimonial view for their children and so the parents may take their adolescent children, particularly daughters along with them and proudly introduce them to their relatives and friends. This percentage of daughters consist of 70 per cent and 34 per cent for sons. Nevertheless, whatever may be the motive, it is observed that in the present generation, significant percentage of parents go with their children for such functions and thus oblige the invitations. The data further reveals a wide disparity between the percentage of sons and daughters in all the activities stated. The Tables 5.13 - 5.13d show that irrespective of generation, the percentage of sons is lower than that of daughters consistently. For example, in the present generation, families going for movies and drama, and 'going to church', the general trend of the responses of the parents on the total, on such activities are not very large. Nevertheless, the percentage of daughters consist of 39 per cent and 44 per cent as against only 24 per cent and 22 per cent for sons. It is reasonable to assume that parents may take their children only to such movies which they think that children should

see and hence go with them sometimes. Moreover, as this data is based on the response of the parents, it shows the frequency of the parents going with children and not how often the children go with friends or any other person. Some of the parents may not prefer to go for movies/drama, either themselves or along with their children. So this group of parents did not respond at all.

The data regarding the extent to which the parents and children attend church and go on outings together is shown in Table 5.13a. This Table shows that in the present generation this percentage for sons consist of a little more than 20 per cent, whereas for daughters^{it} consist of more than 40 per cent. This variation in percentage gains support in the responses of parents and on the basis of these responses, it may be inferred that in families where there are young dependent children, the parents would rather take their dependent children with them and leave back the adolescents. It is also true, as some parents have responded, that at times the younger children are left in the care of the adolescents, and^{parents} go for an outing. Further it has also been observed that the parents in large size families usually take the younger children of the family to church or to places of their children's choice like to the park. But the adolescents may not enjoy these outings and hence prefer to be at home or go out with their friends.

Adolescents, particularly boys, have their own programme of some other social activities in their peer group and they may not accompany parents very often for such outings, and also prefer to go to church along with their friends.

From this section of the study on the sharing of social activities of the family by the parents and children, one common factor that emerges is that as generation advances families participating together in various social activities of the family appears to be gradually increasing when compared from the earliest to the present generation. The study further reveals that generally children (particularly adolescent) do participate, though not always. It is also seen that with the exception of activities such as going for 'social functions' and 'shopping', the other activities of the family discussed here are not the routine activities. It is also observed that irrespective of generation, in all the types of activities, nearly 50 per cent to 60 per cent of families have not responded to the question. This may be related to the fact that the families which may not programme such activities have abstained from responding to the questions.

It may also be assumed that irrespective of generation, social activities may not be regular event in many families because of financial implication and also because of physical inconveniences caused by non-

availability of regular conveyance including certain other restrictions. Another factor that has been observed from the comparative study of all outdoor social activities of the families discussed, is that a very meagre and negligible percentage of parents go^{ing} for movies or drama along with their children. In a study by Sullenger (1930:459-461), it^{has be} revealed that children, particularly adolescents prefer to go for movies with friends rather than with their parents. This study further shows that as they grow old, their percentage of going with friends increases. Thus in the present study if this question was asked to children particularly adolescents and their responses were analysed, it would have given a better picture whether they prefer to go with parents or friends. Finally, the sex-wise comparative study shows a wide difference between sons and daughters in every type of activity irrespective of gender, the percentage for sons is considerably lower than compared to that of daughters in all the generations. This difference between sons and daughters can be attributed to the reason as discussed earlier, that in large families, girls may be required to look after the younger siblings. At the same time adolescent daughters are required to go shopping with parents which activity the boys may try to skip, moreover parents in many cases stated that their sons, particularly adolescents, have their own programme of some social

activities in their peer group, hence they do not usually accompany parents but rather go on their own along with their friends. However, as this present study has been to analyse the parent's relationship with children, the study reveals that the majority of parents do prefer the company of their children, particularly daughters.

The third type of social norm of the family studied ~~has been~~ based on the family's interest in religious activity and their attitude towards attending church and service.

"The role of religion plays a good part in moulding children's beliefs and attitude towards life. To be happy and well adjusted in life the individual must have some religious belief or some philosophy of life. But the belief in religion should not make a person blind to the realities of life. As children grow older in experience and more mature in outlook, it is logical that their attitude towards religion could change. Basically cultural values are related directly or indirectly to religious concepts, beliefs, forms of expression and the extent of influence upon individual and group attitude and behaviour" (Allport, Gillispie & Young, 1948:68-70). It may thus be said that going to church and attending service is a form of expression of one's attitude towards the religion they follow. To what extent do the parents develop the habit in their children of going to church for attending service is analysed and presented in

Table 5.14. Table 5.14a gives a breakup, stating the reasons and views of parents towards their children's attending church and service.

Table 5.14 shows that in the earlier generation, majority of the parents responded by saying that their children attended church sometimes. The percentage of children attending church service consist of 51 per cent, 49 per cent and 34 per cent for sons and 53 per cent, 55 per cent and 24 per cent for daughters in the first, second and third generation respectively. Whereas parents who say that their children attend church regularly, the percentage are at a higher level among children in the present generation as compared to that of the earlier generations. This percentage consist of 42 per cent and 54 per cent for sons and daughters in the third generation as against 11 per cent and 19 per cent for sons and 12 per cent and 21 per cent for daughters in the first and second generations respectively. Further, it is observed that among those who say that they attend church only 'occasionally', the percentage is higher among the children of earlier generation as compared to only 16 per cent and 15 per cent for sons and daughters in the third generation. However, it is to be noted that irrespective of generation, a very negligible percentage of parents responded by stating that their children 'almost never' attend church. This percentage

that several respondents among the earlier generations stated that basically cost and distance prevented them from allowing children to attend church regularly, while some other respondents stated that as children they were orthodox Khasis and not Christian converts. These factors may have contributed to the significant percentage of responses under study among the earlier generations having responded of attending church either 'sometimes' or only 'occasionally'. Whereas among the later generations parents who have responded that their children 'almost never' or attend church 'only occasionally', the following examples may give some insight of the attitudes of parents in the present generation:

Case 47 Mrs I - age 41 years - of the third generation, secondary but below graduate, a housewife and mother of five children, says "My husband is a Catholic and I am a Presbyterian, and because of our ideological differences (differences of opinion), we do not attend church and this has resulted in our children too almost not attending church regularly. Earlier on, the children and myself did attend church quite often, though at the cost of a lot of unpleasantness and displeasure of my husband who tried to stop and prevent the children ^{from} going. But nevertheless, even now I occasionally go for service and take the children along, leaving my one year old with my

mother who stays next door, for asking my husband to look after results in his simply keeping mum and walking out of the house and not returning till I get back from church."

Here is another such view:

Case 48 Mr H - age 34 years - of the third generation, secondary but below graduate, is in service by profession, father of four children, says "I do not attend church regularly and neither do the children. It is just out of habit, I suppose. I have been converted into a Presbyterian, though I am a Catholic by birth and I definitely will convert myself back some day. I tell you, so will the children once they grow up and can decide for themselves and that's the only way I will ever get back to attending church regularly and try to bring the children up to be good Christians."

Case 49 Mrs D - age 49 years - of the third generation, a graduate and in service by profession, mother of six children, says "We (mother and the kids) used to go for Sunday service pretty regularly, but now that the kids have grown up, they don't want to go and neither can I nor do I insist upon. Moreover, I am tied down the whole week, so now we stay at home most Sundays and more or less, have fallen out of habit of attending church regularly, though occasionally I make it a point to make the children go and attend service."

Table 5.14a

Reasons for Attending

Gene- ration	N	Respon- ses	'A'	'B'	'C'
I	117	1	-	-	107 (91)
		2	10 (9)	-	-
		3	-	-	-
II	141	1	-	-	121 (86)
		2	6 (4)	14 (10)	-
		3	-	-	-
III	112	1	-	-	82 (73)
		2	-	18 (16)	-
		3	12 (11)	-	-

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage

N = Total number of children attending school.

Responses

A = Habit; B = Benefit children/social interaction;

C = Moral guidance.

Table 5.14a gives the break up stating the reasons and views of parents towards their children attending church and service. The figures in Table 5.14a reveal that by and

large, irrespective of generation, majority of parents have responded by stating 'moral guidance' as being the most important factor for making children attend church and service. This percentage consist of 91 per cent, 86 per cent and 73 per cent in the first, second and third generation respectively. Further, it is observed that to 'some extent', viz. 10 per cent and 15 per cent parents in the second and third generation have responded that their children are 'benefited' by attending church. However, a very negligible percentage of parents say that their children attend church 'out of habit'. This percentage varies between 4 per cent, 9 per cent and 11 per cent in the first, second and third generation respectively.

The following examples sums up, including giving an insight of the attitude of majority of parents, towards their children being 'benefited' and 'receiving moral guidance' by attending church and service.

Case 50 Mrs D - age 44 years - of the second generation, literate but below Matric, a housewife and mother of five children, says "I feel it is very important that children should attend church service, and the family needs to go together. It is a constant reminder of God and Jesus. It helps you in bringing up ^{your} children to do right - and that is hard enough anyway in these days."

Case 51 Mrs K - age 41 years - of the third generation, a graduate and in service by profession, mother of four children, says "As children we were all raised to go to church regularly. So too with my children - it is a habit. My husband died leaving me with four children and the only way I'll get them to grow up to be good Christians and make them to lead better lives is by making them develop the habit of attending service, so that they get direction and purpose to living, and basically to make my children religiously aware."

Case 52 Miss J - age 19 years - of the fourth generation, attending college, says "Going to church for my religious beliefs were confused, but when things got really bad, I prayed. My mother was awfully sick and almost died. I went to church, got down on my knees and prayed really hard. That gave me strength and courage and mother got well and today she is better than ever. It was prayer and nothing else that did it - no one can ever convince me that there isn't a loving God caring for us. I regularly go to church and attend service for guidance and support, with the knowledge that things will turn out right."

CHILDREN'S AND ADOLESCENT'S RECREATION AND INTERACTION WITH PEERS AND FRIENDS

Children are interested in having social relationship with people other than family members and siblings, like school friends and neighbours. Parent's attitude towards their children's interaction and recreation with friends and peers, is one of the important factors which contributes to the parent-child relationship. The extent of parent's attitude towards children's interaction and recreation with friends and peers and children's spending of leisure time activities has been studied in terms of the following:

1. Restriction and permissiveness in terms of children's interactions with friends.
2. Children's spending of leisure time.
3. Attitude and reaction of parents when children and adolescents fight and quarrel with friends and peers.

A study and analyses of these factors is presented in Tables 5.15 to 5.17a.

Table 5.15 analyses the data as to the extent of parents permitting and restricting children to interact and play with friends and peers. The analysis of the Table reveals that when compared from the earliest to the present generation highest percentage amongst the first generation allowed children to play with all other children alike in

Table 5.15

Allowed/Allowing Children to Play With

Gene- ration	N	N ¹	N ²	A		B		C	
				S	D	S	D	S	D
I	142	74	68	32 (43)	26 (38)	19 (26)	18 (26)	12 (16)	22 (32)
II	157	80	77	32 (40)	17 (22)	28 (35)	21 (27)	20 (25)	39 (51)
III	121	67	54	14 (21)	9 (17)	25 (37)	14 (26)	28 (42)	31 (57)

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage

N = Total number of children.

N¹ = Total number of sons.

N² = Total number of daughters.

S = Sons; D = Daughters.

Responses

A = Allowed to play with all children alike in the locality and neighbourhood.

B = Allowed to play in the neighbourhood only with children known and are acquainted with.

C = Not allowed out of the confines of garden and compound but allowed to play within the confines of one's own house and ground with other children.

the locality and neighbourhood'. This percentage consists of 43 per cent, 40 per cent and 21 per cent for sons as against 38 per cent, 22 per cent and 17 per cent for

daughters in the first, second and third generation respectively. Further, it is observed that as generations advances, percentage of parents allowing children to play only with those children parents know of and are acquainted with, appears to be increasing from one generation to the next. For example, this percentage consists of 26 per cent for both sons and daughters in the first generation which increases to 35 per cent and 37 per cent for sons and 27 per cent and 26 per cent for daughters in the second and third generations respectively. It is also to be noted that 42 per cent sons and 57 per cent daughters among the present generation are allowed to play only within the confines of one's own house and compound with other children. Whereas in comparison, this percentage consisted of a negligible 16 per cent and 32 per cent for sons and daughters in the earliest generation. It is also of much significance to note that consistently higher percentage of sons than daughters in all the generations are allowed to play to a greater extent with 'all children alike of the locality' and permitted and allowed out in the neighbourhood and beyond to play and interact. In comparison, higher percentage of daughters are restricted to play only within the confines of 'one's own house and compound with other children', than compared to sons. Thus the Table viewed as a whole brings out the fact that among the later generations, patterns of children's

neighbourly interaction and recreation with peers and friends allowed by parents are not arbitrarily but rather selectively chosen and allowed.

Table 5.16
Children Spending of Leisure Time

Gene- ration	N	1		2	
		A	B	C	D
I	142	-	52 (37)	45 (32)	45 (32)
II	157	14 (9)	45 (29)	58 (37)	40 (25)
III	121	44 (36)	15 (12)	35 (29)	27 (22)

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage

N = Total number of children.

Responses

1 = Indoor activities; 2 = Outdoor activities.

A = Keep to oneself by engaging in various individual activities.

B = Spent with other family members and elders.

C = Playing

D = Visiting friends and spending time with friends.

A statistical analysis and study of Table 5.16 shows, as responded by mothers, the types of activities children participate and are engaged in during their leisure time.

The different types of activities studied are:

I. Indoor Activities -

(a) Keep to oneself by engaging in various individual activities, viz. (i) reading novels, fiction, magazines, (ii) watch T.V./listen to music, (iii) craft and needle work including playing with blocks and models etc.

(b) Spend with family members and elders - (i) relating stories and events, including folk tales etc., (ii) broadening the minds of children by interacting and talking to them about various subjects and issues, including story-telling.

II. Outdoor Activities -

(a) Leisure time spent mostly outdoor playing.

(b) Visiting and spending time with friends including going out for short trips to woods, going fishing, shooting birds etc.

Table 5.16 presents the types of activities children are engaged in during their leisure time. It is seen that in the present generation, highest percentage (36 per cent) of responses consist of children 'keeping to themselves by engaging in various individual activities'. It is also to be noted that in the earliest generation, children's spending of leisure time by engaging themselves in individual activities is found to be totally absent.

The following example illustrates children's involvement in individual activities.

Case 53 Mrs N - age 34 years - of the third generation, matriculate but below graduate, a housewife and mother of four children (3 sons and 1 daughter), says "Sunday mornings means all my children (ranging from 12 to 5 years) are glued to the T.V. and it is the only time that I do not see them squabble and argue, each one of them so very engrossed in all that is going on. Sunday mornings you will never find my kids playing out, but since I am more or less a regular church goer, I make it a point to take all the children along for service which is not at all looked forward to by my children, and they would often plead that I go for afternoon or evening service rather than for morning service as their favourite T.V. programmes are on. I usually never give in to their pleas but to tell you honestly, and must admit that a couple of times I found myself giving in and joining my children."

However, a comparative analysis reveals that apart from 'children's engagement in individual activities' being favoured by majority of children in the present generation, the responses of parents to the other three activities, viz. 'spending with other family members and elders', 'playing, visiting and spending time with friends', shows that children's participation in such activities is also

gradually decreasing when compared from the earliest to the present generation. The figures showing the percentage of children spending leisure time with 'other family members and elders' varies between 37 per cent, 29 per cent and 12 per cent in the first, second and third generations respectively. The following cases may illustrate the disparity in percentages between the earliest and later generations.

Case 54 Mr D - age 81 years - of the first generation, a non-literate, third eldest child in a family of 14 children, says "We were very poor and having to provide for us 14 children was really hard for my parents. When I was about 12 years old, I started earning for the family by attending to cattle as a cow-herd for which I was paid Rs3-4 per month. Throughout the day I would spend in attending to the cattle. Late in the evening I would get back home and after an early dinner we young folks used to get together in some houses, and at times round the fire place of our house, to eagerly listen to the tales of heroic deeds told to us by our grand-parents, uncle and other elders, of how the Khasis had made valiant attempts against the white man, about the exploits of the notorious bandit named U Barsing from Mawshut village of Nongkhlaw Syiemship, of the severe earthquake of 1897 and innumerable folk tales and the like. I still remember my grand-parents telling me

of the greatest event and public function witnessed by them was when Queen Victoria was declared 'Empress of India' and how people made special paintings on wild animals and exhibited them in town. I also remember how we came to Shillong all the way from Cherra on foot, and settled in Mawkhar in those days."

Mothers of the present generation are not getting much time in spending and interacting with children as compared to earlier generations, ^{this} may be intercepted from the following excerpts:

Case 55 Mrs H - age 37 years - of the third generation, mother of three children, a teacher by profession, says "By the time I get back from work, my children are either playing or they go out for tuitions. By the time they get back, I have to attend to the cooking and also see to their studies, and after dinner, whatever little time we have, we are all sitting and watching the T.V., and mornings we all simply have to rush the children to school and us parents to work.

Case 56 Mr I - age 41 years - of the third generation, father of six children, a graduate, is in service by profession, says" I return home exhausted and do not find enough time to supervise, control and find out what the children have been doing not only in school but also at home regularly. But during weekends and examinations, I make

it a point to sit down with my children and personally see to their studies."

Finally, responses of parents on adolescent children's spending leisure time by 'playing with and spending time with friends' does not show any remarkable differences. Nevertheless, the Table reveals that as generation advances, children's engagements in such activities too appears to be decreasing from one generation to the next. For example, children's spending of leisure time by playing consist of 32 per cent, 37 per cent and 29 per cent in the first, second and third generations respectively. Similarly, children's 'visiting and spending time with friends consist of 32 per cent in the first generation, which decreases to 25 per cent in the second generation and consists of 22 per cent in the third generation. The following cases may illustrate the difference in spending of leisure time with friends among the earlier and present generation:

Case 57 Mr J - age 64 years - of the second generation, primary but below matriculation, is in trade by profession, says "When I was an adolescent of about 15-16 years, the leisure time that I had (which of course was not often as I had to accompany my parents to the fields and at times help in carrying firewood to be sold in the market on market days) would be spent in the woods along with my

friends. I would go bird hunting with the 'Jri' (catapult) and at times go for fishing too, but above all, what we used to enjoy most was the inter-village competitions in archery games and most exciting was the composing of songs/chantings known as 'Phawar' and the 'Pynkupnia' war of words or arguments which was heard during archery competitions, but you cannot see the same spirit and active participation among the adolescents of today. Take for example my grandsons and daughters. Their spending of leisure time (which they can ill afford in plenty) means just sitting around and do idle chatting with friends or else all I see my grandchildren do is ask for money and go out with friends and spend it uselessly."

Table 5.17 to 5.17a analyses and presents the data on the attitude and reaction of parents when young children and adolescents fight and quarrel with peers and friends. It is seen that by and large, irrespective of generation, majority of parents stated that to a great extent - occasionally, though not always, intervene and discipline by reprimanding and scolding their own children. This percentage consists of 44 per cent, 42 per cent and 36 per cent to a 'great extent' in the first, second and third generations respectively, and 19 per cent, 13 per cent and 10 per cent to 'some extent'. Further it is observed that a

Table 5.17

Attitude and Reaction of Parents when Young Children Fight/
 Quarrel/Argue with Peers and Friends

Gene- ration	N	Respon- ses	A	B	C	D
I	142	1	20 (14)	-	62 (44)	-
		2	-	33 (23)	27 (19)	-
		3	-	-	-	-
II	157	1	14 (9)	-	66 (42)	-
		2	-	31 (20)	20 (13)	18 (11)
		3	-	-	-	8 (5)
III	121	1	-	-	44 (36)	-
		2	15 (12)	25 (21)	12 (10)	25 (21)
		3	-	-	-	-

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage

N = Total number of children.

Responses

A = Pretend not to see - meaning adult interference is generally regarded as undesirable "so long as nobody is hurt."

B = Don't take it seriously - meaning encourage children to fight back.

C = Parents occasionally intervene and discipline by reprimanding/scolding his own children.

D = Parents discipline by rebuking neighbours and other's children.

1 - To a great extent. 2 - To some extent. 3 - To a little extent.

child's aggression towards his playmates especially for boys is not taken very seriously. This percentage consists of 23 per cent, 21 per cent and 20 per cent in the first, second and third generations respectively. It may thus be inferred that mild physical fighting may even be encouraged, if it is felt that another child is dominating one's own child. Irrespective of generation, several parents opined that somewhat less adult supervision is required for the school age young children particularly, boys fight and quarrel with their peers and friends than that of the adolescent children - they further stated that children at this age need to learn how to get along with others in their groups and that parent's interference or protection may prevent the child from learning the important lesson. This gains further support showing parent's responses stating 'Adult interference' is generally undesirable - "as long as nobody is hurt." The Table also shows child's aggression towards playmates being controlled by parents 'disciplining and rebuking neighbours and other's children' ^{which appears to be totally absent in the ea:} consist of 11 per cent and 5 per cent to 'some extent' in the second generations ~~and increases~~ to 'some extent' consisting of 21 per cent in the present generation.

The Table 5.17a, reveals parental attitude and reaction towards adolescent children fighting with peers and friends of their age. It is seen in Table 5.17a that

irrespective generation majority of parents 'to a great extent' responded by saying that they 'make their adolescent children behave in a manner acceptable to neighbours'. This percentage consists of 49 per cent and 52 per cent in the first, second and third generations respectively. This has been followed by responses of parents stating, that if ever such occasions arise, parents 'intervene and discipline their adolescent children by reprimanding and scolding their own children', nevertheless responses of parents on this aspect appears to be decreasing when compared from the earliest to the present generation. For instance this percentage consist of 29 per cent in the first generation which decreases to 20 per cent in the second generation and consist of 15 per cent in the third generation. However, a comparative study of Table 5.17a further reveals that responses of parents on the other options suggested viz. 'parents disciplining and rebuking neighbours and other's children' and 'encouraged adolescent children to stand for their rights in verbal arguments'. The analysis on these two aspects reveals that in case of the former, the responses of parents appears to be gradually increasing when compared from the earliest to the present generation. Similarly in case of the latter too, responses of parents though consist of a negligible 15 per cent in the present generation, in

Table 5.17a

Attitude and Reaction of Parents when Adolescent Children Fight/Quarrel/Argue with Peers and Friends

Generation	N	Responses	C	D	E	F	G
I	142	1	41 (29)	-	70 (49)	23 (16)	-
		2	-	8 (6)	-	-	-
		3	-	-	-	-	-
II	157	1	32 (20)	-	82 (52)	19 (12)	-
		2	-	12 (8)	-	-	12 (8)
		3	-	-	-	-	-
III	121	1	18 (15)	8 (7)	63 (52)	12 (10)	9 (7)
		2	-	11 (9)	-	-	-
		3	-	-	-	-	-

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage

N = Total number of children.

1 = Great extent; 2 = Some extent; 3 = Little extent.

Responses

C = Parents occasionally intervene and discipline by reprimanding/scolding his own children.

D = Parents discipline by rebuking neighbours and other's children.

E = Parents make children behave in a manner acceptable to neighbours.

F = Not encouraged to fight physically.

G = Encourage to stand up for their rights in verbal arguments.

comparison, responses on this aspect appears to be totally absent among the parents of the earlier generations.

Thus the Table viewed as a whole reveals that though a child's aggression towards his playmates, especially for boys is not taken very seriously and adult interference is generally regarded as undesirable as long 'as nobody is hurt', but by and large, the population under study are generally peace loving is obvious from the kind of behaviour training they give to their adolescent children for being non-aggressive as responded by majority of parents who stated that 'parents make children behave in a manner acceptable to neighbours' as a few elderly parents have very aptly stated "years have gone by since we all have been living side by side - neighbourly and family ties are important to every one concerned, and society at large cannot be allowed to be disrupted by quarrels of children." Nevertheless, certain amount of flexibility in parents handling adolescent children's aggression towards their friends and mates can be discerned from among small percentage of parents in the present generation.

**GIVING OF POCKET ALLOWANCES TO CHILDREN AND ADOLESCENTS;
ADOLESCENT'S DECIDING FOR THEMSELVES AND CHILDREN BEING
FAMILIAR^{social} WITH THE NORMS, PRACTICES AND TRADITIONS OF THE
FAMILY.**

The social system of the family furnishes a unique setting for the development of the child. There the child can have membership in a small primary group over a prolonged period of time. The child can learn the approved values and appropriate behaviour of his society through adults who have themselves internalized their culture.

It is generally assumed that the intensity of social norms, activities and practices of the family are usually flexible. They change as the attitude of the family changes towards the society. These changes that take place are closely related to the society's attitude and towards the culture that prevails. The attitude of parents towards the social norms of the family is reflected in its flexibility. "In days when children were controlled by the family, norms tended to more rigid and less to cooperate creativity. In the modern society, where democracy in every field of life is desired the social norms have been shaped and tempered according to all those who participate. The parents with modern outlook adopt to the need of the younger generation and to the culture that ushers in along with the maturity of their children. The conflict that may arise out of generation gap, may thus be avoided." (Rinchart and Winston, 1963:261).

"The development of the interests closely parallels the child's physical and mental development. As the child grows, he changes both physically and mentally. At any age, the individual's interest will have a marked effect on his behaviour. They are the driving forces which cause the individual to react in a selective manner to some aspects of his environment and neglect other aspects. Thus they are reflections of the individual's personality, motives and the means used to satisfy these motives. What the individual does in a given situation tells one something about the individual." (Stendler, 1951:67-68).

Consequently, in the study of socialization, a study of adolescent children's interests is a valuable approach to an understanding of them as individuals. In this respect, the study is limited to the following aspects:

1. Adolescent children deciding for themselves on various issues.
2. Pocket allowance given to children and adolescents.
3. Children ^{being} familiarised with customs, traditions and practices of the family and the community.

The data regarding the extent to which adolescent children decide for themselves on the following issues, viz. (1) General grooming/Spending of money, (2) Developing

friends/Time children get home in the evenings etc., is analysed and presented in Tables 5.18 to 5.18a.

Table 5.18a shows that the extent of adolescent children deciding for themselves appears to be increasing as generation advances. The point to be noted here is that the adolescent children in the later generations are showing more preferences in deciding for themselves as compared to

Table 5.18

Adolescent Children deciding for Themselves

Gener- ation	N	N ¹	N ²	A		B		C		E	
				S	D	S	D	S	D	S	D
I	142	74	68	7 (9) (10.5)	8 (12) (10.5)	15 (20) (13.0)	4 (6) (13.0)	52 (70) (68.0)	56 (82) (68.0)	22 (30) (32.0)	12 (18) (32.0)
II	157	80	77	15 (19) (23.5)	22 (28½) (23.5)	25 (31) (22.0)	10 (13) (22.0)	40 (50) (54.0)	45 (58) (54.0)	40 (50) (46.0)	32 (42) (46.0)
III	121	67	54	19 (28) (41.0)	31 (57) (41.0)	31 (46) (35.5)	12 (22) (35.5)	17 (25) (23.0)	11 (20) (23.0)	50 (74) (77.0)	43 (79) (77.0)

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage

N = Total number of children.

S = Sons.

N¹ = Total number of sons.

D = Daughters.

N² = Total number of daughters.

A = General grooming and spending of money.

B = Developing friends/Time you get in at night.

C = No response.

E = Total number of sons/daughters in both ½

Seen

the earliest generation. It is in Table 5.18a that nearly 29 per cent and 60 per cent adolescent children to 'some extent' and 4 per cent and 11.5 per cent to a 'great extent' decide for themselves in the second and third generations respectively as compared to merely 17 per cent adolescent children of the first generation who decided for themselves to 'some extent' only. It is also to be noted that adolescent children deciding for themselves to a 'great extent' appeared to be totally absent in the first generation.

Table 5.18 gives the break up of the activities and issues on which adolescent children decide for themselves as stated by the parents. It is seen that in the earliest generation higher percentage (13 per cent) of adolescent children showed preferences in deciding for themselves on issues of friendship choices and hours children got in, than on issues such as dress, grooming and spending of money (10.5 per cent). Whereas in the later generations no remarkable differences is seen in adolescent children's preferences in deciding for themselves either for grooming or friendship. For example, this frequency varies between 22 per cent and 23.5 per cent in the second generation and between 35.5 per cent and 41 per cent in the third generation.

A comparative study of the responses reveals that consistently higher percentage of adolescent daughters than adolescent sons in all the generations decide for themselves on issues of dress, grooming and spending of money. For example, this frequency for daughters consist of 12 per cent, 28.5 per cent and 57 per cent as against 9 per cent, 19 per cent and 28 per cent sons in the first, second and third generations respectively. On the other hand, issues on

Table 5.18a

Extent of Adolescent Children deciding for Themselves

Gener- ration	N	N ¹	N ²	A		B		C		E	
				S	D	S	D	S	D	S	D
I	142	74	68	-	-	16 (22) (17.0)	8 (12) (15.0)	11 (15) (15.0)	10 (15) (15.0)	47 (63½) (68.0)	50 (73½) (68.0)
II	157	80	77	4 (5) (4.0)	2 (2½) (2.6)	25 (31) (29.0)	20 (26) (26.0)	11 (14) (13.0)	10 (13) (13.0)	40 (50) (54.0)	45 (58) (58.0)
III	121	67	54	8 (12) (11.5)	6 (11) (11.5)	38 (57) (60.0)	31 (57) (57.0)	4 (6) (8.0)	6 (9) (9.0)	17 (25) (23.0)	11 (20) (20.0)

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage

N = Total number of children.

S = Sons.

N¹ = Total number of sons.

D = Daughters.

N² = Total number of daughters.

A = Great extent.

B = Some Extent.

C = Little.

E = No response.

friendship choices and hours children get in consist of higher percentage of sons than daughters in all the generations. This frequency consist of 20 per cent, 31 per cent and 46 per cent sons as against 6 per cent, 13 per cent and 22 per cent daughters in the first, second and third generations respectively. However, it is significant to note that when viewed together, Table 5.18 brings out the fact that in the earlier generations higher percentage of adolescent sons (30 per cent and 50 per cent) showed preferences in deciding for themselves as compared to daughters (18 per cent and 42 per cent). Whereas in the present generation, the Table shows that the percentage of daughters is higher (79 per cent) than that of sons (74 per cent). It is also observed that the negative or no responses gain majority for both sons and daughters in the earlier generations, the highest percentage being found in the first generation (68 per cent). The following excerpts from interviews may illustrate the high percentage in the earlier generations, as to their reasons for having abstained from responding.

Case 58 Mr C - age 69 years - of the first generation, says "I was made to put on a frock till the age of about 10-12 and this never made any difference, neither was I aware of the fact. I wore my first pair of full length

trousers at the age of 19. So where was the choice for us to decide and show preferences ? It never occurred to us our days were different, life was hard indeed."

The following case illustrates parent's check on children's excesses towards friendship choices and hours children got in and children's acceptance of authority:

Case 59 Mr M - age 48 years - eldest child in a family of 12 children, says "I was hooked into playing cards right from early adolescence. Playing cards was an obsession. I could even do without food. I got married when I was 19 years. This incident occurred just a couple of months after I got married. I used to be away from the house, leaving my wife all alone till late at night, very often playing cards with my friends of whom my parents strongly disapproved. Initially my wife kept quiet, gradually she started pleading with me, asked me to stop the little that I earned on cards but no amount of pleading could stop me. Finally, without me knowing, she approached my parents and told them about my frequent absence from the home. My father in a wild rage landed up at my friend's place where I was busy playing. He had on his hand a huge wooden bar used for carrying water. The moment I saw him, I jumped out of the window and darted home. father followed and on reaching home gave me a sound thrashing with the wooden bar, which reminds me to this day, and from that day

on I slowly and gradually cut down playing cards with these friends and being out of the house till late at night. Today I am a grandfather, but I am still fascinated with cards, I do not gamble but yes, once in a while I still do play ... You know the influence of our elders should always be with us for it acts as a check on our excesses. Father's interferences influenced and changed my course of action and pattern of life, though at that time I hated him for interfering, but much later I realised that father did so because he was more enlightened and had my welfare in view, or else today I would not have been a father of eight grown up children. In fact I am quite sure I would have had no family at all. That was the kind of acceptance of authority in my time, but the same cannot be said of today's children. I do not have that kind of influence over my own sons and daughters."

The next aspect that has been studied is the percentage distribution of parents giving allowances to children and adolescents. Table 5.19 to 5.19b analyses the frequency of giving allowances, and parents keeping track of pocket allowances spent by children and adolescents.

Moser (1952:562) in his study states that emancipation from the family is frequently associated with money problems. Adolescents think of money as a symbol of independence. Parents sometimes use it as a means of

controlling adolescent's behaviour. To be completely dependent on the family for spending money is irksome to teenagers, to earn money themselves increases self esteem. But the scope for independent earning is very meagre for the adolescents. His dependence on his family is often prolonged by his need for financial help in getting an education and by restricted opportunities for employment. Further, according to him, money is frequently a bone of contention in the family. There is usually conflict between parents and children over how much a child should receive as an allowance and how much he should spend for his recreation or for other purposes. The economic condition is one of the main factors in deciding the policy of giving allowance to the adolescent children.

Table 5.19

Pocket Allowance given to Children and Adolescents

Generation	N	A	B
I	142	18 (13)	124 (87)
II	157	28 (18)	129 (82)
III	121	98 (81)	23 (19)

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage

N = Total number of children.

A = Yes. B = No.

Table 5.19 reveals that more than 80 per cent parents in the first and second generations did not give any pocket allowance to children, whereas this percentage in the present consist of 19 per cent only. Similarly, in the present generation, 81 per cent children are given allowances as compared to 13 per cent and 18 per cent in the first and second generations respectively.

Table 5.19a further reveals that though more than 80 per cent children are given an allowance by parents, in the third generation nevertheless only 12 per cent children and 20 per cent adolescents are given 'regularly', those children who are given 'intermittently' consists of 22 per cent children in their childhood and 38 per cent adolescent children. Whereas higher percentage of children, viz. 46 per cent and 23 per cent children and adolescents respectively are given only 'occasionally'. In comparison, frequency of giving allowances to children in earlier generations were by and large 'occasionally' and 'intermittent'. For instance, the percentage for the former consisted of 8 per cent only for adolescent children in the first and second generations respectively and 11 per cent among children in their childhood in the second generation. Similarly, the frequency of giving 'intermittently' varies between 5 per cent and 6 per cent among the children of the first and second generations. However, frequency of giving allowance

'regularly' appears to be totally absent in the earliest generation both among children and adolescents and consist of a negligible 1 per cent and 4 per cent respectively among children and adolescents of the second generation.

Table 5.19a

Frequency of giving Pocket Allowances

Generation	N	Responses	A	B	C
I	142	1	-	-	-
		2	-	7 (5)	11 (8)
II	157	1	2 (1)	8 (6)	18 (11)
		2	6 (4)	10 (6)	12 (8)
III	121	1	15 (12)	27 (22)	56 (46)
		2	24 (20)	46 (38)	28 (23)

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage

N = Total number of children.

Responses

1 = Childhood.

2 = Adolescents.

A = Regularly.

B = Intermittent.

C = Occasional.

Table 5.19b reveals that only 14 per cent parents in the present generation keep track 'to a great extent' of the allowances given to children, this percentage consist of

only 5 per cent in the second generation and appear to be totally absent in the first generation. It is further observed from Table 5.19b that higher percentage of parents in the present generation keep track of pocket allowances given to children to 'some' and 'little extent' only.

Table 5.19b

Parents keeping track of Pocket Money Spent by Children

Generation	N	A	B	C	D
I	142	-	10 (7)	8 (6)	-
II	157	8 (5)	11 (7)	9 (6)	-
III	121	17 (14)	36 (30)	37 (31)	8 (7)

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage

N = Total number of children.

A = Great extent. B = Some extent.

C = Very little. D = Never.

Whereas this percentage consist of merely 7 per cent and 6 per cent respectively in the first and second generations. It is also to be noted that 7 per cent parents in the present generation 'never' keep track of the allowances given to children.

To gauge the attitude of parents towards observing and familiarising children with the customs and practices,

mothers were asked to respond to what extent are such practices prevalent in the family and the means adopted for imparting them to children.

Table 5.20

Children Familiarised with Customs and Traditions and Practices of Family and Community

Generation	N	N ¹	A	B	C
I	142	22	18 (82)	4 (18)	-
II	157	33	21 (64)	9 (27)	3 (9)
III	121	28	14 (50)	9 (32)	5 (18)

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage

N = Total number of children.

N¹ = Total number of respondents.

A = A great deal. B = Quite a bit.

C = Very little.

The data is analysed and presented in Tables 5.20 and 5.20a.

Extent of parents observing and familiarizing children with customs and traditions 'to a great extent' shows highest percentage of 92 per cent, among families in the earliest generation (first generation) as compared to a much lower percentage of 50 per cent in the present

generation (third generation). This factor is further supported by responses showing 18 per cent parents in the third generation impart social norms to children 'to a very little extent'.

Secondly, changes in attitude towards imparting social customs and practices is being reflected in the flexibility of responses when compared from the first to the third generation. For example, 90 per cent children acquired such norms by the process of seeing it being 'practiced in their homes'. Whereas more than 30 per cent children in the

Table 5.20a

Means of Imparting and Familiarising Children with Customs and Practices of the Family

Generation	N	N ¹	A	B
I	142	22	20 (90)	2 (10)
II	157	33	26 (79)	7 (21)
III	121	28	19 (68)	9 (32)

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage

N = Total number of children.

N¹ = Total number of respondents.

A = Children see it being practiced in the house.

B = Parents familiarising children about these by insisting that they should be followed by them in future and guided partly by elders in the family.

third generation are being familiarised and imparted 'by only being told and asked to follow'. Hence, as generations advance, the task of the family in selecting and interpreting norms (customs and practices) reflects in its flexibility as compared to earlier generations whereby family customs and practices tended to be more rigidly imparted and practiced by children.

Thus Tables 5.20 and 5.20a together reveals that though the means adopted by the parents in imparting customs and practices to children appears to have come down when compared from the first to the third generation. Nevertheless, family customs and practices (social norms) are still being imparted by families to children to a considerable extent through the process of being partly guided and directed by elders in the family, participation and interaction in various social and religious functions and activities of the family and community at large, as told by mothers in the present generation.

PARENTAL ATTACHMENT TO THEIR CHILDREN AND THEIR VIEWS TOWARDS CHILDREN'S ATTACHMENT AND CONTACT WITH FRIENDS AND RELATIVES AND THE VIEWS OF EACH PARENT IN DISCIPLINING AND BRINGING UP THEIR CHILDREN

Children's build up an affectionate relationship separately with each parent, depending largely upon how much affection is shown towards a child. As Garrison has

emphasised "love seems to be a two-way affair and grows best when it is both given and received. A constant rejection in the home may leave the child's capacity by giving forth affection undeveloped or may cause him to seek affection from individuals outside the home. The affectionate relationship that exists between a child and his parents has an impact on children's attachment to their parents." (1952:191).

Affections are emotional reactions built up through pleasant associations. As the child grows into adolescence his associations with his parents and people changes. The adolescent is far more discriminating than the young child in the selection of individuals to whom he attaches his affection and for whom he will build up an affectionate association.

To whom a child is attached mostly depends upon the role of each parent towards their children and the affection that children develop for parents depends upon the type of relationship parents have with their children. The child may even discriminate between father and mother to build up an affectionate association, as Carlson and Garrett has stressed, "Affectionate relationship of the child with his parents may develop and evolve differently according to the size of the family. As the number of members in a family increases, the number of inter-relationship also increases

accordingly. The parent's affection for children gets divided among the children, the parents with more children cannot pour affection on one child." (1970:262). Hence affection of the child for his parents and to which parent is a child attached to mostly, needs to be studied. These aspects of the study is statistically presented in Tables 5.21 to 5.25b.

The aspects studied are:

1. Parental attachment towards their children.
2. Father spending and sparing time with children.
3. Extent of father's participation in the activities and interaction with children.
4. Parental view towards children's attachment and contact with relatives.
5. Parental participation and attitude towards their children's (adolescent) friends.
6. Differences and disagreements between parents regarding dis-ciplining and bringing up of children.
7. Reasons and causes for differences and disagreements.
8. Extent of resolving and settling differences and disagreements between the parents.

Table 5.21 presents the data as responded by parents to which parent the child is more attached.

The Table shows that irrespective of generation, majority of children are to a great extent attached to the mother. However, a comparative study reveals that to some extent the degree of attachment to the father appears to be increasing gradually from the first to the third generation.

Table 5.21

Parental Attachment to their Children - who do you think your Child is more Attached to in the Family

Generation	N	Responses	A	B	C	D
I	142	1	-	67 (47)	-	31 (22)
		2	6 (18)	-	18 (13)	-
II	157	1	-	77 (49)	-	21 (13)
		2	37 (24)	-	22 (14)	-
III	121	1	18 (15)	60 (49½)	-	14 (12)
		2	-	-	29 (24)	-

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage

N = Total number of children.

Responses

1 = To a great extent. 2 = To some extent.

A = Father. B = Mother. C = Both.

D = Any other, viz. grandparents, auntie/uncle etc.

This percentage consist of 15 per cent to 'a great extent' in the third generation as compared to 18 per cent and 24 per cent to 'some extent' only in the first and second generations.

The following case may illustrate this point:

Case 60 Mrs B - age 28 years - of the third generation, married and mother of three children, says "Mother left us when we children (two brothers and one sister) were mere kids. My father brought us up. When I was about 12 years of age, my father got married again, my step-mother too had two children from her first marriage and from the present marriage there were three children. Today all of us are grown up and settled with our own families excepting for the youngest two. My step-mother has always been fair and loving to us, but even to this day, my attachment to my father has not diminished, he is the one I rush to when ever I am in trouble or want any advice for he had been both a father and mother to us children since we were kids and that attachment is still very much there."

Similarly, children's attachment to both parents is also increasing from the earliest to the present generation, viz. 13 per cent, 14 per cent and 24 per cent in the first, second and third generations respectively. It is also to be noted that children's attachment to other members of the family, which has been of much significance among the

earlier generation, appears to be decreasing as generation advances, the following cases illustrates the attachment of children to members other than parents in the first and second generation:

Case 61 Mrs M - age 52 years - of the second generation, the third child in a family of nine children, says "I was more attached to my grandmother than to my mother though we all lived together. Right from when I was a toddler to adolescence, it was grandma who attended to all our needs, any problem or any thing I wanted to confide in as an adolescent, it was grandma first to whom I would tell. When I wanted to get married (pointing to her husband who was also present), it was grandma to whom I first approached and confided. It was she who told my parents of my intention. Initially there was a lot of objection and rejection from my parents but grandma stood by me and convinced my parents in letting me marry."

Case 62 Miss S - age 44 years - of the second generation, eldest child in a family of seven children, says "I was more attached to my maternal aunt (mother's eldest sister) than to either my mother or father. My aunt married much later than my mother, but even after her marriage my attachment to her did not lessen. Any argument with my parents or after getting a scolding from my parents, I would go away and stay with auntie who lived quite far off (i.e.,

after her marriage, set up her house with her husband away from us). I still remember when I was in school and could not get through my promotion to Class X. I was dreading having to face my parents, for my father was very strict and severe with his punishments. But more than that, I felt very sad and bitter of having let down my aunt. She had hired a tutor to coach me for my parents could not afford to. The disappointment she felt at my failure was written all over her face, but I promised her that I would try to do my best the coming year, which I did. Eventually I got through the School Leaving Examinations, after which I dropped out of studies and took up a job. This auntie of mine now lives with me as she is a widow. Her husband expired a couple of years ago, though all her children are grown up and well settled in life. She has come to live with me and my family, her home is here with us and my children are more attached to her than to my mother."

The following case illustrates children's attachment to parents rather than to other members of the family:

Case 63 Mr H - age 37 years - of the third generation, father of five children, says "Under no circumstances are my children willing to stay with any one besides us parents. A few months back my wife took ill and had to be admitted to the hospital, so both my mother and mother-in-law offered to take my children with them. But

none of them were willing to go. After much persuasion, my eldest son (aged 12 years) and the second son (aged 9 years) gave in, but no one could persuade my two daughters (aged 7 and 5 years) into accompanying them."

Table 5.22 presents the data on the extent of fathers' spending and sparing time with his children and Table 5.22a gives a break-up of the extent of fathers' participation in the activities and interaction with his children.

The figures in Table 5.22 reveals that irrespective of generation, father spending 'some' amount of time with children is consistently higher in all the generations rather than father spending time with children to a 'great extent'. This percentage consists of 25 per cent, 39 per cent and 43 per cent in the first, second and third generations respectively. Further it is observed that father spending time with children to a 'great extent' appears to be increasing as generation advances. Whereas at the other end, father spending time with children to a 'very little extent' appears to be decreasing as generation advances. The percentage for the former consist of 13 per cent, 18 per cent and 32 per cent and the latter consist of 36 per cent, 30 per cent and 15 per cent in the first, second and third generations respectively.

Table 5.22

Father Spending Time with Children

Generation	N	A	B	C	D
I	142	18 (13)	35 (25)	51 (36)	38 (27)
II	157	28 (18)	62 (39)	47 (30)	20 (13)
III	121	39 (32)	52 (43)	18 (15)	12 (10)

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage

N = Total number of children.

Responses

A = Great extent.

B = Some extent.

C = Very little.

D = No response.

Table 5.22a gives a break-up on the kinds of activities father and children participate and are engaged in. The Table viewed as whole brings out the fact that in the earliest generation highest percentage (57 per cent) consisted of children spending time together with their father by engaging and involving in various indoor and outdoor chores, tasks and activities. Whereas in the present generation, majority of the responses (36 per cent) consist of father's spending and sparing time with children 'concerning himself with what children do not only in school but also in their leisure time'. This fact is further

Table 5.22a

Activities Father Participates in with Children

Generation	N	A	B	C	D
I	142	23 (16)	81 (57)	-	38 (27)
II	157	31 (20)	90 (57)	16 (10)	20 (13)
III	121	41 (34)	24 (20)	44 (36)	12 (10)

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage

N = Total number of children.

Responses

A = Reading, talking, playing.

B = Engaging and keeping children busy around the house, taking children out.

C = Spending time concerning himself with what children do/ did not only in school but also in their leisure time.

D = No response.

supported by responses showing 34 per cent fathers spending time with his children by either 'reading, talking and playing' in the present generation. It is also to be noted that father spending and sparing time with his children in the former activity is found to be totally absent in the earliest generation, and the latter consist of a negligible 16 per cent and 20 per cent in the first and second generations respectively. It is also remarkable to note that

even in the later generations, 13 per cent and 10 per cent have abstained from responding among the second and third generations. It may be a fact that in such families, fathers spend little or no time with his children. It may also be a fact that though fathers spend some amount of time together with children, they may not interact and participate as responded by a few mothers of the present generation.

The following is an example of one such view:

Case 64 Mrs C - age 39 years - of the third generation, says "It's not exactly that my husband does any sort of things together with the children as mentioned but time spent with the children is sitting together and watching the T.V. - I must say it's the T.V. that makes my husband spend some amount of time with the children."

Table 5.23 shows the parental views towards children's attachment and contact with their relatives. It is seen from Table 5.23 that the total percentage of children who frequent ^{their} maternal relatives 'often' is consistently higher in all the generations as compared to children frequenting their paternal relatives. This frequency varies between 83 per cent and 32 per cent in the first generation, 82 per cent and 31 per cent in the second generation, and in the third generation this percentage consist of 78 per cent and 26 per cent. Secondly, it is noted that irrespective of generation, near about 50 per

Table 5.23
Frequency of Visiting Relatives

Generation	N	Responses	A	B	C
I	142	1	118 (83)	20 (14)	4 (3)
		2	45 (32)	71 (50)	26 (18)
II	157	1	128 (82)	25 (16)	4 (3)
		2	48 (31)	80 (51)	29 (18)
III	121	1	94 (78)	24 (20)	3 (2)
		2	31 (26)	64 (53)	26 (24)

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage

N = Total number of children.

A = Often.

B = Sometimes/Intermittent.

C = Occasionally.

Responses

1 = Maternal.

2 = Paternal.

cent children in all the generations frequent paternal relatives only 'sometimes/intermittently'. However, this frequency is found to be slightly higher in the later generations, viz. 51 per cent and 53 per cent in the second and third generations respectively. Further, the percentage

of responses showing frequency of visiting paternal relatives only 'occasionally' varies between 18 per cent and 24 per cent in the first, second and third generations respectively.

Parental views towards their children's attachment and reasons for frequenting their relatives, respondents (parents) were asked to respond to any one of the following four statements:

1. Enjoy keeping in touch.
2. Feel you ought to or have an obligation.
3. Both 1 and 2 - i.e. enjoy keeping in touch and feel you ought to or have an obligation.
4. Out of habit.

Table 5.23a presents the different views of parents stating their children's frequency of visiting relatives.

Table 5.23a shows that children's visits to maternal relatives stating 'they enjoy keeping in touch and feel that they ought and have obligation to' consist of higher percentage in all the generations, viz. 85 per cent, 80 per cent and 78 per cent in the first, second and third generations respectively. Whereas visits to paternal relatives has been responded to by highest percentage of respondents stating 'they ought to or have an obligation'. This percentage varies between 73 per cent, 71 per cent and 69 per cent in the first, second and third generations

Table 5.23a

Reasons for Visiting

Generation	N	Responses	A	B	C	D
I	142	1	12 (15)	-	121 (85)	-
		2	-	104 (73)	-	38 (28)
II	157	1	32 (20)	-	125 (80)	-
		2	5 (3)	111 (71)	-	41 (26)
III	121	1	24 (20)	-	94 (78)	3 (2)
		2	10 (8)	83 (69)	12 (10)	16 (13)

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage

N = Total number of children.

A = Enjoy keeping in touch.

B = You feel you ought to/have an obligation.

C = Both A & B - i.e. enjoy keeping in touch and feel you ought to, and also have an obligation.

D = Out of habit.

Responses

1 = Maternal. 2 = Paternal.

respectively. However, it is to be noted that responses stating visits to paternal relatives 'out of habit' appears to be decreasing as generation advances, rather visiting

paternal relatives because children 'enjoy keeping in touch' appears to be slowly gaining momentum though this percentage consist of a negligible 2 per cent and 8 per cent in the second and third generations, nevertheless it is significant to note that such attachment towards paternal relatives is found to be totally absent among responses of the earliest generation.

The following cases illustrates attachment towards paternal relatives:

Case 65 Mrs N - age 68 years - of the first generation, says "I was brought up by my paternal grandparents, uncles and aunts. Today, many of my uncles and aunts are no longer there. But I feel I owe and have an obligation towards their children and grand children. Last year they had a church service and they came asking me to lend them some curtains for the occasion. Instead of giving them the old and used ones and moreover as I could afford to, I bought them a whole new lot. Though I am getting old and it's difficult moving about, yet I make it a point to visit them every now and then, help them out financially and even otherwise when ever they are in need. My daughter and her children too visit them at times as they enjoy keeping in touch."

Case 66 Mr & Mrs H - age 35 and 30 years respectively - of the third generation, says "Our children

are more attached and close to their paternal grandparents, aunts and their children. Whenever the occasion arises of having to visit or having to put up for the night or go for social visiting and outings, the children are forever keen and enthusiastic and prefer going along with their paternal grandparents and aunts though their maternal grandparents live just next door and are equally fond of them as they are the only grandchildren from the maternal side."

A comparative study of the attitude and behaviour of the parents towards their children and adolescent friends has been studied and analysed in Tables 5.24 to 5.24b.

Dinkineyer (1967:158) is of the view that parent's attitude towards the friends of their child and the type of affectionate treatment they give to their friends is important for the adolescent to establish his status in the peer world. The adolescent's status among his friends rises when his parents receive warmly and treat well his friends who call upon him. This binds the parent-adolescent relationship more securely.

The data on Table 5.24a shows that more than 50 per cent adolescent children of the present generation call upon their friends and invite their friends over 'quite often'. Thus it appears that as generation advances, this trend among adolescent children appears to be gradually increasing when compared from the earliest to the present

generation. This gains further support as only 14 per cent among the present generation have abstained from responding

Table 5.24

Parents Entertaining and Participating with the Children's Friends

Generation	N	A	B	C
I	142	27 (19)	38 (27)	77 (54)
II	157	59 (37)	69 (44)	29 (18)
III	121	51 (42)	61 (50)	9 (7)

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage

N = Total number of children.

Responses

A = Great extent. B = Some extent. C = No response.

as compared to 23 per cent and 26 per cent in the first and second generations respectively.

The analysis on the data as to what extent the parents of the adolescent children entertain and participate with their children's friends is presented in Table 5.24.

The analysis reveals that though parents participating and entertaining their adolescents children's friends appears to be gradually increasing from one generation to the next, nevertheless, Table 5.24 shows that by and large majority of parents participate only to

Table 5.24a

Extent of Parents Participation with Children's and Adolescent's Friends

Generation	N	A	B	C
I	142	30 (25)	79 (56)	33 (23)
II	157	65 (41)	51 (32)	41 (26)
III	121	65 (54)	39 (32)	17 (14)

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage

N = Total number of children.

Responses

A = Often. B = Sometimes. C = No response.

'some extent'. For instance, this percentage varies between 27 per cent, 44 per cent and 50 per cent in the first, second and third generations respectively.

Finally, reaction of the parents towards their adolescent children's friends is presented in Table 5.24b. It is observed from Table 5.24b that higher percentage of parents (36 per cent) in the present generation as compared to the earlier generations have responded by stating that they are 'not certain' about their children's friends. Further, this could be the reason for more than 30 per cent parents in the present generation have abstained from responding. It has also been observed that percentage of

parents being 'satisfied' with the type of friends their adolescent children have selected appears to be gradually

Table 5.24b

Attitude and Reaction of Parents towards their Children's and Adolescent's Friends

Generation	N	A	B	C	D
I	142	35 (25)	13 (9)	14 (10)	80 (56)
II	157	38 (24)	16 (10)	51 (32)	52 (33)
III	121	27 (22)	14 (12)	44 (36)	36 (30)

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage

N = Total number of children.

Responses

A = Satisfied. B = Dissatisfied. C = Not certain.

D = No response.

decreasing as generation advances. Rather parents being 'dissatisfied' appears to be gradually increasing from one generation to the next. For instance, the percentage for the former varies between 25 per cent, 24 per cent and 22 per cent and for the latter consist of 9 per cent, 10 per cent and 12 per cent in the first, second and third generations respectively.

Role and Views of each Parent in Disciplining and Bringing Up of their Children

Table 5.25 to 5.25b gives an analysis of the individual responses of both the father and mother on their views of differences and disagreement regarding the disciplining and bringing up of their children.

Figures in Table 5.25 reveal that by and large parental disagreements regarding disciplining of children shows that the percentage of responses among those who say 'sometimes' disagree is consistently higher in all the generations, in the responses of both father and mother. However, a comparative study of Table 5.25 shows that among those parents who say they 'always' disagree, the responses of mother's among the later generations is higher than responses of the fathers. For example, responses of fathers consist of 36 per cent, 39 per cent and 43 per cent and mothers' responses consist of 41 per cent, 45 per cent and 50 per cent in the first, second and third generations respectively. Further, it is also to be noted that those parents who have abstained from responding, the percentage of father's is higher than the percentage of mother's. The percentage of fathers who have abstained from responding consist of 32 per cent, 24 per cent and 7 per cent in the first, second and third generations respectively, whereas

Table 5.25

Differences and Disagreement between Mother and Father regarding Disciplining and Bringing Up the Children

Generation	N	Responses	1	2	3
I	22	A	8 (36)	7 (32)	7 (32)
		B	9 (41)	10 (45)	3 (14)
II	33	A	13 (39)	12 (36)	8 (24)
		B	15 (45)	17 (51½)	1 (3)
III	28	A	12 (43)	14 (50)	2 (7)
		B	14 (50)	14 (50)	-

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage

N = Total number of children.

Responses

A = Response of father. B = Response of mother.

1 = Always. 2 = Sometimes. 3 = No response.

mothers who have abstained from responding consist of 14 per cent and 3 per cent in the first and second generations respectively. This may be attributed to the fact that some of the families under study are single parent families where the mothers are either out of wedlock, separated or are widowed. But nevertheless, even in families which are

intact, some fathers in spite of much persuasion, encouragement and prompting, hesitated and refused and thereby abstained from responding.

Table 5.25a

Reasons and Causes for Differences and Disagreement between Parents in Disciplining of Children

Genera- tion	N	Responses	1	2	3	4	5
I	15	A	-	5 (33)	3 (20)	7 (46)	-
	19	B	8 (42)	3 (16)	4 (21)	4 (21)	-
II	25	A	-	8 (32)	6 (24)	11 (44)	4 (3)
	32	B	14 (44)	5 (16)	7 (22)	6 (19)	-
III	26	A	-	11 (42)	6 (23)	9 (35)	-
	28	B	13 (46)	4 (14)	6 (21)	5 (18)	-

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage

N = Total number of children.

Responses

A = Response of father. B = Response of mother.

1 = For beating the child. 2 = Children coming home late.

3 = Company kept by children. 4 = Dropping out of school.

5 = Any other.

Table 5.25a gives a break-up of the reasons and causes for differences and disagreements between parents in disciplining of children. Among those parents who say that disagreement occurs for 'beating children', such responses consist of mothers only. This percentage varies between 42 per cent, 44 per cent and 46 per cent for mothers in the first, second and third generations respectively. Whereas disagreements arising for all the other three circumstances, viz. 'children coming home late', 'company kept by children' and 'dropping out of school', the percentages of responses of fathers is higher than mothers in all the three generations.

Table 5.25b show to what extent disagreements between parents get settled and resolved. The figures in Table 5.25a show that highest percentage in the present generation (third generation), resolves disagreements by 'talking things over and coming to an understanding'. This percentage consists of 42 per cent of fathers and 61 per cent of mothers. Whereas among the earlier generations this percentage consisted of 27 per cent and 32 per cent of fathers and 37 per cent and 41 per cent of mothers in the first and second generations respectively. However, it is also significant to note that 28 per cent mothers and 34 per cent fathers in the present generation responded by saying that either 'temporarily differences are settled' (viz. 19

Table 5.25b

Views on Differences Getting Settled and resolved

Generation	N	Responses	1	2	3	4
I	15	A	4 (27)	6 (40)	-	5 (33)
	19	B	7 (37)	4 (21)	4 (21)	4 (21)
II	25	A	8 (32)	9 (36)	3 (12)	5 (20)
	32	B	13 (41)	5 (16)	8 (25)	6 (19)
III	26	A	11 (42)	6 (23)	5 (19)	4 (15)
	28	B	17 (61)	3 (11)	4 (14)	4 (14)

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage

N = Total number of children.

Responses

A = Response of father. B = Response of mother.

1 = By talking over and coming to an understanding.

2 = Each makes an effort to attend.

3 = Temporarily matters are settled.

4 = Leave things as they are.

per cent fathers and 14 per cent mothers), otherwise 'leave things as they are' (15 per cent fathers and 14 per cent

mothers). Analyses of the Tables 5.25 to 5.25b are further supported by the findings on Table 5.11.

The following example may give an insight towards parents settling and resolving their differences by 'talking things over and coming to an understanding', in the present generation:

Case 67 Mr & Mrs H - age 35 and 30 years respectively - of the third generation are both secondary but below graduate. Mr H who is in service and Mrs H, a housewife and mother of five children (2 daughters and 3 sons), remarked "Back from work my husband would often pick on me for letting the children, particularly the boys to play and run wild with children down the street. I must admit that often I too retort back - 'leaving the entire responsibility on me for looking after the kids, it's not possible to keep an eye from moment to moment where and to what my sons (aged 9 and 11 years) are up to and at the same time attend to the other household chores and look after the baby.' But my main bone of contention against him has been that he has time for all the other children and youth of the locality except his own - he is an active member of various clubs and organisations. All his time is spent and devoted to others in the locality except for his family and children. And this is one issue that I can't never get across to him, without him not getting heated up and walking

off." Mrs H explicitly stated (pointing to her husband) "There's got to be give and take and you can't always have it your own way - disagreements should be talked out and not just turning off and keeping quiet." Mr H concluded his explanation by admitting "Though I am still much involved with the youths and activities of the locality, I have cut down and restricted my activities for the sake of the children." As Mr and Mrs H admitted, "Much later after talking things over, we realised that it is pointless trying to shout and get at each other, for it is not just up to 'her' or to 'me' but it is up to 'us' both - we both are responsible for the upbringing of our children."

the following observations are examples of parental differences and disagreements in disciplining of children. But it also illustrates parental disagreement on the best way to handle the child which may be at the root of the problem rather than either paternal or maternal behaviour solely considered:

Case 68 Mr P - age 15 years - is being called out by the father and told to chop up some wood and stack them up before dark. Just then the mother happened to come out wanting her son to go to the nearby market on some errands. Finally after much arguing and cribbing between the parents, the boy was seen going to the market. The point to be emphasised here is that going to the market could have

awaited and could be done much later as the market was just a stone's throw away while the chopping and stacking of wood needed to be done before dark - but

Case 69 Mr H - age 40 years - of the second generation, secondary but below matriculation, is in trade by profession and father of five children (3 daughters and 2 sons), was found to have said thus "My younger son who is just in Class 7 and could not get through for the second time in his final examination. My wife is now getting him admitted to technical school. She feels it is better for him to pick up the hammer and sooner go and earn wages rather than waste money on him for studies. I do not agree with her views. I'd have much preferred for him to continue with his studies and wished that he could have taken up a non-manual rather than a manual job"

Another such view admitted is as follows:

Case 70 Mr K - age 38 years - of the third generation, secondary but below matriculation, is in service (driver) by profession and father of six children (4 daughters and 2 sons), admitted with deep feelings of regret and disappointment that as an adolescent when he was insisted upon and persuaded by his father to continue with his studies having dropped out of high school, and being insisted upon to break away from bad habits and from boys whom he had selected as friends, "Father from the very

beginning was bent on getting me back to school. Initially he tried to, by cribbing and nagging and by getting at me all the time and at times by also persuading. But when everything else failed, he caned me real hard a couple of times. Mother was quick to rise to such occasions - 'Don't force him, leave him alone, let him decide for himself, he is grown up why do you keep on nagging and shouting at him; it will do him no good'. I still remember there were occasions when I would often get back late and though mother would at times instill fear in me saying 'I'll tell your father". But it did not bother me much for many a times such threats were not carried out. Moreover he would never be allowed to hit hard. At that time I considered myself real lucky, but today I wish I was forced into going back to school. Had I only heeded to what my father said, things would have been otherwise. All my sisters are holding good jobs and are well placed in life, while I'm a mere driver."

BREAST FEEDING AND TOILET TRAINING

The last dimension on which the socialization of children has been studied and analyzed in this research study has been based on the child training methods of toilet training, breast feeding and supplementary food given to infants.

While considering breast feeding, weaning and toilet training of the child, we have concentrated mainly on the mothers as such (i.e. as a mother only) and could not see it in terms of generation/sequence, i.e. mother as a child, due to obvious difficulties.

The child develops patterns of social behaviour similar to those of his parents. The goal of all child rearing is to develop in the child the capacity for adjustment as prescribed by the cultural system to which the child belongs. "Throughout the centuries, there have been shifts in the culturally approved child-training methods. Certain contemporary problems, as breast feeding and emotional care of children were discussed as far back as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Since the turn of this century the issues of child-raising has been much discussed with the result that there has been a marked shift from rigid discipline to an understanding of the child and his needs and the adults obligation to meet his needs (Jersild 1957:91-93).

Bronfenbrenner (1958), for example, in a critical analysis of fifteen child-training studies conducted in various parts of the United States between 1932 and 1957, was able to identify a number of changes in practices during those years. His chief findings were that mothers had become more flexible and permissive in their child-rearing

than they had been in the early thirties, that they were no longer as addicted to the inflexible application of rigid time schedules and that they had grown more respectful of the unique needs of their individual children.

Hence, it is reasonable to assume that such differences in the views stem from differences in value orientation. They may also be influenced, among other things, by the educational level, economic condition and the traditional value system of the family.

Based on these assumptions, the views of mothers on the variations in child-training practices that exist along with changes that may have taken place over the years has been studied and presented in Tables 5.26 - 5.27b.

In this section the factors studied are :

1. Duration of breast feeding infants.
2. Schedule of feeding.
3. Supplementary food given to infants.
4. Age, mode and pattern of toilet training children.

Table 5.26 reveals that in the first generation, mothers depended entirely on breast feeding, solid and semi-solid food for one year. In the second generation, 14 per cent mothers totally stopped breast feeding their child from the age of one year and supplementation of solid, semi-solid and bottle feeding was given, as against this we find cent

per cent mothers in the earliest generation (first generation) continued to breast feed their infants even after the age of one. further in the third and fourth generation, 11 per cent and 33 per cent mothers respectively, totally stopped breast feeding from six months and depended entirely on supplementary food, whereas at the other end, Table 5.26 also shows a sizeable proportion of mothers in the third and fourth generation, viz. 47 per cent and 67 per cent continue breast feeding infants till above the age of one. It is also of much significance to note that 63 and 67 per cent mothers in the third and fourth generations respectively introduce bottle feeding their infants from six months. However, the Table viewed as a whole shows that as generation advances duration of breast feeding infants appears to be gradually decreasing from one generation to the next. Nevertheless, it is also remarkable to note that even in the later generations sizeable proportions of mothers, viz. 53 per cent and 33 per cent mothers in the third and fourth generations respectively continue to breast feed their infants above the age of one in addition to other food supplementation.

Table 5.26

Number of Months Mothers Breast Feed the Child and Supplementation of Solids, Semi-solids and Bottle Feeding begins

Generation	N	Age/Class of the infant	A	B	C	D
I	8	1	8 (100)	8 (100)	-	-
		2	8 (100)	8 (100)	-	-
		3	8 (100)	8 (100)	-	-
II	14	1	14 (100)	14 (100)	-	-
		2	14 (100)	14 (100)	-	-
		3	12 (86)	12 (86)	-	2 (14)
III	19	1	14 (100)	14 (100)	-	-
		2	17 (89)	5 (26)	12 (63)	2 (10%)
		3	-	-	10 (53)	9 (47)
IV	9	1	9 (100)	9 (100)	-	-
		2	6 (67)	-	6 (67)	3 (33)
		3	3 (33)	-	3 (33)	6 (67)

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage

N = Total number of respondents.

Age/Class of the infants:

1 = Upto 6 months. 2 = 6+ to 1 year. 3 = 1 year & above.

A = Breast feeding.

B = Breast feeding and other food.

C = Breast feeding other food, and bottle feed.

D = No breast feeding, only bottle feed and other food.

Tables 5.26a and 5.26b which have been condensed from Table 5.26 very clearly demonstrate that mothers of earlier generations breast-fed the child for longer

Table 5.26a

Duration of Breast Feeding

Generation	N	A	B	C
I	8	8 (100)	8 (100)	8 (100)
II	14	14 (100)	14 (100)	12 (86)
III	19	19 (100)	17 (89½)	10 (53)
IV	9	9 (100)	6 (67)	3 (33)

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage

N = Number of mothers.

A = Upto 6 months.

B = 6 months to 1 year.

C = 1 year and above.

duration. Further the Tables also show that the duration of breast feeding the infant has been decreasing from the earliest to the present generation. In other words younger the generation lesser is the duration of breast feeding the infant.

Table 5.26b

Schedule of Breast Feeding

Generation	N	A	B
I	8	7 (87½)	1 (12½)
II	14	11 (79)	3 (21)
III	19	13 (68)	6 (32)
IV	9	5 (56)	4 (44)

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage

N = Total number of mothers.

Responses

A = According to demand. B = According to schedule.

Particulars, on the type of supplementary feeding given to infants are presented in Table 5.26c. The Table shows that to a 'great extent' mothers in the earlier

Table 5.26c

Supplementary Food Given to Infants

Gene- ration	Respon- ses	A	B	C	D
I	1	13 (59)	-	9 (41)	-
	2	-	-	-	-
	3	-	-	-	-
II	1	17 (51½)	-	13 (39)	-
	2	-	3 (9)	-	-
	3	-	-	-	-
III	1	11 (39)	-	5 (18)	-
	2	-	5 (18)	-	5 (18)
	3	-	-	3 (33)	2 (7)
IV	1	2 (22)	-	-	3 (33)
	2	-	-	-	2 (22)
	3	-	2 (22)	-	-

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage

Responses

1 = Great extent. 2 = Some extent. 3 = Little extent.

A = Meshed rice. B = Sagu dana. C = Banana.

D = Formula/Cow's milk.

generation, preferred to introduce supplementary feeding with either meshed rice or bananas 'to a great extent'. This percentage consist of 59 per cent and 51 per cent (meshed rice) and 41 per cent and 39 per cent (bananas) in first and second generations, respectively. Further, similarly in the later generations too, considerable number of mothers to a 'great extent' prefer to introduce supplementary feeding with meshed rice, sagudana, barley and bananas. Percentage of mothers introducing supplementary feed with meshed rice, consist of 39 per cent and 22 per cent and sagudana consist of 18 per cent 'to some extent' and 22 per cent 'to a little extent' in the third and fourth generations respectively while mothers preferring supplementary feeding with bananas consist of 33 per cent 'to a little extent' in the third generation. It is also remarkable to note that even in the later generations, mothers introducing supplementary feeding of infants with tin/formula food 'to a great extent' consist of a negligible 25 per cent (viz. 18 per cent 'to some extent' and 7 per cent 'to a little extent') in the third generation and 55 per cent (viz. 33 per cent to a 'great extent' and 22 per cent to 'some extent') in the fourth generation respectively.

Extracts from one of the interviews on weaning might provide some additional insight into the attitudes of

mothers regarding the problem of weaning, irrespective of generations :

Case 71 Mother - aged 40, secondary but below graduation, mother of six children (2 daughters and 4 sons)

Q. What was the age of Rit when she was able to take her food without your help ?

A. She began to eat independently when she was about 18 months. The grandmother gave her rice mixed with soup and she took it.

Q. How old was Rit when you stopped breast feeding ?

A. She was about two years when I stopped nursing her.

Q. But before you stopped her nursing, did you give her any supplementary food ?

A. Oh yes. I used to give her meshed rice/bananas, twice a day and would breast feed her soon after, when she was just about 3-4 months old.

Q. Did you stop breast feeding her suddenly ?

A. I stopped it totally when she was about two years old.

Q. What was her immediate reaction ?

A. She cried for a few days, at night. I used to go over to my mother's house to sleep leaving her with my husband - the first couple of nights when she cried real hard, our land lady came over and helped my husband by

dipping into sugar syrup a small piece of cloth tied into a knot, and letting her suckle and slowly in the process she would drift off to sleep.

Q. What if she frequently cried for it ?

A. I resisted the temptation, I would often throughout the day tie her to my back and lull her to sleep and prevent her from suckling.

Q. Did you apply anything on the breast to prevent Rit from suckling it.

A. Yes. I often used to apply *Ksang-Dohkha* (bile of fish) and at times *Soh-ang* (*Solanum*) so that after a while, getting the bitter taste, she stopped paying attention to it.

Respondents views on various aspects of toilet training is presented in Tables 5.27 - 5.27b.

Regarding the age of starting toilet training Table 5.27 shows that irrespective of generation majority of mothers start toilet training of children at the age of 18 months to 2 years. This percentage consist of 75 per cent, 57 per cent and 42 per cent in the first, second and third generation respectively. However, a comparative study of the Table 5.27 shows that ~~in~~ the later generations mothers are starting to toilet train children at a much earlier age. For example in the third and fourth generation 21 per cent and 33 per cent mothers respectively toilet

train their children at the age of 6 months to 1 year, and 37 per cent and 67 per cent mothers respectively in the third and fourth generation toilet train children at the age of 1 year to 18 months.

Table 5.27

Age from when Toilet Training was started

Generation	N	A	B	C	D
I	8	-	-	2 (25)	6 (75)
II	14	-	2 (14)	4 (29)	8 (57)
III	19	-	4 (21)	7 (37)	8 (42)
IV	9	-	3 (33)	6 (67)	-

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage

N = Total number of mothers.

Responses

A = Within 6 months.

B = 6 months to 1 year.

C = 1 year to 18 months.

D = 18 months to 2 years.

Particulars of mode of starting of bladder and bowel control is presented in Table 5.27a. It is seen that in the earliest generation (first generation) majority of the mothers (50 per cent) trained their children by Helping all

the-time? 3. However, as generation advances, highest percentage of mothers (viz. 43 per cent and 53 per cent and 78 per cent in the second, third and fourth generation respectively) are adopting the method of training children by 'reminding at regular intervals' while training children

Table 5.27a

Mode of Starting Training

Generation	N	A	B	C	D
I	8	3 (37½)	4 (50)	-	-
II	14	6 (43)	5 (36)	2 (14)	1 (7)
III	19	10 (53)	6 (31½)	2 (10½)	1 (5)
IV	9	7 (78)	2 (22)	-	-

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage

N = Total number of mothers.

Responses

A = Reminding at regular intervals.

B = Helping ^{the} child all time..

C = Punishment. D = Making the child feel guilty.

by 'helping all the time' appears to be decreasing as generation advances. Further, it is also to be noted that

irrespective of generation, very less percentage of mothers either punished or made the child feel guilty during bowel and bladder training, in fact this method of training appears to be totally absent amongst mothers of the present generation.

Responses of mothers stating their reasons for using toilet training at bed time is presented in Table 5.27b. It

Table 5.27b
Reasons for Toilet Training of Children

Generation	N	A	B	C	D
I	8	3 (37½)	1 (12)	2 (25)	3 (50)
II	14	4 (28)	2 (14)	3 (21)	5 (36)
III	19	6 (32)	9 (47)	4 (21)	-
IV	9	2 (22)	6 (67)	1 (11)	-

Figures in parenthesis indicate percentage

N = Total number of mothers.

Responses

A = To keep the bed clean.

B = To form good habit.

C = To avoid boredom. D = No response.

is seen from Table 5.27b that when compared from the earliest to the present generation, the majority of mothers in the later generations, toilet train children at bed time 'to form good habit'. This percentage consist of 47 per cent in the third generation and 67 per cent in the fourth as against a mere percentage of 14 per cent in the first and second generations respectively. Further, it is also to be noted that mother's responses stating that they toilet train children at bed time in order 'to keep the bed clean' and to 'avoid boredom' appears to be gradually decreasing as generation advances. Thus the Tables on Toilet Training viewed together reveals that irrespective of generation by and large mothers start toilet training children from about 18 months and there appears to be no difference among the mothers of the various generation in giving proper toilet training to their children.

CHAPTER - VI

**DISCUSSION AND
SUMMARY**

The present study deals with various aspects of socialization and child rearing practices, over a period of time among the Khasi, with a view to understanding the changes, if any, have taken place over generations. In the present study, a 'generation' refers to time scale, which corresponds to chronological age. To facilitate the study in generational differences, all families, under the present study, have been put into four age cohorts to examine various family situations, in respect of schooling and educational development of children, imposition of discipline and child training, interaction and recreation (sociability), and various other socialization processes of children. With this end in view, the entire study has been conducted among the Khasi, a major tribal population of Meghalaya, widely known and studied by many anthropologists in the past for their well known matrilineal system. For the present purpose the study has been geographically restricted to five urban areas in Shillong.

Keeping the objectives of the present study in view, various techniques were employed to collect data on socialization processes of children in various family situations over generations. Data for the present study have been collected through a structured schedule (appendix A) from the informants. Besides, many case studies have been incorporated in order to substantiate the findings, and

many extended genealogies (appendix B) have been drawn to understand the changes that have taken place over generations.

For the present purpose, a 'generation' length has been calculated, following the method given by Glass. This has been done to avoid many individuals of different ages coming in one and the same generation (Table 2). In the present study the length of a 'generation' is taken as 21 years. 250 households in five areas have been covered to collect relevant demographic data. It may be mentioned here that a 3 per cent random sampling has been carried out to select these 250 households. In the second phase of the field-work a 20 per cent random sampling has been done on those originally selected 250 households, and finally 50 households have been selected for in-depth study on socialization and parent-child relationship.

In Chapter-III a detailed description of the modified methods, adopted for collection of data for the present study, has been given. It is felt that all the existing methods, generally applied for anthropological researches, viz. genealogy, case study, participant observation, etc., are not adequate enough for collection of data on changes/continuities, if any, over generations.

In the present study, the mothers were the main respondents. So, the interviews were focussed on collection

of data on mothers' attitudes and practices towards different patterns of socialization of their children and child-reading processes. Whenever it was felt necessary, additional information were collected from the fathers and children in order to find out the differences in attitudes between the parents and their children.

An introduction to the salient concepts, used in the present study, viz., generation, family and socialization has been given. Of these three concepts, generation and socialization have been extensively discussed in view of their importance in understanding the changes as well as continuities in child rearing practices. In understanding the concept of generation, the present study has relied mainly on Troll's (1970) various concepts of generation. He has conceptualized 'generation' in five different categories, which are as follows : 'development stage', 'ranked descent', 'age-homogeneous group' or 'age cohorts', 'time span' and 'spirit of the age'. Hence we understand that according to Troll, generations may be viewed variously such as a) positions in a chain of lineal descent (lineage model), b) age strata across society (i.e., cohort model), c) developmental levels through which an individual moves (developmental-stage model), d) specific time span, which is regarded as a unit of social change, and e) series of

subjective age-group identifications (i.e., historical-consciousness model).

Although it is true that the 'lineage model' and 'developmental stage model' have mostly guided in conceptualization of the present study, the 'cohort model' is found to be more useful in interpreting the present data in defining the term 'generation'. In other words, the concept of generation in the present study has been adopted as an 'age-homogeneous group' or 'age-cohorts', which refers to the change on age differentiation within the family and its influence on successive generations.

Various concepts of socialization, given by anthropologists like Childe (1960), Benedict (1934), Mead (1946), Herskovits (1957), White (1971) and others, have been discussed in this chapter. All these concepts of socialization essentially lead to the understanding of how a person becomes a responsible member of a society according to the existing norms and values of that particular society. So, it is understood that socialization is a mean of perpetuating and redefining the culture itself.

Compared to these two concepts (viz., socialization and generation), the concept of family assumes lesser significance. The importance of family is mainly in providing a vehicle for inter-play between socialization and

generation in order to carry forward the culture of a society to which the family belong.

So in the present study we have taken into consideration each family individually at the initial stage of analysis and then we have tried to focus what the changes and/or continuities regarding the socialization and child rearing practices are perceptible in the Khasi society.

In this introductory chapter a review of various anthropological approaches to the study of socialization, child-rearing and parent-child relationship has been made, indicating some empirical researches, conducted on various societies - both tribal and non-tribal - by Mead (1928, 1930, 1935, 1954, 1970), Benedict (1938), Dubois (1949), Kardiner (1939-1945), Linton (1936), Whiting and Childe (1953). Also a review of earlier ethnographic researches carried out by the scholars like Malinowski (1922-1935), Read (1959), Fortes (1938-1949), and others has also been made.

As far as the empirical researches on socialization and child rearing practices are concerned, a huge literature is available. But in the present thesis we have focussed mostly on those works, which have been carried out on the Indian populations by scholars like Dube (1955), Minturn and Hitchcock (1966), Raz (1976), Burman (1961), Mazumdar (1962), Desai (1964), Mahale (1987), Goode (1970) etc.. It

may also be noted that the Indian scholars have hardly taken into consideration socialization and child rearing practices from intergenerational point of view. But the western scholars like Frazer (1922), Redfield (1947), Mead (1970) and some others, have done their studies from the intergenerational point of view regarding socialization and child-rearing practices. So in the present study we have heavily depended on their findings. However, it may be mentioned that most of these studies are not concerned with the tribal populations. Nevertheless, their findings and concepts are quite useful in understanding the population under the present study.

It is a common knowledge that family is an important institution, which plays a very significant role in shaping the lives of its members, particularly of the coming up generations. But the question of questions is how exactly this role is performed - Do they operate as initiators or as potentials? The question ~~requires~~ requires greater significance in a changing society. As already discussed, we are aware that there are significant differences between societies, which mean that families play important and determining roles in maintaining the distinctive identity of each society. Hence in the present study, to understand the role of families in socialization processes, the main thrust has been given to study and analyze how systematically such changes/

continuities, if any, are taking place. Does the family, as a unit of social organization, provide enough ground to understand this situation? And should it not be further classified according to gender and generation? It is to find out the awareness to these broad questions, and that constitutes the basic theoretical objectives of the present study. Besides, the present study also has a number of other objectives, which have been clearly stated in the introductory chapter.

Finally, in the introductory chapter, the limitation of the present study has been stated clearly. The society under the present study is a matrilineal one, but most of the concepts and methods, which have so far been developed, are concerned with patrilineal societies. So we are very conscious about the use of these concepts and methods in a matrilineal society, like the present one, without contextualizing them.

In the second chapter, the land and the people have been described. It further discusses how the contact of the Khasi with the people from other parts of the country and also with the non-Indian populations has developed over the years. It also deals with the spread of education and Christianity among the Khasi. A short description has also been given on family organization, descent and social rules of inheritance.

The fourth chapter deals with the analyses of the data on socio-demographic characteristics of the population. In the present sample, two major religious groups have been taken into consideration. These are the Christians and Non-Christians. Among the Christians there are two major sects, the Catholic and Non-Catholic. Though it is true that the people under the Non-Catholic group belong to various churches, for convenience of analysis we have pooled them together and labelled them as Non-Catholic Christians. In the present sample, it is found that 46 per cent belong to the Catholic Christian group, 45.6 per cent to the Non-Catholic Christian group and 8.4 per cent to the Non-Christian group.

The findings of this chapter have been highlighted and discussed here.

Among the Khasi the mean age at marriage is steadily decreasing over generations. This is true for all the three religious groups, considered for the present study. It is found that age at marriage in the first generation has been found to be 22 years, whereas it has come down to 20 years in the second generation, 21 years in the third generation and 18 years in the present generation, i.e., fourth generation.

In a population study, conducted by the U.S. Bureau of Census (1960), it has been reported that the median age

at marriage among the women has declined from 21.5 years in 1940 to 20.3 years in 1950 and 1960.

Many base-line surveys, conducted in recent years by the Centre for Development Studies (1987), also report a similar trend of such low age at marriage for females in India. For example, in Orissa 44 per cent of females are found to be married before the age of 15 years and 42 per cent before the age of 18 years, while in Maharashtra the mean age at marriage for currently married women in Osmanabad District is 13.70 years and in Parbhani 13.11 years. Another base line-survey (1987) reports that the age at marriage among the Bihari women varies between 15 and 18 years. In the Census of India (1984) it is found that nearly 63.3 per cent of the non-literate women in urban area marry before 18 years of age whereas 18 per cent marry between 18 and 20 years of age and only 8.4 per cent marry beyond 21 years of age. It is also reported that 53.7 per cent of the women, having education below primary level marry before 18 years of age and 34.5 per cent of such women marry between 18 and 20 years of age and 11.8 per cent after 21 years of age. The Census of India (1984) further reveals that 26.8 per cent of women, who are matriculate and not graduate, marry before 18 years of age, whereas 43 per cent and 30.2 per cent of such women marry between 18 and 20 years of age and above 21 years of age respectively. In

case of the women who are graduate the situation, is quite different. Only 10.1 per cent of such women marry before 18 years of age, while 57.2 per cent of those marry after 21 years of age.

On the contrary to these findings, according to the Census of India (1971), the average age at marriage for females in India has increased from 13.2 years in 1901-11 to 17.2 years in 1961-71. In other words, during these seven decades the average age at marriage has gone up by four years in case of females.

Similarly, according to the report of the committee on status of women in India (1971), the average age at marriage has been rising steadily from 15.4 years in 1941-51 to 17.2 years in 1961-71. The national average for 1971 happens to be 20 years in urban and 18 years in rural areas. However, the situation is not the same in the admittedly educationally backward states. The average age at marriage for women in 1951-61 was 14.81 years in Bihar and Orissa, 13.87 years in Madhya Pradesh, 14.22 years in Rajasthan and 14.43 years in Uttar Pradesh, while the national average during that period was 16.3 years. The report further states that the average age at marriage is higher among the tribal women than among the women, belonging to the other communities.

According to 1981 Census, the Christian have the highest mean age at marriage, which is followed by the Sikh and Jain. It is true for both rural and urban areas. However, all religious groups show an increasing trend in age at marriage.

In another study undertaken by the Centre for Development Studies in Trivandrum (1986), reveals that between 1941 and 1971, the median age at marriage for females has increased from 15.08 years to 15.64 years in rural areas and from 15.99 years to 17.63 years in urban areas of the country as a whole.

It is well known that age at marriage is always influenced by a number of socio-economic factors. It has often been argued that social-economic characteristics may influence the institution of marriage, and thereby determine age at marriage. Bogue (1969) states, "It has been found almost universally that persons standing in higher socio-economic scale marry at a later age than persons in other socio-economic strata". In the words of Reddy and Krishnan (1976) observe, "Changes in age at marriage are very sensitive, to economic and social change."

A large number of studies, conducted by the United Nations (1961), "have confirmed that the higher the socio-economic status, higher will be the age at marriage of the person and vice-versa". However, all these studies

(especially those in India) have considered the respondents' socio-economic characteristics at the time of survey and not really at the time of actual marriage. Moreover, empirical data in support of this are almost negligible in India, except one micro-level study conducted by Audinarayana (1985) in rural Andhra Pradesh. Hence there may be many other factors, which contribute to differential age at marriage. It can be better understood, particularly in the light of the observation made by Davis (1976:67) on age at marriage in European Societies. He says, "anything that makes marriage less of a fateful decision, less of an economic and social commitment, less of an irreversible step, will tend to lower the age of marriage".

From the above discussion it is understood that the mean age at marriage varies from one state to another as well as one population to other. Though it is true that the mean age at marriage is gradually increasing in this country, it is also a fact that mean age at marriage among the Khasi is slowly going down. But it may be mentioned here that the mean age at marriage among the Khasi in no way violates the spirit of the amended Sarada Act (1974). However, such a downward trend of mean age at marriage among the Khasi may well be explained in the light of the observations, made by Davis among the European populations.

Secondly, from the present data it can be inferred that irrespective of religious affiliation, marriage bondage is getting weakened over generations. It is also seen that marriage is not as stable as it happened to be in the earlier generations. The present study on the marital status of the respondents reveals that among the Catholic Christian nearly 20 per cent of the respondents have married more than once, and this frequency among the Non-Catholic Christian is 18 per cent and 24 per cent among the Non-Christian Khasi. Further, it is seen that marriage used to be considered as a permanent bondage among the people of the earliest generation, and it was by and large true for all the three religious groups. But it is found that as generation advances, the frequency of dissolution of marriages appears to be increasing and this trend is confirmed in all these three religious groups. For example, among the Catholic Christian of the second generation, 18 per cent of the respondents have remarried at least once and 3 per cent more than once. In the third generation, the frequencies of 'once remarried' and 'more than once remarried' have increased to 21 per cent and 4 per cent respectively. Similarly, among the Non-Catholic Christian 16 per cent of all the respondents have remarried, out of which, 3 per cent have remarried 'more than once' in the second generation. But the frequencies of 'once remarried'

and 'more than once remarried' have increased to 18 per cent and 5 per cent respectively in the third generation. In case of the Non-Christian Khasi, 43 per cent in the second generation and 50 per cent in the third generation have married 'more than once'.

The second aspect that has been analyzed with regard to the marital status of the respondents, is the frequency of separated individuals. One remarkable feature is that the frequency of separated individuals increases from the first to the third generation, irrespective of religious affiliation. In case of the Catholic it is found that there is no separated woman in the first generation, but in the second generation the frequency of the separated women is about 18 per cent, which has further increased to 28 per cent in the third generation. In case of the Non-Catholic Christian, the frequency of the separated women is found to be 17 per cent in the first generation, which, in turn, has increased to 22.5 per cent in the second generation and 28 per cent in the third generation. In case of the Non-Christian Khasi, there is no case of separation in the first generation, but the frequency of separated women is found to be 43 per cent in the second generation and 50 per cent in the third generation.

From the above discussion, it is clear that marriage among the Khasis, irrespective of religious affiliation, is

no more as stable as it used to be. It may also be noted that many women, who have been separated by dissolving their earlier marriages, have decided to stay alone only with their children. Hence from the present sample it may be observed that marriage as a social institution is gradually getting weakened among the Khasi, irrespective of religious affiliation. The other fact to be noted here is that unlike the Hindu castes, among the Khasi, irrespective of religious affiliation, there is no social stigma attached to remarriage, once or more than once. It is true for both men and women in the Khasi society.

The third aspect, regarding marital status of the respondents, is the dissolution of marriage by death of a spouse. It is seen that widow remarriage, though being practised in all these three religious groups, is not generally appreciated. By and large most of the widows, in all these three religious groups, prefer to staying with their children to remarriage.

Click (1975) reports that in the United States the divorce rate is highest in the industrialized societies. It is also mentioned that the other societies with high divorce rate are found in the U.S.S.R., Hungary and Cuba, and also in recent time in Japan and Egypt.

Murdock (1950) has compiled systematic cross-cultural descriptive data on divorce in 40 small preliterate

societies in Asia, Africa, Oceania, North and South America. In all but one society (the Incas), there is institutionalized provision for dissolving marriages. In all these societies both sexes have equal rights to initiate divorce. Murdock estimates that the divorce rate (about 60 per cent) in all these preliterate societies is higher than that in the United States. His study reveals that higher divorce rate in preliterate societies does not mean that divorce is associated with social disorganization. The society reintegrates the divorced person into the family and that person is not stigmatized and can remarry. Further, a variety of devices are employed to preserve stability of a marital relationship. Moreover, divorce rate can and often are associated with stable extended family system. Murdock concludes by stating that "high divorce rates do not necessarily mean that family system is being undermined nor is it necessarily associated with societal disorganization. High divorce rates may not reflect family break-down; in fact they may reflect culturally prescribed ways of eliminating disruptive influences."

Jacobsen (1959), in his work on American divorce patterns from 1860 to 1956, reports that at about the time of the Civil War (1860-1864) the divorce rate per 1,000 of existing marriages was only 1.2 per cent. By the turn of the century (1900-1904) the rate had risen to 4.2 per cent

and 25 years later (1925-1929) it become 7.6 per cent and near the end of the World War-II the rate was as high as 13.7 per cent. It is further observed that since the beginning of the 1960's the divorce rate has dramatically risen.

It is generally assumed that marriage is expected to lead to exclusive attainment and fulfillment of an individual's, affectional, personal and communal needs. When it fails meeting those needs, marital unhappiness and often thereby divorce may occur. Increasing sense of independence on the part of men and women, coupled with a sense of lesser social stigma attached to divorce, is the probable reason for the rise in divorce rate.

Based on such assumption, concerning divorce and dissolution of marriage, it may be said that marital status of parent is a resultant of several forces in a family situation, which may have a dominant and direct impact and effect on socialization of children. Moreover, as the present study is concerned with impact of family situation on socialization process of children, the next important question that needs to be examined and discussed, is that to what extent children are being affected in a family in which parents have dissolved their marriage and decided for either remarriage or remaining single. This aspect has been very well discussed by Mead (1970). According to her, "The

larger extended family or clan, which still exists in many societies, has formally defined rights, duties, and obligations over each member of the family grouping, including children." It shows that in case of those children in larger extended family or clan the separation of the parents due to death or divorce of parents is less problematic than in case of those children who live in a situation in which such wider kinship network is lacking. It means that larger extended family or clan can take care of children's psychological well being, in case of disruption in the family due to dissolution of their parental marriage or due to one or the other reason. The situation becomes much more complicated and problematic where such extended kinship network is very much lacking, and consequently, it creates pressure on psychological well being of children.

The Centre for Health Statistics of the United States (1977, 1978) has reported that since 1900 the proportion of children, affected by marital disruption, is varying between 25 and 30 per cent of the total population of children under the age of 18 years. There has been a change, however, in the dominant cause of the disruption. At the turn of the century, the ratio of disruption by death was much higher than disruption by divorce and long-term separation. By 1980 the ratio has reversed.

Bane (1979) has reported that divorce generally brings psychological disorganization to the children and also some other ill effects. Handis (1960) in his study of 295 University students in Cedar, Rapids and Iowa, has found that divorce of parents affects children in various ways, connecting with many factors like age of the child at the time of divorce of his/her parent, his/her attachment to parents, etc.

Longfellow (1979) has suggested that divorce of parents creates an emotional impact on children, and it is more perceptible among the younger children than among the older children. She has further observed that single parent mothers with young children are the most vulnerable group, so far economic instability and mental stresses are concerned.

Foradwin, Brown and Fox (1974), and Schorr and Moen (1980) have pointed out that society is dominated by the assumption that families headed by a single parent, particularly when that parent is a woman is deviant and pathologic. Such families are referred as 'broken', 'disorganised' or 'disintegrated', rather than being recognized as a viable alternative family form. Such families are viewed negatively with emphasis on their alleged weakness and problems rather than being seen as a

solution to circumstances and examined in terms of their strength.

Bohannan (1971) has observed that the customs and conventions of family life are not really applicable to those families in which divorced women has remarried. These include such as everyday activities, discipline of children, authority of step parents, relationship among siblings with step-siblings, etc. All these become problematic to the remarried parents.

In view of Mead's (1970) observation on divorce and its effect on children, it may be pointed out that though among the Khasi divorce and dissolution of marriages are gradually increasing from one generation to the next, the effect of parents' divorce on children is minimal, since it is a society in which kinship ties are still very strong and being maintained to a great extent as found in earlier time.

The literacy rate has increased over generations, irrespective of religious affiliation. For example, in the earliest generation the percentage of literates has been found to be 4.34 per cent among the Catholic Christian, 5.26 per cent among the Non-Catholic Christian and 14.28 per cent among the Non-Christian Khasi, whereas this rate in the third generation has increased to 45.21 per cent among the Catholic Christian, 44.73 per cent among the Non-Catholic Christian and 100 per cent among the Non-Christian Khasi.

Secondly, it is found that as generation advances, more and more people are becoming literate, and consequently, the frequency of non-literate individuals is dropping rapidly. The other point to be noted is that even today, there is not sufficient number of respondents, who have gone for "higher" education. Majority of them have got upto "secondary level of education". For instance, in the third generation the percentage of literates upto secondary level is found to be 29.56 per cent for the Catholic Christian, 28.94 per cent for the Non-Catholic Christian and 100 per cent for the Non-Christian Khasi. In contrast, the percentage of literates with higher level of education is found to be only 6.95 per cent among the Catholic Christian, 6.14 per cent among the Non-Catholic Christian and 4.76 per cent among the Non-Christian Khasi. So, the overall trend is that mothers are more educated now than what they used to be in earlier generations.

According to the Census of India (1981), the percentage of literates to total population, among females in India, was 0.69 per cent in 1901, 1.05 per cent in 1911, 1.81 per cent in 1921, 2.93 per cent in 1931, 7.30 per cent in 1941, 7.93 per cent in 1951, 12.95 per cent in 1961, 18.72 per cent in 1971, 27.82 per cent in 1981, and 39 per cent in 1991. So, in comparison to the national standard, it

may be said that the Khasi, irrespective of religious affiliation, are not lagging behind.

It is observed that the incidence of divorce is higher among the literate mothers. For example, in the third generation the frequency of the literate respondents, who have married 'more than once', is 8.69 per cent among the Catholic Christian, 8.77 per cent among the Non-Catholic Christian and 9.52 per cent among the Non-Christian Khasi, while the frequencies of the non literate respondents in the third generation who have married 'more than once', are 4.34 per cent among the Catholic Christian and 3.50 per cent among the Non-Catholic Christian. It may be mentioned that there is not a single non-literate woman among the Non-Christian Khasi, who has remarried. So it may be inferred that as generation advances, the frequency of literate, marrying 'more than once', is gradually increasing. It may also be noted that the frequency of 'more than once married' among the non-literates is also increasing, though the frequency of 'more than once married' women is higher among the literates than among the non-literates. This trend is quite perceptible in all these three religious groups. Rons and Sawhill (1975) have observed that with increasing economic independence, better opportunity for education and gradual removal of traditional bars, women like to dissolve their unsatisfactory marriages, and they have become much

more involved in their professional life than in domestic and marital life. Consequently, they dissolve their unhappy marriages. Similar observations have been made by Robert Lynd (1965).

These observations are made on patrilineal societies, where the women are mostly dependent on their male spouses. But in a matrilineal society like the Khasi women are much more economically protected and independent in comparison to their male counterparts. Further, when the rate of literacy and level of education are increasing among the Khasi women, they often feel that their male counterparts are less educated and thereby less worthy of being their spouses. Consequently, the divorce rate is increasing in this society over generations.

We have already described in Chapter-IV, how the occupational status of the Khasi women is changing over generations. It is found that the frequency of working women among the Khasi is steadily increasing as generation advances. This is true for both the Christian and Non-Christian.

The point to be noted here is that the pattern of job among the Khasi women is undergoing considerable change over generations. It is seen that in the earliest generation the respondents were mostly engaged in agricultural work, but as time advances, the frequency of

agricultural work among the Khasi women is steadily decreasing and more and more Khasi women are taking up trade or service or other daily wage earning sundry jobs. This trend is very much perceptible in all three religious groups among the Khasi.

War (1992), in her study on "Status of Women in Traditional Khasi Culture", has stated that since time immemorial the Khasi women have been active participants in supplementing family income by doing various kinds of job. She has also pointed out that the Khasi women are very shrewd traders in the market places. So the present finding by and large agrees with the observation, made by War. In this connection, it may be mentioned that as literacy rate is steadily increasing among the Khasi women, they are being attracted to various kinds of jobs to earn their livelihood and that is making them more and more independent. This observation holds good for all three religious groups among the Khasi.

Rapidly increasing employment of mothers needs to be studied and discussed in terms of its effects on socialization and rearing of children. Stolz (1960), in her work on "What happens to Children whose Mothers Work?", has stated that the employment of mothers is not the universal reason to affect the socialization processes of their children, but there are many other factors, which affect the

socialization processes of children and these factors vary from one individual case to another. In case of the Khasi it has been observed that more and more mothers are taking up employment of one kind or the other and how such employment of the mothers affects the socialization processes of the children, has been discussed in Chapter-V.

It is found that when mother is engaged in some kind of job, she has got comparatively little time to devote for her children than a mother, who is a housewife. Consequently, the children's education is very much neglected in most cases and children become indisciplined in many respects. On the other hand, it is also observed through case studies that the family becomes economically little better off and can afford to spend much more money for welfare of the children. It is also true that the working mothers have higher ambition for their children. So from the present study we agree with what Stolz says that employment of mother is not the sole criteria, which adversely affects children's education and their socialization processes. We, further, agree that socialization processes of the children depend on many other factors and not mothers' employment is solely responsible.

In another study "Child-Reading in Families of Working and Non-Working Mother", Yarrow, Scott, Deheeuw and Heinig (1974) have found that differences between working

and non-working mothers appear in some areas of rearing. Firmer control over children, assignment of greater responsibilities to children, and delegation of the stricter disciplinary role to the father appear more frequently in the families of the working mothers than the non-working mothers.

In the present study among the Khasi it is seen that in case of the working mother the children are being disciplined in much stricter sense, so far their education is concerned. It is found that this sense is gaining more and more ground, as generation advances. But when the question of household responsibility comes, it is found that in case of both the working and non-working mothers, the children, particularly the adolescent sons, are trying to avoid taking up household responsibilities. This trend is very much perceptible as generation advances. In view of these facts we partially agree with Yarrow *et al.* (1974). It may be noted here that what Yarrow *et al.* have observed is concerned with patrilineal societies. But in case of the Khasi, which is a matrilineal society, the role of the father in the household, regarding disciplining children, is very limited and mother always plays a dominant role. However, in the present time it is seen that the role of the father in maintaining household responsibilities is under-going changes towards positive direction.

So far the economic level is concerned, we have restricted our observation only on the present generation. The other earlier generations cannot be considered due to unreliability of data provided to us. In the present generation it is found that 23 per cent, 21 per cent and 19 per cent in the Catholic, Non-Catholic and Non-Christian Khasi respectively belong to the 'high' income group. Similarly, 36 per cent, 40 per cent and 38 per cent respectively in the Catholic, Non-Catholic and Non-Christian Khasi belong to 'middle' income group, and 41 per cent, 38 per cent and 43 per cent belong to 'low' income group among the Catholic, Non-Catholic and Non-Christian Khasi respectively. So it is seen that so far the distribution of income level of the families in these three religious groups is concerned, not very remarkable differences exist. However, the detailed demographic findings on income level have already been given in the Chapter-IV.

In the present study among the Khasi it is quite understandable that economic condition of a family do not have much of an impact on the socialization and child rearing processes since all parents, irrespective of economic condition, believe that some amount of social responsibility should be given to the children, and in reality it is found that parents, irrespective of economic condition, do ask their children to take up some household

responsibilities. It may also be true that those, who belong to the 'high' income group, give comparatively lesser responsibility to the children than those belonging to the 'middle' or 'low' income groups. Another point to be noted among the Khasi of the present generation is that the well to do parents can afford to send their children to better schools and can afford to engage private tuition for their children than the parents, belonging to the 'middle' and 'low' income groups. However, only in future, it could be ascertained how far this practice of the well to do parents will pay for better welfare of their children. At present, it is impossible to evaluate the consequences. However, the above mentioned trend is by and large perceptible in all three religious sections. Another point may be mentioned here that in all these three religious sections only a few well-to-do parents feel that there is no need to put social/household responsibility(ies) on the children. At present we have no opportunity with the present set of data to analyse it further.

Hollingshead (1949) has observed that American children's ambitions for various vocations, are directly influenced by fathers' occupations and economic positions. However, in the present study among the Khasi it is not found.

In a research study, carried out by Mathur (1974) on the effect of socio-economic status and behaviour and achievement of the secondary school students, it is found that socio-economic status is significantly correlated to educational achievement, intelligence and conduct of the students. In the present study such co-relations have not been noticed among the Khasi. It may perhaps be due to the fact that even today the Khasi is a well close knit society for which such aspirations on the part of the children belonging to the 'high' income group, have not yet been reflected in the present study. However, in future we shall have to look into these possibilities as and when education will be better spread and thereby the differences in the economic condition will be wider among the Khasi.

In the present study it has been observed among the Khasi, irrespective of religious affiliation, that the frequency of large size family is slowly declining and the norm of small family size is coming up. Even then the frequency of middle size family is much higher in the present generation in comparison to the earlier generations. However, the fact cannot be denied that even today, the frequency of large size family is very much in existence. In Chapter-IV we have discussed about family size among the Khasi in detail.

In the present study, it is found that family size does affect socialization processes of children. In 'large' family size it is seen that the parents cannot pay equal attention to all their children, and consequently, act of indiscipline on the part of the children is very much glaring. The reason for such indiscipline is mostly due to the fact that in a Khasi society generally the mother plays a dominant role in comparison to the father and in many cases the father has very limited say about his children. When family size is large, it becomes virtually impossible for the mother to pay equal attention to all her children, and when father takes little or no interest in socialization processes of his children, the situation gets worsened. In case of 'medium' or 'small' size family the mother has had better opportunity to look after her children particularly in respect of their socialization process, and in turn the children become better socialized and disciplined.

There is reason to assume that the role of parents in different sized families and the pattern of parent-child relationship, growing out of performance of these roles, are remarkable in relation to emotional, social adjustment and personality development of the children.

The family is composed of a complex of interactional systems, made up of different members of the family, each of whom has bearing on development of personality and behaviour

of other members of the family. The larger the number, the larger is the interactional system. Each relationship as well as the interactional system has its own emotional quality which affects the members of the family, involved in this system. A certain size of family is conducive to a certain way of life, a pattern of attitudes and a complex of values. The comparisons, made in this study, between small and large family systems are in no way intended to suggest that one is better than the other. Each has its own merits which affect development and personalities of children growing within it.

Studies on patterns of large and small families have revealed that they are markedly different in their effects on the child. Nye (1952) has discussed in his study that relationship of family size to adjustment of children shows that though children from large families may be able to adjust to the change of circumstances of a realist world better than those from smaller families, they do not make successful adjustments to people and to life in general like those children, who have been brought up in smaller families. The explanation, given by Nye, is that improvements occur in family relationships as the size of the family decreases. He has suggested the following reasons:

1) Parents of a small family can give each child more attention;

2) Competition is keen among the siblings in a large family, hence there are more chances of quarreling and bickerings;

3) Small families are more often planned than large families and thus more welcome.

Hurlock (1955) points out some of the disadvantages of small families. She advances her argument that in spite of economic and social advantages, the child must sometimes pay the price of this, mainly in the form of problem creating circumstances. These are according to her :

1) The exaggerated opinions he may get of his own importance in group life, by the fact that he has been protected and has been the centre of attention in the small social group of home;

2) Undue pressure, brought on him to succeed may have adverse effects;

3) Emotional problems, which are intensified, are created by the small family situations;

4) In cases of family crisis, it will have a greater impact on children as there are fewer members of the family to share the problem.

But Bossard and Sangner (1956) have upheld the view that small families are more favourable for children's

development, since small families are characterised by planning in terms of size, spacing of children, and child-rearing methods. Parenthood is intensive rather than extensive, and thereby putting emphasis on each child's individual development. They further express that small families can be controlled by democratic methods with cooperation between parents and children as the number of interpersonal processes are few. However, they also point out the unfavourable situation of small families by suggesting that the small family is under stress to achieve and thereby it puts an additional pressure on the child since the number of contacts within the family group is limited and there are likely to be many tensions and resentments.

So it shows that the contrast in family systems indicates certain different influences on children, growing up within them. According to Jersild and Tasch (1961) in the large family the emphasis is upon the group and not the individuals. This causes both deprivation and security. The deprivation is in terms of thinned relationship with parents and lack of opportunity to develop individual potentials. The group cohesion produces security which is interpreted as coming from people and not from material things. In the small family, the emphasis is upon developing the full potentials of the individuals.

The empirical studies reveal that the large size family has been found to be different in almost every way in its pattern of living from the small family and as a result it produces an entirely different type of home climate and has an entirely different effect on the individual members, specifically on the social and psychological development of children.

These studies on parent-child relationship in large and small size families reflect personality development of child. In respect to the present population we have already explained how family size is important in socialization and child-rearing processes. The earlier work on this aspect as mentioned above, only strengthen the present findings.

The demographic findings suggest that hardly any difference exists among these three religious groups in the Khasi. With this consideration in mind we have pooled all data together irrespective of religious affiliation in order to study the socialization of children and child rearing practices among the Khasi over a period of time.

The main theme of this research was to study, continuity and change in parental attitudes in the socialization of children and parent-child relation from the perspective of generation in various family situations. The respondents have been classified into four generations in terms of age. It may also be noted here that the time span

for the fourth generation is not sufficient enough to take into consideration all aspects, as such only a few relevant aspects has been analysed of the present data. In the chapter on Materials and Method (Chapter-II), we have clearly stated how the generations have been classified in view of the fact that in any human population the generations are bound to be over lapping. To understand clearly how over the time socialization processes and child-rearing practices have undergone changes.

The first part of this study attempted to explore the impact and interests of the parents in their children's school education. This aspect of the study has been attempted with a view, that initially the family was the most influential, but development and change have brought a shift in the nature of child training. The emergence of formal system of education has taken up many of the above mentioned functions. Moreover, sending children to school has become a social and economic compulsion making parents depend on these institutions to educate their children. Hence a society like the present one is undergoing some rapid transformation. Such transformations mean that there has been a shift from family to formal institution to considerable extent for the purpose of socialization of children. Thus viewing education as an important process of socialization and parents as the main socializing agents,

this aspect of the study has examined how keen and active interest do parents take in formal education of their children. The other factor that has been taken into consideration, is that, though it is assumed that parents of recent generations largely depend on educational institution to impart education to their children, to what extent parents are responsible to take interest in education as per the parents own desire and ambition.

The investigation has been made on the interest of the parents based on different aspects viz, how much of an active interest do the parents show towards school and its importance; methods adopted by the parents in developing effective study habits in their children; interest of parents in their children's academic progress and towards their activities in school; dropping out of school and studies; parental aspirations about their son's/daughter's future accomplishment in life; reading interest of the children and adolescent apart from text books as viewed by the parents.

Children's regularity/irregularity in attending school and frequency of children's irregularity : The present study reveals that as generation advances, percentage of children's regularity in attending school appears to have increased from 63 per cent in the earliest generation to 92 per cent among children of the present

generation. Sex-wise comparison reveals that though differences are not very wide nevertheless, irregularity in attending school is found to be consistently higher among boys than girls in all the three generations.

Frequencies of irregularity of children in attending school shows that a negligible percentage of children among the present generation are irregular 'occasionally' and 'seldom' while among the first and second generation we find more than 30 per cent children being absent 'quite often'.

The break-up of the attitudes of parents towards children's irregularity in attending school, shows that negative parental attitude of not taking any action towards children's irregularity is found to be totally absent in the third generation. Cent per cent parents apply pressure when children are irregular by adopting the methods suggested to parents viz. spanking, persuading by giving incentives, insisting either by threatening or by giving reasons. In comparison by and large majority of parents among the earlier generations adopted negative attitude, of not taking any action towards children's irregularity.

Secondly parental attitude towards school and its importance has been studied in terms of children's and adolescents habit of studying on the basis of points such as the extent to which children regularly (every day) devote a few hours at home, in their studies to keep up to their

study level at school, to do their home assignments given by the teacher and to revise what is being taught at school.

The study as viewed by parents showed that among the children of the third generation, majority (80 per cent) on the whole have a favourable attitude towards school which is demonstrated by their regularly devoting some amount of time at home to their studies as compared to the negligible percentages in the first and second generations.

The next question then, that needed to be studied and analysed in this regard were the various kinds of pressures, that were being applied to children to see that they regularly dedicate a few hours at home to their studies, and the reasons and causes suggested to parents, that hindered regular study habits.

In earlier generations children's regular study habits were mainly due to prevailing situations and attitudes of the parents such as inability of the parents to help their children with their study or due to the fact that the parents were hard pressed with time the children used to pick up irregular study habit. As the generation advances, it has become very much clear that in most cases the parents pay much more attention towards their children's regular study habit though in some cases it is only children's apathy towards education that brings irregular study habit in them. Further sex-wise analysis reveals that

higher percentage of boys have to be 'forced', and 'insisted strictly' in developing regular study habits than that of girls. Thus it is seen that among the present generation, conditions favourable for children to concentrate in their studies are provided at home.

As regards the extent of interest parents have in the education of their children and their attitudes towards children's academic performance has been studied by the type of action parents take when children do not fair well in school or fail in examination.

The present study reveals that in the third generation, disciplinary action adopted by parents consist of more than 80 per cent (75 per cent 'regularly' and 14 per cent 'at times'). The comparative study brings forth one single trend is that, a very small percentage of parents in the third generation ignore their children 'at times' viz. 13 per cent boys and 18 per cent girls as compared to 80 per cent and 44 per cent children being ignored in the first and second generation.

Secondly, study of the responses of parents for each of the type of method adopted, show that as generation advances, higher percentage (31 per cent) of parents are adopting the method of 'scolding followed by advising children' and a slightly lower percentage (25 per cent) adopting the method of constantly 'nagging and rebuking'

viz. 13 per cent daughter and 17 per cent sons. Another remarkable factor worth observing is that 'ridiculing' children, which has not been of much significance in the earlier generations has been adopted by parents of more than 20 per cent children in the third generation. However, the outstanding fact which emerges is that the parents interest towards their children's schooling has increased remarkably in the present generation.

Hence the study on the whole reveals that as generation advances attitudes of parents towards school and its importance for imparting education to children has certainly changed. It has become more positive. This is further supported by the fact that conditions favourable for children to concentrate in their studies are provided by majority of parents in the present generation.

The next aspect of parents interest in child's education has been studied and analysed by the methods adopted by parents in developing effective study habits. This aspect has been studied from three different angles viz. 1) Assisting children in their studies, 2) Making children and adolescent study, 3) Reasons for assisting and not assisting children in their studies.

The frequency of not assisting children in their studies by their parents is almost same in all generations. But the point to be noted is that as the generation advances

it is seen that children are getting more and more help from 'tutors' which means parents have become much more interested in the studies of their children.

Further reasons for not assisting the children are mainly found to be 1) Parents are not educated enough, 2) Parents are hard pressed with time. But as generation advances, it is found that the latter is much more pertinent than the former. However, inspite of the fact that parents though unable to personally assist children in their studies regularly, for one or the other reason, nevertheless parental interest in their children's education gains support from the fact that parents try to provide tutors for their children and send children for private coaching classes. Hence parental desire for their children's educational achievement is a much remarkable change among the Khasi in the socialization processes of the children particularly in the later generations.

Thus the study on the extent of parental interest towards school and its importance brings out the fact that though a strong desire for the educational success of one's children appears to be the hall mark among the majority of parents of the present generation, nevertheless there appears to be telling differences in the degree of parental ambition, even among parents of the present generation, such differences are partly a question of attitude. Thus, it can

be seen that over the generations, in several ways the role of parents in the educating function of their children are fast gaining differences in attitudes. Several factors could be responsible for such differences in parental attitudes which may influence the child's attitudes towards school and the interest he has in different aspects of school life and such differences in attitudes could be explained in the light of the following observations.

Stendles (1951) in his study on social class differences in parental attitude towards school, observed that social pressure from one's parents is a strong force which creates interest in the child. According to him what his parents think of school and its importance in his life will largely determine the degree of interest the child has.

Chickermane (1976) says that parental attitude towards school, which influences so markedly the child's attitude and degree of interest, vary according to the educational level of parents. He found that generally parental encouragement is positively related to the educational plans of high school students and is considered the critical factor in the child's performance. High educational level of parents is related to certain socialization practices such as providing intellectual activities and pressurising the children into achieving. His study found out that children and adolescents of better

educated parents are more oriented towards a good performance in school education. The value placed on work, the development of effective study habits, the preference for mental work to physical work and preferences for professional occupations, have all been found to ^{be} related to parents education.

Campbell (1982) in her study "Academic Achievement of the Adolescents", has found out that educated parents are better able to understand the ability of their children and can guide them to proceed in the right path. The educated parents with sound economic background can keep themselves free to supervise their children's' studies and ^{can} create an atmosphere at home which is conducive to the study habits of their children. These situations accompanied by parental pressure for achievement have led children to work hard to get a good grade in their examinations.

Flanagan and Curry (1972) in their study of 'family size and educational level of parents' found out that though the parents from all the educational level showed general tendency of deep interest in educating their children, a higher percentage of better educated parents showed a constructive attitude towards their children's education and they presented a situation at home that is conducive to the study habits of their children. Their study also indicated a favourable atmosphere in small size families. Smaller the

size of the family, higher was the percentage of parents who have developed a healthy and friendly relationship with their children, thus contributing to their personality development. Their study led them to assume that children and the adolescents coming from small families with educated parents are in a more favourable situation than those who have a background of large families with illiterate or low educated parents for achieving good grades in their academic pursuits.

All these studies show that it is parental attitude as well as the size of the family which is mainly responsible for promoting interest in children in their study habits. In the present research, we have seen that this is exactly the situation with the Khasi. As generation advances it is seen that among the Khasi the parents are not only trying to keep their family size small, but also paying more and more attention towards the education of their children.

How much of active interest do the parents take in their children's academic progress and secondly to what extent do parents keep tab of their children's activities in school. Analysis reveals that though cent per cent of the parents whose children in the present generation are attending school, responded by saying that they keep themselves informed of their children's progress in school,

but further analysis as to the media through which parents' make themselves aware, revealed that less than 50 per cent parents in the third generation, ^(Present Generation) keep themselves informed of their children's progress by 'personally attending to their studies regularly', while the rest of the parents in the present generation either rely on their children's 'regular or periodical school reports' and by 'depending upon and discussing and asking their children' for the information of their progress in school. Another discouraging factor is that the percentage of those parents who contact teachers is very low even among parents of the present generation. They say they contact teachers and school only if there is any necessity or if and when the occasion arises - this may be only when the child fails or does not fail well in examination or when called for by the authorities. Thus by and large majority of parents on the whole, in the third generation (i.e. the present generation), rely on their children for the information of their progress in school.

A further probe into the means adopted by parents to keep themselves informed of their children's other activities, apart from their academic progress in school, had been studied in terms of the extent of parents awareness and reaction towards their children's punishment, for not keeping up to their level of studies, slackness on part of

the children and any other misdoings which could occur once in a while to any school going children.

Analysis on this aspect too was rather discouraging, as responses of mothers reveals that less than one third parents only, in the present generation 'Question children daily about their activities at school particularly when children are unusually late from school'. Further analysis reveals that higher percentage of parents among the present generation rely on being informed either 'when called for by the authorities' or 'when one or the other of the siblings happen to report to parents', if and when children were punished at school for misbehaviour or for any other misdoings.

When asked on their preferences of children's punishment, majority of mothers of the present generation, said they take into consideration punishment of their children by responding in the positive to either one of the four preferences suggested - to correct the child, perform better in school, instill obedience and spare the rod and spoil the child. However, it is also of much significance to note that difference in attitude has been observed amongst a small percentage of mothers in the third and fourth generations, who responded by saying that they do not take into consideration and do not prefer of children being punished. These mothers responded by suggesting that

children should be treated with more understanding, punishment tends to make a child more rebellious, and far from helping the child in his/her studies it could discourage the child instead. Hence there appears to be an indication among mothers of the present generation, realizing the importance of psychological approach in dealing with children rather than resorting to punishment alone as compared to the earlier generations. Finally, a comparative study on these two aspects reveals that significant percentage of parents of the first and second generation under study have abstained from responding. It may be inferred that parents of the earlier generations, having little or no ambition towards school and studies did not participate or take an active interest towards their children's activities and progress in school. Further, it is generally understood, that in earlier times, the primary function of the school was to instruct children and the school life was co-extensive with academic pursuits, while the above studied aspects can be regarded as a by-product of the regular school activity of recent times. Hence, such activities has become a necessity for the development of such qualities as physical, social, civic and moral. These qualities have a great place in the children's and adolescents' adjustment to the life around and ahead of him and hence the extent of importance of parental interest in

such activities and academic progress of their children and adolescent needed to be studied. Gillispied and Young (1969) are of the opinion that the parents interest in their children's activities and performances in schools are essential for the development of proper attitudes, habits and the proper conduct of their children.

Murray (1966) is of the view that neither the parents nor the teachers can singly succeed in their efforts to help children and adolescent students attain their developmental goals. However, he states that through regular school visits by the parents and through parent-teacher associations and conferences, parents and teachers may, become more understanding of children's problems in school education. He is also of the view that apart from discussing the children's' progress, such programmes may enrich the parents' own lives.

Havinghurst (1953), in his study found out that educated parents are capable of being aware of their child's progress in the school through their reports and by contacting the teacher often. His study concludes, that when children and adolescents are aware that their parents are taking interest in their education, children also would take interest in their school education. In view of the above studies made by Gillispied and Young (1969), Murray (1966), and Havinghurst (1953), it is understood that parental

participation in their children's day-to-day school habits and co-operation with school authorities is very much needed for development of attitude, habits and the proper conduct of their children. In the present study, it is observed that the interest of parents towards education of the children has certainly considerably increased but what is lacking among the parents in the Khasi society is that they have not yet become conscious about their participation in children's day-to-day school activities and progress. So it shows that in this study the ideal situation has not yet arrived.

The attitude and reaction towards children dropping out of school and studies as viewed by parents has been studied in terms of reaction of parents to children dropping out of school; reasons explaining reaction of parents; and action taken by parents in such situation.

The analysis reveals that on the whole, when compared from the earliest to the present generation percentage of children dropping out of school appears to be decreasing. But it can also be discerned that there is a progressive rise in the drop-out rates among children of the third generation in the secondary and higher level. Sex-wise comparison reveals that drop-out rate among boys is consistently higher in all the three generations.

The parental reactions towards their children who have dropped out from the school are of two types 1) parents take serious view and become extremely unhappy. Majority of the parents of the present generation fall in this category. 2) Parents are indifferent towards such happening. However, it is noted that as generation progresses such indifferences on the part of the parents is slowly decreasing and parents are taking an active interest in their children's education. When parents become unhappy about the children dropping out from school they either try to pursue the children to continue with their studies by giving them advices and explaining the benefit of education or they take their children to task by giving them some kind of physical punishment. Such actions being taken is by and large discernible among parents of the later generations.

It has been reported by selected Educational Statistics for 1986-87, in Meghalaya the drop-out rate among the student increases considerably from lower class to higher classes. From this point of view it is found among the Khasi students the drop-out rates are not remarkably different. Since the Khasi is the major population of this State such drop-out rates are quite expected among them. As we do not have year-wise data on drop-out rates, it will be very difficult for us to draw any inference from the present figures, excepting the fact that drop-out rate in the

present generation has come down remarkably among the Khasi, particularly among the children of the educated and economically better off parents. In view of the facts stated above, the present findings are by and large comparable and finds support in the following studies.

According to Moses (1952), of all the driving forces of change in the present day, the strongest are those that show up in economic forms, and those that bear upon the amount ^{of money} that is made available for the education of the youth. The essential needs of a sound education are the same in every society. But the particular form that the education takes, the number of pupils who receive it, the number and nature of schools they attend and the length of time they stay there - all these things are determined by the parental attitude towards school, which influences so markedly the child's attitude and degree of interest, vary accordingly to the education level and economic status of the parents who have schooling children.

Hyman (1956), in his study found out that in financially handicapped families, the older child has often to sacrifice his education to help and support the family or to send younger brothers and sisters to school and college. With great affluence in the family there is at least less economic compulsion on children to drop out of school. In a poor family the adolescent though aspiring for higher

education may have to drop out earlier to earn and contribute to the economic needs of the family which may cause frustration within him. He concludes that the socio-economic status of the adolescents family will influence not only what interests are possible for him to develop but also what shape these interests will take.

Phearman (1949), in his study discusses that there is a direct relationship between the education of the parents and the probability of their children's interest for higher studies. Thus the forces that determine the high school students' interest in education come primarily from his parents.

Campbell (1952), in his study found out that the effects of family size, have an impact on the academic achievement of the children and adolescents. If the family income is limited, the family with fewer children can obviously better afford to feed, clothe and educate them. Limited resources can be more effectively channelized. But if the income level is even less than the subsistence level, the parents may not be able to see to the essential needs of the children even though they have few children. They feel that there is every possibility of their poor performance in their academic pursuits.

According to Stendles (1956), larger the family higher will be the degree of economizing of the family

resources which may create a parent-child conflict. Parents with several children must spread their resources and one must play favourites with their children and thus discriminate among their own children. They, with limited income, are unable to provide each child with best education or with financial assistance. The unfortunate disfavoured child may not take interest in education even at the cost of his own sacrifice. There is every probability of him developing prejudice against parents as well as the favourite sibling of the parents. This may finally not only hinder his academic achievement but also have a set back on the personality development.

Though the above mentioned studies have been carried out in patrilineal situations, the present study very much lends support to those findings.

The expectations of parents of different generations, about the future of their sons and daughters, as viewed by the parents has been studied in terms of four different accomplishments, as suggested to them - 1) be outstanding in chosen life and reach a high social status, 2) do what gives him/her most satisfaction, 3) be a respected and useful citizen of the community, 4) a financially secure life.

The study on the goals of education, revealed that as generation advances higher percentage of parents among

the later generations aspire more of a economically sound life for their children, followed by parents aspiration for the rise in the 'social status of their children by being outstanding in chose life', appears to be gradually increasing particularly among the third and fourth generations, whereas higher percentage of parents among the earlier generations wish a 'respected social type of life' for their children. However, this discrepancy in parental attitude among parents of the earlier and later generations could be attributed to the reason of their placement in society at large.

Parents today have realised the need of educating their children for their future career which suits this industrially developing country. Schools and colleges have multiplied and the urban parents are in touch with the educational system which can give their children necessary qualifications for their aspired career. However, the new economic order that has evolved has not been able to supply enough jobs for the educated youth. Thus it can be inferred that one of the major problems faced by the youth and their parents is the fear of their future unemployment. This could result in extreme pressure being put on children to obtain good educational degrees which are thought of as gateways to jobs. So this could be the reason as to why majority of parents among the present generation, consider

that the goal of education is to provide economic security. Further, it is generally understood, that every parent today, holds high aspirations for the rise in the social status of their children, which they can achieve only through education. This pressure coupled with that of the growing ambition of the parents to raise the standard of living of the family may make them view the goal of education is to achieve higher status in society. Whereas, differences in parental attitude among parents of earlier generations could be attributed to the fact, the view that culture of a person and his popularity of being a respected and useful citizen as they observe in the community may have strengthened majority of the parents views of the earlier generations on the goals of education.

A comparative analysis of the views of parents on different goals of education, further reveals that parents wanting children to have a financially secure life is found to be higher for sons than for daughters. It also revealed that higher percentage of parents for daughters than for sons expressed that the primary purpose for education, should be to develop attitude and values to make them aware of their obligations and responsibilities as members of the community. It is, therefore, quite reasonable to assume that higher percentage of parents among the present generation wanting sons than daughters to have a financially

secure life, could be that when sons get married and go to their wives homes, the responsibility of parents ceases; but parents today wants their sons to be educated persons capable of earning and establishing their status in their respective home.

Data on aspiration of parents for future accomplishments and prosperity of their sons and daughters, from any other matrilineal society are lacking. So it is not possible to find out the kind of changes which other matrilineal societies are undergoing in this respect, as such we cannot make any comparative statement. However, it may be pointed out that some researchers like Austia (1980, 81, 83), Bachman and Johnstone (1979), 1981), Hollingshead (1949), Singh and Mitra (1972), Mahale (1977), Davis (1949), Campbell (1952), Moses (1956), Bossard (1953), Ogburn and Nimkoff (1940) and others have worked on such topic in some patrilineal societies which are not comparable with the situation existing in the matrilineal societies like the Khasi etc.

The next dimension on which the parent-child relationship has been studied is the mode of parental control and discipline and the role of children in the household duties and activities, in terms of generational change and continuity.

Every family requires certain conduct for its

members, viz. developing work habits through household duties, setting limits to their freedom and enforcing the conduct by giving punishment or by extending rewards. The aspirations which parents hold for their children apparently affect the ways in which parents would deal with their children, the various methods of control and discipline adopted by parents to get the desired result. So the study on the various methods that is being adopted by parents, in different situations, over a period of time has been found necessary to study, with a view to understanding the parent-child relationship. The investigation of children's participation and attitude of parents has been based on four different aspects - Role of the children and adolescent in household duties and activities and the attitude of the parents towards their children's participation; age, reason and method adopted by parents for inculcating and inducting responsibility training in children; the method and mode of disciplining and control in the family; and finally the methods adopted by the parents for rewarding children.

The study on the role of children in household duties and attitude of parents towards their children's participation has been studied in terms of age from when children assist their parents and reaction of parents when children do not comply by parents' request; types of household tasks allotted and participation of their

adolescent children; extent of adolescent children's participation and entrusting adolescent children with household duties and domestic chores; attitude of children in complying by these tasks and attitude and reaction of parents towards household responsibilities and task performed by their adolescent children.

Study on the age from when children assist parents with light chores and errands reveals that irrespective of generation, by and large higher percentage of parents ask children to assist with light chores and errands from the age of eight onwards. However, it has also been observed that as generation advances, more and more children at this age are being asked by parents to assist with light chores and errands from a comparatively later age when compared from the earliest to the present generation.

Further, the study on the reaction of parents when children at this early age do not comply and respond to the call of their parents, reveals that higher percentage of parents among the later generations 'abuse and curse' the child for not responding/complying, as compared to the earliest generation. But it is also of much significance to note that highest percentage of parents in the present generation are of the opinion that 'child at this stage do not understand the meaning of punishment so there is no point in punishing'. Whereas such responses among the

earliest generation is found to be totally absent. Thus it can be inferred that children of the earlier generations were expected to help parents with their extensive duties and task at a much earlier age, whereas responsibility requirements in early years among the later generations are moderate and probably parents expect less from their young children.

Secondly, the study on the role and extent of adolescent children's participation in various household duties viz. (outdoor and indoor activities and the day to day household marketing) assigned to the children by the parents, parental attitude and interest entrusting their adolescent children with household responsibility and extent of adolescent children's ^{comp}lying as viewed by parents, reveals that consistently higher percentage of daughters than sons in all the generations shoulder the responsibility of domestic chores and household work. The study also reveals that by and large, majority of parents even in the third generation do entrust adolescent children with household chores and tasks. However, a comparative study reveals that adolescent children entrusted with household tasks to 'some' and 'little' extent appears to be increasing as generation advances.

Further a sex-wise comparative study reveals that difference between adolescent sons and daughters in

participating with household activities, is significantly wide particularly in the present generation, compared to the negligible differences in percentage among the earlier generations between adolescent sons and daughters. It has also been observed that adolescent sons among the present generation appears to have developed a weaker sense of responsibility in shouldering household duties though responsibility is emphasized on both adolescent sons and daughters. It could also be a fact that the parents may entrust the duties to only those children who are happy to undertake. This fact gains further support from the study on "the attitude of adolescent children complying with the household tasks (Table 5.9) and "attitude and reaction of parents towards their adolescent children's household responsibilities and tasks (Table 5.9). Finally the figures throughout the study on household duties and activities show a good percentage of "no response" group for adolescent sons in the present generation. Hence, it could be inferred that, this group of parents may have abstained from responding as their adolescent sons may not be happy to cooperate in attending to the day-to-day routine of household duties and thereby parents not wanting to reveal their son's unwillingness in helping out.

No comparable data from any matrilineal society are available. So it is difficult for us to make any definite

inference from the present findings. However, it may be pointed out that many researchers like Desai (1964) and others have worked on such topic in the patrilineal societies. It is quite well-known that in patrilineal societies the boys generally get little favourable treatment than the girls by their parents. But in a society like the Khasi's though the situation is apparently reverse, it may be mentioned that in such society till the age of adolescence both boys and girls by and large are treated equally, at least as found in the present generation. It may further be pointed out that even in the Khasi society the boys are less obedient than the girls particularly when they reach the age of adolescence.

During the course of the present study we have tried to find out how the parental attitude towards inculcating responsibility and training to their children have undergone changes over the generation (Section-II of Chapter-V).

The present study shows that irrespective of generation, a considerable number of parents inculcate responsibility and training to their children when the children are comparatively young. It is true that a higher percentage (42 per cent) of the parents in the present generation (in this particular issue, the third generation has been considered as the present generation) express the view that when the children reach the age of reason they

should be taught to assume responsibility and training. It is also noted that even in those families who are economically well off and can afford to hire helping hands for their household work, the children in such families are also assigned household tasks and responsibilities. It may be noted that so far assignment of household task and responsibilities are concerned no remarkable difference is noticed from one generation to another and also from one economic condition to another.

In spite of the similarities, as mentioned, over the generations, towards inculcating training and responsibility in children, significant changes that has been taking place over generations has been noticed in parental attitude. In the earliest generation, it is seen that almost equal number of parents were of the opinion that their children should be good citizens meaning they should be respected and responsible members of society, and another view was that children should not only be respected and responsible members of society but also they should be economically well placed in future. In the next generation, i.e. in the second generation a remarkable change in attitude of the parents has been noticed. It is found that in little over 20 per cent of the parent economic security of the children was the first and foremost consideration and along with this majority still used to think that their children should be

good citizens. When we come to the third generation this trend becomes much more glaring. Majority of the parents are of the opinion that their first and foremost consideration is to see their children should be economically secured in future. It is also true that still a good number of parents still consider that children should be good citizen but also be economically secured in future. The point to be noted here is that there is not a single parent in this generation (third generation) who only consider that their children should be good citizen and do not give stress or consideration on economic security of their children in future. So from the above discussion, it is quite understandable that how the attitudes of the parents towards their children have been undergoing remarkable changes over the generations. Unfortunately, we do not have sufficient data on fourth generation at present, but we may suggest that this is a very important area of study which should be taken up in future to evaluate the changes that have been taking place in the parental attitude in the Khasi society.

In this connection, one can recall the findings of Caplow et al. (1982), Klein (1965) that the old value of seeing children as responsible and good members of the society is gradually being replaced by the value in which parents wish to see that their children should be

economically well placed in future. Though all these researches have been carried out in patrilineal societies unlike the present society of the Khasi, it may be stressed here that the same trend in change of old values is very much perceptible even in the matrilineal societies.

The next dimension on which the parent-child relationship has been studied is the mode of parental control and discipline. The study on the various method of punishing and rewarding children in different situation by the parents with a view to understanding the parent-child relationship, has been studied in terms of the following : Discipline and controlling authority at home; reaction of parents against aggressional behaviour of the children and adolescent; when children are disobedient; for fighting with peers and siblings; when other complain; and the purpose for punishing children.

Among the variables in the parent-child relationship that assume importance are those relating to the degree to which the child is accepted and made to feel secure in his family relationships. This relationship between the two parents may occupy different places in the home situation. The study reveals that irrespective of generation, in majority of families mother controlling families is at a higher level. However, father controlling and disciplining children, appears to be increasing when compared from the

earliest to the present generation. Further, a definite tendency of both parents controlling and disciplining children is slowly coming into existence in the present generation.

It has been reported by many researchers (Nye 1952; Goldberg 1958) in patriarchal societies, in which mothers normally stay at home and the fathers are the bread earners, the mothers play the major role in disciplining and controlling their children and the fathers have more remote services in controlling and disciplining the children. As already pointed out in the matrilineal Khasi society the mothers even today play the major role in disciplining and controlling the children, but in the present generation the father's importance in such matters is becoming perceptible. So at present, both the mother and father have very distinctive role in disciplining their children, even though mothers enjoy little greater responsibility.

Children's aggressive behaviour has been studied in terms of younger children's aggression when at times they give vent to their resentment and anger against some action of their parents and elders, secondly aggression directed at adults by adolescent children.

By and large the study reveals that irrespective of generation, majority of parents discourage outbreaks of anger and aggressive behaviour even among children in their

childhood 'which is at once stopped sternly', if there is any positive tendency in this direction - i.e. if repeated often. It is further seen that 29 per cent of the parents in the present generation tend to be moderate in dealing with aggressive behaviour of young children - 'to some extent, by trying to reason with the angry child and teach him to control their feelings as far as possible'. It is followed by a small percentage (23 per cent) of the parents in the present generation who responded by saying that 'to some extent such behaviour may be ignored if the child does not repeat it often'. Such responses expressed by the parents of the earlier generations appear to be by and large absent.

Similarly, aggressive behaviour or display of anger and resentment against elders by adolescent children is disapproved. This is expressed by majority of parents irrespective of generation, who stated 'they teach children not to argue and speak back whatever may be the cause of anger or situations. Further, the study reveals that 20 per cent in all generations consider aggression directed at adults by adolescence as a grave offence'. However, it is also of much interest to note that more than 28 per cent parents in the present generation have stated that 'to a little extent severity with which such behaviour is punished depends on the status of the person against whom the

aggression is directed'. It can thus be inferred that by and large irrespective of generation parents in general do not favour aggressive behaviour of any kind by children and adolescents. Therefore, it may be inferred that the tendency of strongly discouraging aggression among children and adolescents is a highly functional socialization practice. Deliberate aggressive behaviour is prevented by bringing strong pressure on the children, thus all these attitudes are impressed on children and adolescent and they are taught to dread and remain aloof so that by the time children grow in age, these attitudes are so fixed that they begin to consider aggression of any kind very bad. Nevertheless, flexibility in parental attitude being moderate towards their children and adolescents aggressive behaviour is slowly gaining ground in the present generation.

Landis in his study "Adolescence and Youth : The Process of Maturing" (1952:151), stated that the matter of rendering respect and obedience is dependent on circumstances, especially as the child approaches the period of adolescence and youth, society recognizes his obligations to obedience only to the extent parent is worthy of obedience and exercises a reasonable authority. He further states that in some early societies the penalty for disobedience to parents was death. In the modern family institution not only has severe penalty for disobedience

disappeared, but even the parents' right to demand unquestioned obedience is challenged by the youth whose bent is towards a democratic pattern in the family system.

The study on the mode of parental control and discipline adopted by parents when children are disobedient, when children fight with peers and siblings and when others complain, the study on the whole brings forth one common pattern, ^{that} irrespective of generation, parents deal severely with children's disobedience by resorting to beating and spanking. It may thus be assumed that parents having to discipline a large number of children may adopt the method of punishing children by either spanking or beating, so that when one child receives such punishment, the other children take care not to be disobedient. This could be one of the method of disciplining the whole group. The study further reveals that in the other two circumstances, viz. 1) non-compliance by household duties and tasks' and does things 'you disapprove of' and 2) 'fighting with others' and 'when other complain', higher percentage of parents in the later generations have adopted the method of 'vehemently scolding by ridiculing', 'abusing' and by severely threatening children to instill control and obedience in children. This may be due to the fact that repeated scolding and beating make children stubborn and also ignore, thereby children and adolescents do not heed to the scolding

and beating of parents. This may be one of the reasons why higher percentage of parents among the later generations as compared to the earliest generations has adopted the method of punishing children by abusing and ridiculing and by severe threats to instill fear. This fact gains further support and insight from the study on 'purpose for punishing children'.

In the present generation, preference for punishing children followed by advising, is being adopted by near about one-third of the parents under study in all the three different circumstances described above. Thus it can be inferred that irrespective of generation by and large though families are still traditional in their outlook, but nevertheless there is an indication of families adopting the method of advising their children by giving reasons. This may be attributed to the fact that parents may not spank the child as the child thus punished may feel that injustice has been done to him. He may create more problems than yield to the punishment. Hence this may be the reason that advising children by giving proper reasons and suggest ways to improve is being adopted by a small percentage of parents in the present generation. It, therefore, appears that among the present generation, urban parents are realizing the importance of democratic pattern in ^{the} socialization process of their children.

If the parents punish their children when they are wrong, they would also reward them when they show good behaviour and perform well in the examination. Thus the last aspect on parental control and discipline studied, are the various methods adopted by parents for rewarding children. The study reveals that, irrespective of generation 'praising' is the much practised method of rewarding children by most of the parents in situation where children are obedient, when they behave well and when they pass in their examinations. Further a break-up of the study, in terms of generation reveals that the simplest and yet most effective reward being recognised in the form of praise being adopted by majority of parents among the earlier generations for rewarding their children for being obedient and for behaving well. Whereas apart from 'praising', other modes of rewarding children by 'satisfying children's wants' and 'celebrating children's success' is being adopted by nearly 50 per cent in the present generation. Nevertheless, attitude of parents even in the present generation, including large size families, whereby higher percentage of parents recognize children's success in the form of praise and by not ignoring, may influence the other children of the family to follow the footsteps of the rewarded child. In this way, the parents who have more children may discipline the whole family.

Mahale (1988) in her study have pointed out that though the common method of disciplining children in most household in India is to spank the child when it misbehaves, many more methods are in use, some proving to be more effective than others. Some of the disciplinary methods that are common in a normal home are corporal punishment, advising the child by giving reasons, scolding, and ignoring the child by withdrawing affection.

Sagner (1952) in his research reported that the mothers of large size family are usually more concerned with the younger children than with the adolescents. The immature younger children who are prove to mischievousness and quarrels need to be controlled by mothers. So they may not have enough time and energy to exercise control over elder siblings of the family. Further, he also reported that when there are few children the mothers and fathers have a tendency of protecting the children even though the children grow into adolescence and are capable of looking after themselves. In large families as they grow they try to be independent. The birth of the younger siblings give them early maturity as thus they overgrow their age, leading to less of parental control.

According to Garrett and Carlson (1970), in large families the siblings bickering and quarreling are more than in small families because of the increase in the

interactional processes. The parents while dealing repeatedly with the quarrels of the children may unconsciously adopt the harsh method of corporal punishment or withdraw completely by ignoring the situation.

Hence the size of the family plays a definite role in the disciplinary actions of the parents towards their children. It may thus be inferred that size of the family has a relevant relation to the method of disciplining children by parents. It could be a fact that parents of different sized families have to deal with different types of indisciplinary behaviour of their children which needs appropriate action on the part of the parents - this can best be understood in the light of discussion by Carlson and Garrett (1970), - 'the parents with more number of children, when controlling and disciplining their children have to be impartial and use the same yardstick to impose punishment without any discrimination. They are of the opinion that if there is any discrimination though not intentionally, it may lead to the displeasure of the child concerned, and the child may develop a hostile attitude towards the parent.

Though the above mentioned studies have been carried out in patrilineal situations, the present study very much lends support to those findings. It is seen that characteristically patrilineal societies are different from the matrilineal societies but in respect of punishment and

rewards the children thus are very much akin to each other. It may be further pointed out that in the matrilineal society like the Khasi the mother plays a major role in punishing and rewarding children.

Having analyzed the parent-child relationship on various dimensions the next area studied is the norms and practices, related to children's and adolescent interactions and recreations.

The analysis on the extent of celebration of festivals reveals that irrespective of generation festivals of religious nature are favoured by highest percentage of families followed by observing of death rituals and anniversaries.

A comparative analysis of the families reveals that as generation advances celebration of festivals of social nature particularly of birthdays and marriage anniversaries followed by community festivals appears to be favoured by a higher percentage of families in the present generation. It shows that functions, pertaining to religion, are favoured by all in the Khasi society irrespective of generations, whereas social types of function such as, celebrations of birthday, wedding anniversaries, etc. which are concepts of western culture, appear to be totally absent in the earlier generations, have by and large been adopted by the families in the present generation to a considerable extent.

The participation of children and adolescents in the social activities of the family along with their parents and the parents responsibility to create situations for such get together and activities of the family develop into a healthy parent-child relationship.

The study on the extent of children and adolescents participation in the social activities of the family reveals that as generation advances, families participating together in various social activities of the family appears to be gradually increasing when compared from the earliest to the present generation. It has also been observed that children (particularly adolescents) do participate though not always. A comparative study reveals that with the exception of activities such as going for and attending 'social functions' and shopping, the other social activities of the family discussed in the present study do not appear to be routine activities. It is also disappointing to note that irrespective of generation, in all types of activities nearly 50 to 60 per cent of families have not responded to the questions. This may be attributed to the fact that the families which may not programme such activities have abstained from responding. It may also be inferred that irrespective of generation social activities may not be a regular event in many families because of physical inconvenience caused by non-availability of regular

conveyance including certain other restrictions. So far all types of social activities are concerned it is observed that the sons participate in considerably lower frequency than the daughters. However, as the present study deals with parents relationships with children and adolescents, it is found that the parents like to keep the company of their children, particularly the daughters. Nevertheless, if the question was asked to children particularly the adolescents and their responses were analysed it would have given a better picture in understanding the participation of children in the social activities of the family.

Basically cultural values are related directly or indirectly to religious concepts, beliefs, forms of expression and extent of influence upon individual, group attitude and behaviour. Hence the third type of social norm of the family studied has been based on the family attending church and service as it is a form of expression of one's attitude towards the religion he follows.

So far the religious habits like attending church services, etc. are concerned, it is observed that the children of the present generation are more regular in attending such services than their counterparts in the earlier generations. The reasons for such regular habits of attending church services by the children are mostly (1) parents are trying to be closely associated with their

children, (2) Parents like to see that their children should get good moral advice from the church and (3) Parents are of the opinion that if children attend church regularly, eventually this habit will pay them to become good moral Christians. It is also found in some cases children do not attend church services regularly, and the reasons for not attending regularly are as follows : (1) difference of opinion between parents (Case No 47+48) and (2) Parents do not find time to take their children to the church regularly. However, taking the above mentioned reasons for the children not attending church service regularly together one may infer that parental indifferences towards the children and some reservations on the part of the parents are the root causes for developing irregular habits of not attending church services by the children. However, it can safely be said that in the present generation the parents are much more conscious about the well being of their children than the parents in the earlier generations. This is a remarkable change in parent-child relationship in the Khasi society particularly among the Catholic and Non-Catholic Christians.

Lynd and Lynd (1976) in their study of 'Religion and family' found out from the responses of two surveys conducted 54 years apart were uncannily similar in tone. Their study suggest that there has been a resurgence of

religion, families are more involved in religion today than were their predecessors in the 1920s. They further report that in 1924 habit was the most common motive for church attendance. Compared to the 1924 respondents, the 1978 respondents mentioned benefits to their children as most important. The observation of Lynd (1976) lends support to the present finding regarding children's regular habit of attending church services.

Parental attitude towards children's interaction and recreation has been studied in terms of restriction and permissiveness in children's interaction with friends; children's spending leisure time; and attitude and reaction of parents when children and adolescent fight and quarrel with friends and peers.

The study on parental attitude towards restriction and permissiveness in their children's interaction with friends and peers brings out the fact that among the later generations patterns of neighbourly interaction and recreation with peers and friends allowed by parents are not arbitrarily but rather selectively chosen and allowed. Further the sex-wise study reveals a wide difference between sons and daughters. Daughters interactions are more closely supervised and curtailed as compared to that of sons. This gains support, showing consistently higher percentage of sons than daughters in all the generations being allowed to

play 'to a greater extent - with all children alike of the locality' and permitted and allowed out in the neighbourhood and beyond to play and interact.

The study on the kind of activities children participate and are engaged in during their leisure time reveals that ⁱⁿ the present generation highest percentage of responses consist of children "keeping to themselves by engaging in various individual activities." It has also been observed that among the earliest generation, children's spending of leisure time by engaging themselves in individual activities is found to be totally absent.

A comparative study reveals that apart from 'children's engagement in individual activities' being favoured by majority of children among the present generation, the responses of parents to the other activities viz. 'spend time with other family members and elders' and 'spending time by playing with friends show that children's participation in such activities too is gradually decreasing when compared from the earliest to the present generation.

Finally, the study on parental attitude and reaction when young children and adolescent fight and quarrel with peers and friends, reveals that though a child's aggression towards his playmates, especially for boys is not taken very seriously and adult interference is generally regarded as undesirable 'as long as nobody is hurt, but by and large the

population under study are generally peace-loving is obvious from the kind of behaviour training they give to their adolescent children for being non-aggressive as responded by majority of parents stating that 'they make children behave in a manner acceptable to neighbours. Nevertheless, certain amount of flexibility in parents handling adolescents children's aggression towards their friends and mates could also be discerned among a small percentage of parents in the present generation.

Parental attitude and reaction towards their children's and adolescents interaction could be better understood in the light of the following studies.

According to Bronfenbrenner (1970), many behaviour patterns learned in the family are reinforced and strengthened through interactions with peers. The power of peers as socializers varies from culture to culture and from one historical era to another. In their study they found out that contemporary American culture seems highly peer-oriented; children are strongly encouraged to interact with peers and are, therefore, inevitably influenced by them. Whereas in general European children are less likely than American children to rely on peers for opinions and advice and more likely to rely on adults.

In the present study it is seen that parents selectively allow their children to mix with their peers and

friends unlike what is found in the American societies. It may also be noted that in the earlier generations among the Khasi the parents used to allow their children very much arbitrarily to mix with their friends and peers; so it is a change which one can easily perceive in the Khasi society. However, how this alteration in parental attitude will bring about changes in the Khasi society is a matter for study in future.

Regarding the behaviour of adolescent children it is seen that in the earlier generations the adolescents could not afford to take any liberty with the parents to decide for themselves, but as generation advances the situation is changing very fast. In the present generation, the adolescents . . . boys and girls, can afford to decide for themselves and the parents mostly do not interfere. Perhaps this is the universal trend (Kerr, 1958; Hyman, 1953; Hurlock 1955; McClelland, 1962; Moser, 1952). It shows that the present day Khasi society is no way exception to what is happening in this country and all over the world, so far independence of adolescent children are concerned.

In respect of familiarising children with social customs and practices it is seen that there is considerable flexibility on the part of the parents to teach such behaviour to their children in the present generation; whereas in the earlier generations, the parents were much

more rigid regarding such practices and used to take all trouble to let their children know and teach their children about these.

It is generally observed in other studies (Carlson and Garrett, 1970; Klein, 1955; Lynd, 1976) this trend is very much perceptible in other populations. so it may be inferred that in no way the present day Khasi population is different from other population in respect of familiarising children with standard social practices.

Among the variables in parent-child relationship that assumes important are those relating to the degree to which the child is accepted and made to feel secure in his family relationships. This affectional relationship with two parents occupy quite different places in the home situation which are determined by various factors. Even though there is a definite tendency for mothers to be preferred, irrespective of generation as observed in the present study. It further reveals that to 'some extent' the degree of attachment to father appears to be increasing gradually. Similarly children's attachment to both parents also appears to be increasing particularly in the present generation. Further analysis show that children's attachment to other members of the family (grand-parents/Auntie/Uncles etc.), apart from parents which was of

much significance in the earlier generations appears to be declining in the present generations.

Thus it may be inferred that though it is true that preference for mothers results from her fairly constant presence in the home and the major role she plays in meeting the needs of the child. But as the child reaches the age of adolescence and passes the stage of childhood dependency they may be expected to see things differently. We do not know if father keeps away from their children or the burden of providing leaves him no time for seeking his children's company. But nevertheless the gap is there. Another trend that appears to have surfaced and gradually making its presence felt seems to be a change away and shift from materialistic attachment and control (authoritarianism), towards a more companionable, co-operative families where both parents are affectionate and nurturant.

To understand how this transformation is taking place among the Khasi we have examined how the fathers spend their time with the children. It is very clearly seen that in earlier generations whenever father used to spend time they used to spend time with their children in connection with various activities mostly outside the house. But in the recent time it is seen that the fathers spend at least some time with their children at home and take interest in their day to day studies and other activities. So it shows

that gradually the father is gaining more importance in children's life particularly the adolescents, by participating with the children and taking interest in their daily activities. This is a very notable departure that is noticed in the Khasi life in the present generation and it indicates how parent-child relationship is transforming from one generation to the next.

In the present study it is consistently found that the children, irrespective of generation keep more contact with their relatives on the mother's side by frequently visiting their places. These trend is still persisting very much though, a negligible percentage of the present day children are also trying to keep regular contact with the relations on the father's side. However, it is difficult for us to accept it as a change in the Khasi way of living. Only a future study can confirm this finding and perhaps can also find out the reasons for such transformations if it really takes up in future.

Unfortunately, no similar study has so far been made in which it shows change of children's relation with relatives on the mother's side as well as those on the father's side. However, it may be made clear here that though, as mentioned earlier, it cannot be taken for granted that such change is taking place in Khasi society, yet it may be suggested that if it really happens it must be due to

the influences of patrilineal societies (which are mostly around) on the matrilineal Khasi society.

The last dimension on which the socialization of children has been studied is based on the child training methods of toilet training, breast feeding and supplementary food given to infants. However, while studying this aspect of socialization we have concentrated mainly on the respondents as such (i.e. as a mother only).

The study on breast feeding infants reveal that though the duration of breast feeding infants has decreased in the present generation, the traditional habit of breast feeding is very much prevalent in the Khasi society. So no remarkable change in respect of this habit is noticeable. It has been observed that even the present day, Khasi women have not developed any apathy against traditional breast feeding habit. So from this point of view one can safely say that the Khasi women, even today are very much particular about their infants and show no sign to do away with the traditional practice. They still take all possible care about their welfare of their infants.

In this connection one may recall Population Report (1981) in breast feeding, fertility and family planning, reported that in the last four decades, the practice of breast feeding seems to be declining in many developing countries throughout the world even though in most of them

almost all women breast feed their child initially. However, the Population Report (1981) on breast feeding further reports that in the recent past, a reversal of trend is visible in the developed part of the world. For instance, in the United States, Sweden and Australia, the practice of breast feeding is becoming more prevalent after several decades of decline especially among educated women, although length of breast feeding remains short.

In the present study we have very carefully looked into how toilet training is given to children (details about toilet-training given in Chapter-V). What emerges from this study is that the Khasi mothers even today are very conscious like their counterparts in the early generations to give proper toilet training to their children, and they start it when the child is about 18 months old. So it is seen there is no difference among the mothers of various generations in giving proper toilet^{er}-training to their children.

In this connection, one may point out what Roy Burman (1961) has observed among the Waromung belonging to one Ao Naga village. He has said that in that population toilet^{er}-training starts when the child is above the age of one unlike the population of Chitlat island in Arabian sea in which the mother starts giving toilet-training to their infant when after six months.

In the present study we have tried to find out the attitudinal changes and continuity of the parents over the generations in the socialization of children and child-rearing practices among the Khasi urban dwelling people.

The parameters considered were parental interest in the education of their children and adolescents, parental discipline and control, sociability (interaction and recreation), breast feeding, weaning and toilet training. The responses on these parameters as can be expected were varied. But by and large it becomes very clear that the Khasi society is on the throes of a classical dilemma - is concerning to retain the traditional structure of the society or over haul it. This dilemma is not only reflected between the responses of different persons (in terms of percentage), but also reflects the dilemma which undergoes within the same individual's non-consistent responses and behaviour. This dilemma is obviously co-related on one side with the new aspiration getting precedence over the traditional ones. It is not possible that such issues would get resolved easily because on one side is the issue of the ethnic identity of the community which is highly crucial for political reasons and on the other trying to gain a higher rank in the modern order of things.

However, these changes in turn are making ^{an} impact on the various aspects of the Khasi life. The case studies

aptly illustrate the general trends and certainly give an idea of the changes that have been taking place. The results certainly need to be tested and compared with the different segments of the Khasi and other matrilineal populations.

In Appendix-A two different schedules have been given. These schedules have been used to collect data on (1) Demography and (2) Socialization.

For collection of data on demography (Schedule-I), we have also drawn the extended genealogy from each of the respondents - some of these genealogies have been given in Appendix-B, which are self-explanatory.

The Schedule No.2 (Socialization) has been used for dual purposes, which are as follows :

I) The Respondents answered how they as mothers were treating their children..

II) Respondents answered how they were treated in their childhood by their parents.

Schedule-I
(Respondent - Mother)

- 1) Your Name :
- 2) Husband's Name :
- 3) Age :

At the time of marriage	At the time of first born	At present
----------------------------	------------------------------	------------

-
- 1) Your age :
- 2) Your husband's age :
-
- 4) Kindly cross mark (X) in the appropriate column :
- Are you married ?
- a) Within
- b) Outside your community
- 5) If you are married outside your community, please give the following information/detail.
- a) The Community/Tribe to which your husband belong :
- b) His mother tongue :
- 6) a) Which is your religion ?
- b) Which is the religion of your husband ?

Cross mark (a X) for yourself and (b X) for your husband in the relevant place :

iii) If the father is no longer there, do your children at present have a step-parent ?

a) _____ Yes b) _____ No

a) If yes, how long have you been married ?

b) if no, how long have you been separated ?
(please specify)

iv) Prior to your present status of being a single parent, have you been married earlier ?

a) _____ Yes, b) _____ No

(Could you please specify)

14) i) If either of the parents is a step-parent, do your children have any step brothers and sisters ?

a) Yes _____, b) _____ No

ii) If yes, kindly give the details in the following columns :

Sl. No.	Name	Sex	Age	School/ College going	Whether earning	Is he/She staying with	Any other remark
---------	------	-----	-----	-----------------------	-----------------	------------------------	------------------

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.

1. Is your family a) _____ joint/extended b) _____ Nuclear

2. If joint, kindly give the following details :

a) Head of the family (name, age, sex, level of education, occupation, marital status of the person _____)

b) Number of adult male members in the family _____

c) His/Her relation with you/your family_____

d) Kindly give the details (in the columns provided) in order of age, sex, level of education, occupation, marital status of the persons _____

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

6.

e) Number of female members in the family

f) Their relation with you/your family

g) Kindly give the details (in the columns provided) in order of age, sex, level of education, occupation, marital status of the persons

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

6.

h) Number of school/college going children :

_____ Boys, _____ Girls

i) Their relation with you/your family

j) Number of children below the age of five years (not going to school) :

_____ Boys, _____ Girls

k) Their relation with you/your family

16) If nuclear, kindly give the following details :

1) Who are the members staying together ? Cross mark (X)

a) _____ Father

b) _____ Mother

c) _____ Sons

d) _____ Daughters

e) _____ Any other persons (specify)

ii) If any other persons are staying with you, kindly give the details in the following columns :

Sl. No.	Relationship with the family	Age	Sex	Permanent/Temporary	Purpose of staying with you
---------	------------------------------	-----	-----	---------------------	-----------------------------

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

6.

17) How many children do you have ? Kindly give the details in order of their age. Include if any that died by indicating in brackets (dead)

Sl. No.	Name	Age	Sex	Religion	School going	College going	Never attended school/Doing nothing	Whether staying with you	Whether earning	Type of job	Marital status	Family composition	Any other remarks (please specify)
---------	------	-----	-----	----------	--------------	---------------	-------------------------------------	--------------------------	-----------------	-------------	----------------	--------------------	------------------------------------

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.

18) Family Geneology (specify age and indicate ego by providing shade on ?

Kindly cross mark (X) in the appropriate columns and fill in the complete details of the following family members (kindly indicate in brackets whether dead/alive).

Sl. No.	Non-literate	Literate but below Primary	Primary but below Secondary	Secondary but below Matriculation	Matriculate but below Graduation	Graduate and above
---------	--------------	----------------------------	-----------------------------	-----------------------------------	----------------------------------	--------------------

- a) Your mother :
- b) Your father :
- c) Your mother's mother :
(Grandmother)
- d) Your mother's father :
(Grandfather)

e) Your mother's mother's
mother
(Great-Grandmother)

f) Your father's father's
father
(Great-Grandfather)

g) and beyond
1.
2.
3.
4.

h) Mother's sisters
1.
2.
3.
4.
5.
6.
7.

i) Mother's brothers
1.
2.
3.
4.
5.
6.
7.

j) Father's sisters
1.
2.
3.
4.
5.
6.
7.

k) Father's brothers
1.
2.
3.
4.
5.
6.

19) Kindly write down the composition of the family of the persons given above, in each of the following columns and space provided below - per family.

Kindly give the details in order of their age include, if any, that died by indicating in brackets (dead)

Sl. No.	Name	Age	Sex	Religion	Total No. of family members	School Going	College Going	Never attended school/ Doing nothing	Whether they are earning	The type of jobs	Marital status	Any other remarks (please specify)
---------	------	-----	-----	----------	-----------------------------	--------------	---------------	--------------------------------------	--------------------------	------------------	----------------	------------------------------------

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

6.

7.

8.

Schedule-2

(Respondents - Mothers/Parents)

1) Who is answering this schedule ? Cross mark (X)

- a) Mother
- b) Father
- c) Both

2) Kindly cross mark (X) in the appropriate columns and fill in the details of the following :

a) How many children do you have ? Kindly give the details of their schooling in order of their age and sex. Include, if any, a) that died, b) Are attending school, c) Standard to which they have studied, d) Never attended school, d) Presently not attending/standard in which child/children have dropped out.

Schooling of children (put appropriate sex, symbol in the relevant boxes) :

Sl.	Age	Sex													
1															
2															
3															
4															
			I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII

3) Are/were your children regular to school? Indicate in order of their age and sex. Kindly cross mark (X) separately for boys and girls.

- a) Yes boys; Yes girls.
- b) No boys; No girls.

3(i) If your children are/were irregular - what was/is the frequency of their irregularity.

No.	Quite often		Occasionally		Seldom	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						
7						
:						
:						
:						

3(ii) If and when children were/are irregular in attending school, what action were/do you usually take in such circumstances.

No.	Beat (Specify)		Bribe (Specify)		Insist (Specify)		Do nothing/No response	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
1								
2								
3								
4								
5								
:								
:								
:								

4) How much time on an average do you/did your children and adolescent spent/spend studying at home. Cross mark (X) against the appropriate column given below.

No	Childhood				Adolescent			
	Regular (Duration/ No. of hrs)		Not Regular		Regular (Duration/ No. of hrs)		Not Regular	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
1								
2								
3								
4								
5								
..								
..								

5. Sometimes children were/are not able to keep up to the studies and with the lessons taught in school. Cross mark (X) in the appropriate columns in front as to what were/are the nature and reasons for irregularity in study habits of your children and adolescents.

	Sl. No.	Childhood		Adolescent	
		Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
1 only when has assignments/exams etc., Homework				
2 When forced/compelled				
3 Insisted strictly				
4 Inability to help with studies				
5 Whenever could/can afford time				
6	Any other (please specify)				

6. What action was/do you usually take/taken in circumstances when your children do not fair well in school and fails in examinations.

		Always		Sometimes		Never	
		Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
1	Beat/physical punishment						
2	Constantly nagging/ cribbing						
3	Ridicule						
4	Scold follow up with advising children						
5	No response						

7) Who helped/helps your children in their/with their study at home. Please cross mark (X).

- a) Father b) Mother c) Sister/Brother
 d) Tutor e) Any other f) Nobody
 g) No response

7(i) Were/are all your children coached/take/took private tuition?

- a) Yes b) No.

7(ii) If yes, please specify.

No.	Age	Standard	Sl. No.	Childhood		Adolescents	
				Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
1							
2							
3							
4							
5							
:							
:							

8) What were/are the methods adopted by you as parent/parents in making your children study/developing regular effective study habits in children. Cross mark (X) in the appropriate columns in front of the reasons given below:

a) Father/mother makes it a point regularly to sit with children and supervise their studies.

b) Children are asked/told by parents to go and sit down for studies.

c) By showing displeasure when children do badly/fair poorly in school for not putting effort in their studies.

d) Children regularly study without having to be told.

e) No response.

9) Due to certain constraints/inability you were/are not able to assist children or inspite of all odds, you make it a point to see to/and assist your children with their studies. Cross mark (X) in front of the appropriate column the reasons from the list given below:

a) To take proper care.

b) Cannot afford tuition.

c) Not qualified.

d) Too many children.

e) No time.

10) What did/do you feel about your children's progress in school.

a) Good.

b) Satisfactory.

c) Poor.

d) I cannot say.

10(i) How often did/do you contact your children's teachers at school?

- a) Regularly.
- b) As and when the occasion arises.
- c) Sometimes.
- d) Never.
- e) No responses.

11) Did/do you keep yourself informed about your children's progress in school ?

- a) Yes.
- b) No.

11(i) If yes, how did you/how do you ?

- a) Annual and periodical school report.
- b) Asking from/discussion with children.
- c) Regularly spent time checking/going through their studies.
- d) Discussing with teachers.
- e) Discuss with children's friends/parents.
- f) No response.

12) Did you/do you keep yourself informed about the day to day school activities of your children ?

- Yes.
- No.

12(i) If, in case your children are punished, do you come to know of their punishment ?

- Yes.
- No.

12(ii) If yes cross mark (X) in the appropriate columns given below.

- a) Ask/discuss with children about their activity in school.
- b) Question children when unusually late from school.

c) Siblings reported to parents.

d) Informed by authorities.

12(iii) As parents you might/may have reasons and grounds as to why children should/should not be punished.

Cross mark (X) in appropriate columns stating your reasons for or against.

a) As a parent, I feel children should be punished by school and authority:-

Sl. No.		I strongly agree	I agree	I do not know/ No response
1	To correct the child			
2	Perform better in school			
3	Instill obedience			
4	Spare the rod and spoil the child			

b) As a parent, I feel children should not be punished by the school and authority:-

Sl. No.		I strongly agree	I agree	I do not know/ No response
1	Children should be treated with more understanding			
2	Makes the child more rebellious			
3	Far from helping the child/his/her studies it could discourage the child instead			

13) Had/have any of your children dropped out of school.

a) Yes.

b) No.

13(ii) If yes, kindly give the details in the following columns:-

Sl. No.	Name	Sex	Age	Below primary	Primary but below Matric	Matric but below graduation
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
:						
:						

13(iii) What was/is your reaction when your child/children dropped out of school/studies. Cross mark (X) in the appropriate columns given below:-

- 1) Happy.
- 2) Unhappy.
- 3) Neutral - neither happy not unhappy.

13(iv) Could you explain, by stating the reasons for your particular reaction. Kindly cross mark (X) in front of the appropriate reasons from the list given below:-

Neutral	Unhappy	Indifferent
1) ... Child is not intelligent enough	1) ... Education is the only criterion for success in life	1) ... Too uneducated to understand the meaning of education
2) ... School is expensive	2) ... Children not educated is as good as 'dead' or 'lost' to the family	2) ... Children have to decide for themselves
3) ... Not important, won't guarantee job	3) ... Everybody is educated, my children also require education	3) ... Financially sound, so education is not important
4) ... Impractical for the family		4) ... Fatalistic - "what ever will be will be"

13(v) What action did you/do you take under the circumstances. Cross mark (X) in the appropriate columns given below:-

	For sons			For daughters		
	To great extent	To some extent	Very little	To great extent	To some extent	Very little
a) Tried to force your wish on the child						
b) Left him/her to decide						
c) Explained the value of higher education and tried to convince						
d) Tried to convince through others						
e) Agreed with the child to discontinue						

14) Of the following four items, cross mark (X) only one item (separately for your son and your daughter) which was/is the single most important thing you liked/would like to see your child/children accomplish in his/her life and which of the following carried/carry the greatest weight in determining the respect a man deserves.

	To great extent		To some extent		To a Very little extent		No Response	
	Sons	Daughters	Sons	Daughters	Sons	Daughters	Sons	Daughters
1) Be outstanding in chosen life and reach a high social status								
2) Do what gives him/her most satisfaction								
3) Be a respected and useful citizen of the community								
4) A financially secure life								

15) What type of books your children were/are interested in ? Cross mark (X) accordingly.

a) Comics/Fairy tales/Short stories	Always	Sometimes
b) Mythology/Religion		
c) Biographies/Classical literature		
d) Magazines		
e) General type (Novel, Detective etc.		

15(i) Are you aware what are/were the sources that provide your children with the reading material. Cross mark (X) accordingly.

- 1) Provided by parents.
- 2) Borrowed from lending libraries.
- 3) Borrowed from friends.
- 4) Not aware.

15(ii) Are you/were your children or any person in the family a member of any library ?

- a) Yes. b) No.

If yes, name the library/libraries.

16) Did/do you subscribe to

- 1) Daily news papers Yes. No.
- 2) Magazines Yes. No.

i) If yes, which are they ?

Sl. No.	Title of papers and magazines	Language of papers and magazines
1		
2		
3		
4		
5		

16(i) Does the family discuss the daily news at home ?

- a) Always.
- b) Sometimes.
- c) Never/No response.

16(ii) If you discussed/discuss who are the family members who participate in the discussion.

17) From what age did/do your children started helping you with light chores and errands (fetching, cleaning light utensils, sweeping). Kindly cross mark (X) for each of your children in the appropriate columns.

Sl. No.	Age	To some extent	To a little extent	No response
1	4-7 years			
2	8+ years			

17(i) At this age young children may not respond to your call or comply what action was/do you usually take in the circumstances - what is your opinion. Cross mark (X) in the appropriate columns given below:-

- 1) Purposely rebuke and show anger to correct.
(Please specify)
- 2) Straight away spank the child.
(Please specify)
- 3) Those who disobeys receive a curse.
- 4) Children at this age do not understand the meaning of punishment so there is no point in punishing (Please specify)
- 5) No responses.

18) To what extent did/do your adolescent children assist and help, and are entrusted with the domestic responsibilities. Cross mark (X) separately for each of your sons and daughters.

18(a)

Indoor activities	To a great extent		To some extent		To a little extent		No response	
	S	D	S	D	S	D	S	D
1) Looking after younger children								
2) Helping younger children in their studies								
3) Helping mother in the kitchen								
4) Helping in other activities within the house (Specify)								
5) Washing and cleaning (Specify)								
6) Any other type of work (Specify)								

18(b)

Outdoor activities	To a great extent		To some extent		To a little extent		No response	
	S	D	S	D	S	D	S	D
1) Day to day marketing								
2) Yard work								
3) Gardening and household repair								
4) Herding the cattle								
5) Poultry and piggery care								
6) Chop and fetch firewood, water								
7) Running on errands/payments of bills								

19) How did/do your adolescent children respond to these responsibilities and tasks ? Kindly cross mark (X) separately for each of your sons and daughters.

	Always	Sometimes
	Sons Daughters	Sons Daughters
1) Without any grudge/anger		
2) Only when insisted/forced		
3) When feels inclined to - i.e. no matter how much you crib or nag		

20) How do you (parents) feel about your adolescent children's participation in these responsibilities and household activities. Cross mark (X) separately for sons and daughters.

	Sons	Daughters
a) Happy		
b) So, so (neutral)		
c) Unhappy		
d) No response		

21) In your view (parents), what should be the age and the reasons, from when responsibility in household activities be entrusted to children. Cross mark (X) in the appropriate columns stating your views and opinions.

- a) When comparatively young.
- b) When they reach the age of reason, they will be taught to assume responsibility - i.e. until a later date.
- c) Responsibility training is related to the economic condition and income of the family.

22) How did/do you (parents) make your adolescent children adopt and develop the habit of taking their household duties and responsibilities in earnest? Kindly specify and cross mark (X) in the columns provided. Cross mark (X) accordingly.

- a) By instilling fear.
- b) By forcing your wish.
- c) By explaining your request for obedience.
- d) No conscious training.
- e) Incentives (how, please specify)
- f) Nagging and reminding constantly.

23) In your view (parents) which of the following reason, do you consider the most important for inducting and developing responsibility (training) in your adolescent children and carried/carries the greatest weight in determining the child's/children's future. Cross mark (X) in the appropriate columns.

- 1) To make children hard working so as to achieve economic security.
- 2) To develop a sense of responsibility and turn into good/respected citizens.
- 3) To be hardworking so as to be of practical use to the family and train to replace adults gradually.

24) Who usually punished/punishes the children in your family.

- a) father.
- b) Mother.
- c) Both.
- d) Any other (Specify).

25) In your view (parents), what were/is the most important purpose for punishing children? Kindly cross mark (X) in the appropriate columns given below.

	To a great extent	To some extent	To a little extent
1) Disobedience should follow punishment without explanation (please specify)			
2) To instill fear (please specify)			
3) Conform to discipline and self-control (please specify)			
4) Disgrace and shame the family (please specify)			
5) To correct the child (please specify)			

26) In your view, what action did/do you take in circumstances/opportunities when children (childhood stage) at times showed/show anger and resentment toward parents/elder members/relatives etc. Cross mark (X) in the appropriate columns for each of your children.

	To a great extent	To some extent	To a little extent
1) Ignored if not repeated often			
2) Positive tendency in this direction is at once stopped sternly (please specify)			
3) Reason with the angry child and teach/taught to control feelings as far as possible			
4) Consider it funny and are amused by it			

27) How do you feel, what action did/do you take in circumstances/opportunities when your adolescent children showed/show anger and resentment towards parents/elder members/relatives etc. Cross mark (X) in the appropriate columns for each of your children.

	To a great extent	To some extent	Very little
1) Consider it a great offense which cannot be pardoned and subjected to severe punishment 2) Taught not to agree even if they (elders) are wrong - i.e. whatever may be the cause or reason, but taught/told to place their point of view positively 3) Parental reprimanding/ scolding necessary depending on the relative status or the person concerned			

28) What action, disciplinary method did/do you (parents) usually take/adopt in the circumstances given below. Cross mark (X) in the appropriate columns given below.

	When children display aggressive behaviour and cheat/temper tantrums/rudeness, argue and speak back	When children are disobedient - do not comply by request (household and domestic chores and tasks/does/did something you do not approve of	When children quarrel with each other, siblings/friends and peers when others complain
1) Straight away beat the child/children 2) Scold/rebuke followed by threats/deprive/isolate (please specify) 3) Scold vehemently followed by abuse/curse/ridicule to instill fear (please specify) 4) Punishment followed by advice and suggest ways to improve			

29) Did/do you (parents) appreciate/acknowledge children's good behaviour/obedience/success etc.

a) Yes. b) No. c) No response

i) If yes, how did/do you usually appreciate the occasion given below? Cross mark (X) in the appropriate columns given below.

	When children are obedient			When children behave well			When children pass examination		
	To a great extent	To some extent	Very little	To a great extent	To some extent	Very little	To a great extent	To some extent	Very little
a) By praising									
b) By satisfying children's wants (by giving him/her something which you promised etc.)									
c) Celebrating									
d) Any other (Specify)									

30) What are the festivals and rituals celebrated and observed by the family (parents and children). Kindly cross mark (X) separately for each of the festivals and rituals observed.

	To a great extent	To some extent	Little extent	No response
1) Religious festivals, Christmas and other religious festivals				
2) National festivals celebrated by going for picnics, hiking, outing etc.				
3) Community festivals - Bamkhana, Kur (clan feast), house warming, community cleaning etc.				
4) Birthdays/marriage/anniversaries				
5) Death rituals/Death anniversaries				

31) What are the social activities that were/are shared by children and adults (parents) in your family. Kindly cross mark (X) separately for sons and daughters.

	Always	Sometimes	Never/No response	
	Sons Daughters	Sons Daughters	Sons	Daughters
1) Going for movies/drama etc.				
2) Going to the church/ Sunday cating				
3) Going for visiting friends/relatives etc.				
4) Attending social functions like wedding etc.				
5) Going for shopping for adolescent children				

32) Kindly state the frequency of your (parents) and children attending church and service. Kindly cross mark (X) separately for sons and daughters.

	Sons	Daughters	Both
Regularly			
Sometimes			
Occasionally			
Almost never			

32(i) Choose one statement/reason from the four options given below. With which you agree most and your reasons for you (parents) and children going/sending/attending church and service.

	Great extent	Some extent	Little extent
1) Out of habit			
2) Benefit children			
3) Social interaction			
4) Moral guidance			

32(ii) Choose one statement/reason from the options given below. With which you agree most and your reason for you (parents and children) going/attending church service occasionally/almost never.

	Great extent	Some extent	Little extent
1) Ideological differences			
2) Differences of opinion between parents			
3) Out of habit			
4) Cost			
5) Physical constraints (specify)			
6) Any other			

33) Who/and to what extent did/do you (parents) allowed/allow your children to play and interact with. Kindly cross mark (X) separately for each of your sons and daughters.

	To a Great extent		To some extent		To little extent		No response	
	Sons	Daughters	Sons	Daughters	Sons	Daughters	Sons	Daughters
1) Allowed/allow to play with all children alike in the locality and neighbourhood								
2) Allowed to play in the neighbourhood but only with children parents know and are acquainted with								
3) Not allowed out of the confines of garden/compound but allowed to play within the confines of one's own home and ground with other children								

34) How did/do your children and adolescent spent/spend a greater part of their leisure time. Kindly cross mark (X) in the appropriate columns.

1) Keep to oneself by engaging in various individual activities such as _____.

2) Spent/spend with other family members and elders by playing indoor games/interacting - like exchanging views, listening to stories, discussing, debating etc.

3) By and large spending greater part of their leisure time by playing and running about outdoors with friends siblings/peers etc. (specify)

4) Visiting friends and spent/spending time together/being with friends of their own. (specify)

35) What action was/do you (parents) usually taken/took in the circumstances/occasion when your young children fight/fought/quarrel/argue with their peers and friends - and you (parents) happened/happen to see/observe/told or made aware. Kindly cross mark (X) separately for each of your sons and daughters.

	To a Great extent		To some extent		Very little	
	Sons	Daughters	Sons	Daughters	Sons	Daughters
1) Pretend not to see - meaning adult interference is generally regarded as undesirable so long as nobody is hurt						
2) Don't take it seriously - meaning encourage children to fight back						
3) Parents occasionally intervene and discipline by reprimanding/scolding their own children						
4) Parents discipline by rebuking neighbours/other children						

36) What action was/do you usually taken/took in circumstances/occasions, when your adolescent children fight/fought/quarrel/argue with their peers/friends/neighbours - and you (parents) happened/happen to see/observe/told/or made aware. Kindly cross mark (X) separately for each of your sons and daughters.

	To a Great extent		To some extent		Very little	
	Sons	Daughters	Sons	Daughters	Sons	Daughters
1) Parents occasionally intervene and discipline by reprimanding/scolding their own children						
2) Parents discipline by rebuking neighbours/other children						
3) Parents make children behave in a manner acceptable to neighbours						
4) Not encouraged to fight physically						
5) Encouraged/encourage to stand up for their rights in verbal arguments						

37) It is generally understood that once children reaches the age of adolescence by and large, they start deciding for themselves on certain issues. Did/do your adolescent children decide for themselves on the issues stated below. Kindly cross mark (X) for each of your sons and daughters in the columns provided below.

Sl No	To a Great extent		To some extent		To little extent		Never/No response	
	Sons	Daughters	Sons	Daughters	Sons	Daughters	Sons	Daughters
1) General growing (The way you dress, including hair style etc.) - any other, please specify								
2) Their spending money (specify)								
3) The time/hour they get in at night/come home (specify)								
4) Developing friends (boys or girls) your adolescent children ^{choose} as friends (specify)								
5) Any other decision (please specify)								

38) Did/do you (parents) give pocket money to your children.

a) Yes.

b) No.

38(i) If yes, what was/is the frequency? Kindly cross mark (X) in the appropriate columns given below.

Sl. No.		Regularly	Intermittent	Occasionally
1	Childhood			
2	Adolescent			

38(ii) If no, how did/do your adolescent children meet personal expences ?

_____.

38(iii) If yes, did/do you keep track of pocket allowances spent by children (particularly adolescent). Kindly cross mark (X) in the appropriate columns below.

- a) To a great extent (Specify).
- b) To some extent (Specify).
- c) To a little extent (Specify).
- d) No response/Never (Specify).

39) Were/are your children familiarised with/taught the custom, traditions and practices of the family/community. Kindly cross mark (X) in the appropriate column.

- 1) A great deal (Please specify).
- 2) Quite a bit (Please specify).
- 3) Very little (Please specify).

39(ii) How were/are children familiarised. Kindly cross mark (X) in the appropriate columns given below.

- 1) Children see/saw it being practiced in the house and consciously/unconsciously pick them up as they grow (Please specify).
- 2) Parents familiarised by insisting that they should be followed and see it being practiced by children (Please specify).

- 3) Guided and told partly by the presence of elders in the family (Please specify).
- 4) Through interaction with others and seeing it being practiced by others (Please specify).
- 5) By being told by the parents(Please specify).

40) Did/does your child/children discuss their personal problems with parents ?

- a) Father.
- b) Mother.
- c) Both.
- d) Any other (Specify).

40(ii) Could you kindly tell/explain the kind of problem/the kinds of problems children (particularly your adolescent children) discussed/discuss.

41) Whom do you think, is your child/children more attached to in the family.

Sl. No.		To a great extent	To some extent
1	Father		
2	Mother		
3	Both		
4	Any other (grandparents/aunties/uncles etc.		

41(i) Why was/is the child/children attached to the above person?

42 To what extent did/do the children's father spent/spend/spare time with the children and adolescent. Please cross mark (X) in the appropriate columns.

- a) To a great extent (Specify).
- b) To some extent (Specify).

c) To a little extent (Specify).

d) No response/never.

42(i) How/what were/are the sort of things/activities, they (father and children) did/do together. Cross mark (X) in the appropriate columns given below.

Sl		To a Great extent	To some extent	To a little extent	No response
1)	Reading, talking, playing				
2)	Engaging and keeping children busy around the house - go to the fields, work and mend together. Take the children for outings				
3)	Spending time concerning himself with what children did, not only in school also in their leisure time				
4)	Only when necessary/feels bound to				
5)	Any other (Please specify)				

43) Did/do your children go visiting relatives of the family. Kindly cross mark (X) in the appropriate columns given below.

Sl. No.		Often	Sometimes	Occasional
1	Maternal			
2	Paternal			

43(i) Which of the reasons stated below do you agree most and feel are the likely reasons and most agreeable according to you for your children visiting their relatives. Cross mark (X) only one item with which you agree most in the following columns.

Sl. No.		Because children enjoy keeping in touch (specify)	You feel children ought or have an obligation(spec.)	Both A & B	Out of habit Any other Please specify
1	Maternal				
2	Paternal				

44) Did/do your adolescent children bring their friends home. Cross mark (X) in the appropriate column.

- 1) Great extent.
- 2) Some extent.
- 3) No response/Never.

44(i) If and when your adolescent children brought/bring their friends home how do you (parents) participate/acknowledge/entertain them ? Cross mark (X) in the appropriate columns given below.

Sl. No.		Often	Sometimes	Never/No response
1)	Parents participate in children's conversation			
2)	Entertain them with snacks etc.			
3)	Give them money to go out and enjoy			
4)	Parents play indoor games with them			
5)	Do nothing, do not really keep track of children's friends			
6)	Discourage their coming often			
7)	Parents ignore their coming often			
8)	Any other action, please specify			

45 How did/do you (parents) feel about the friends your adolescent children has chosen/the company kept by them. Cross mark (X) in the appropriate columns given below.

- 1) Satisfied.
- 2) Dissatisfied.
- 3) Not certain.
- 4) No response/Don't know.

46) Parents could/do have differences/disagreement or differ in views, in the socialization of children. As parents do you have disagreement/differ in view in the disciplining and bringing up of your children. Kindly each parent separately cross mark (aX) for yourself (bX) your husband in the appropriate columns.

Sl. No.		Often	Sometimes	No response
1	Father			
2	Mother			

i) In each of your view, which of the following reasons is/was often the common cause of difference and disagreement between you parents. Kindly each parent separately cross mark (aX) for yourself and (bX) for your husband in the appropriate columns.

Sl. No.		For beating the children			Children coming home late			Company kept by children			Dropping out of school & studies			Any other reason (specify)		
		To great extent	To some extent	To little extent	To great extent	To some extent	To little extent	To great extent	To some extent	To little extent	To great extent	To some extent	To little extent	To great extent	To some extent	To little extent
1	Father															
2	Mother															

ii) How did/do you settle/resolve your (parents) differences. Kindly each parent cross mark (X) in the appropriate columns provided below.

Sl. No.		By talking over and coming to an understanding	Each makes an effort to amend	Temporarily matters are settled	Leave things as they are
1	Father				
2	Mother				

47) What was/is the duration of breast feeding your child/infant and from what age did you start supplementing breast feeding with solids/semi solids/bottle feeding. Kindly cross mark (X) in the appropriate columns given below.

Sl. No.		Breast feeding only	Breast feeding and other food	Breast feeding, other food and bottle	No breast feeding Only bottle feed
1	Upto 6 months				
2	6+ to 1 year				
3	1 year above				

47(i) What was/is the schedule adopted for breast feeding your infant.

a) According to demand.

b) According to schedule.

48) What were/are the supplementary food that you gave/give to your infants. Cross mark (X) in the appropriate columns.

Sl No		To a Great extent	To some extent	No, very little
a)	Boiled meshed rice			
b)	Bananas			
c)	Sagudana			
d)	Barley			
e)	Cow's milk			
f)	Formula Food			

49) From what age was/did you start toilet training your child/children. Cross mark (X) in the appropriate columns.

Sl No		To a Great extent	To some extent	No, very little
1)	Within 6 months			
2)	6 months-1 year			
3)	1 year-18 months			
4)	18 months-2 years			
5)	Later (Please specify)			

50) What were/are the methods adopted in toilet training you child/children. Cross mark (X) in the appropriate columns given below.






















S1 No		To a Great extent	To some extent	To a little extent
1)	Reminding at regular intervals			
2)	Helping the child all the time			
3)	By punishing			
4)	Made/make the child feel guilty			
5)	Any other (Please specify)			

51) In your view which of the following do you feel is the most important reasons for toilet training your child/children at bedtime. Please Cross mark (X) in the appropriate columns.

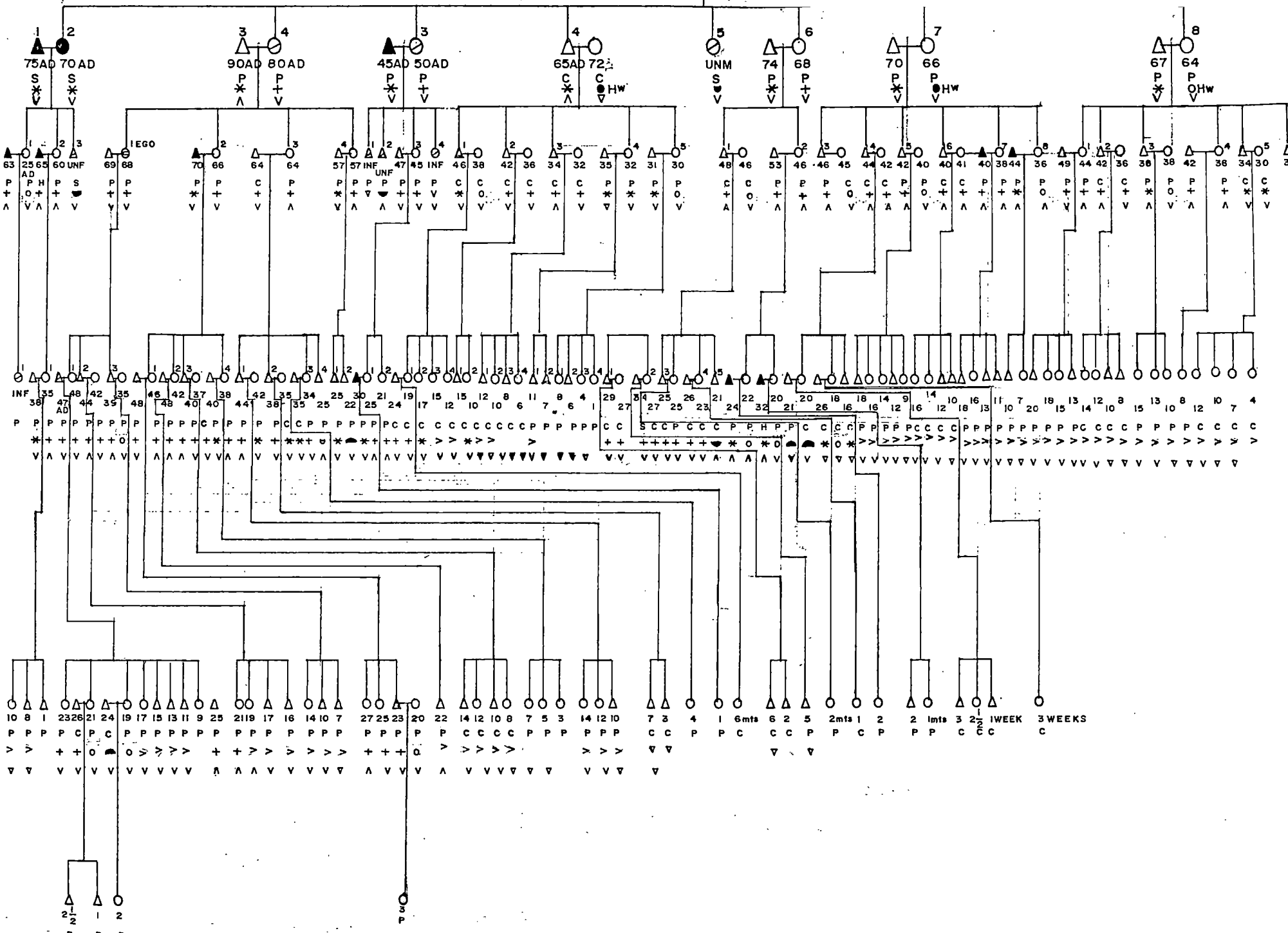
S1 No		To a Great extent	To some extent	Very little/No response
1)	To keep the bed clean			
2)	To form good habit			
3)	To avoid boredom			
4)	Any other - please specify			
5)	No response			

LEGENDS

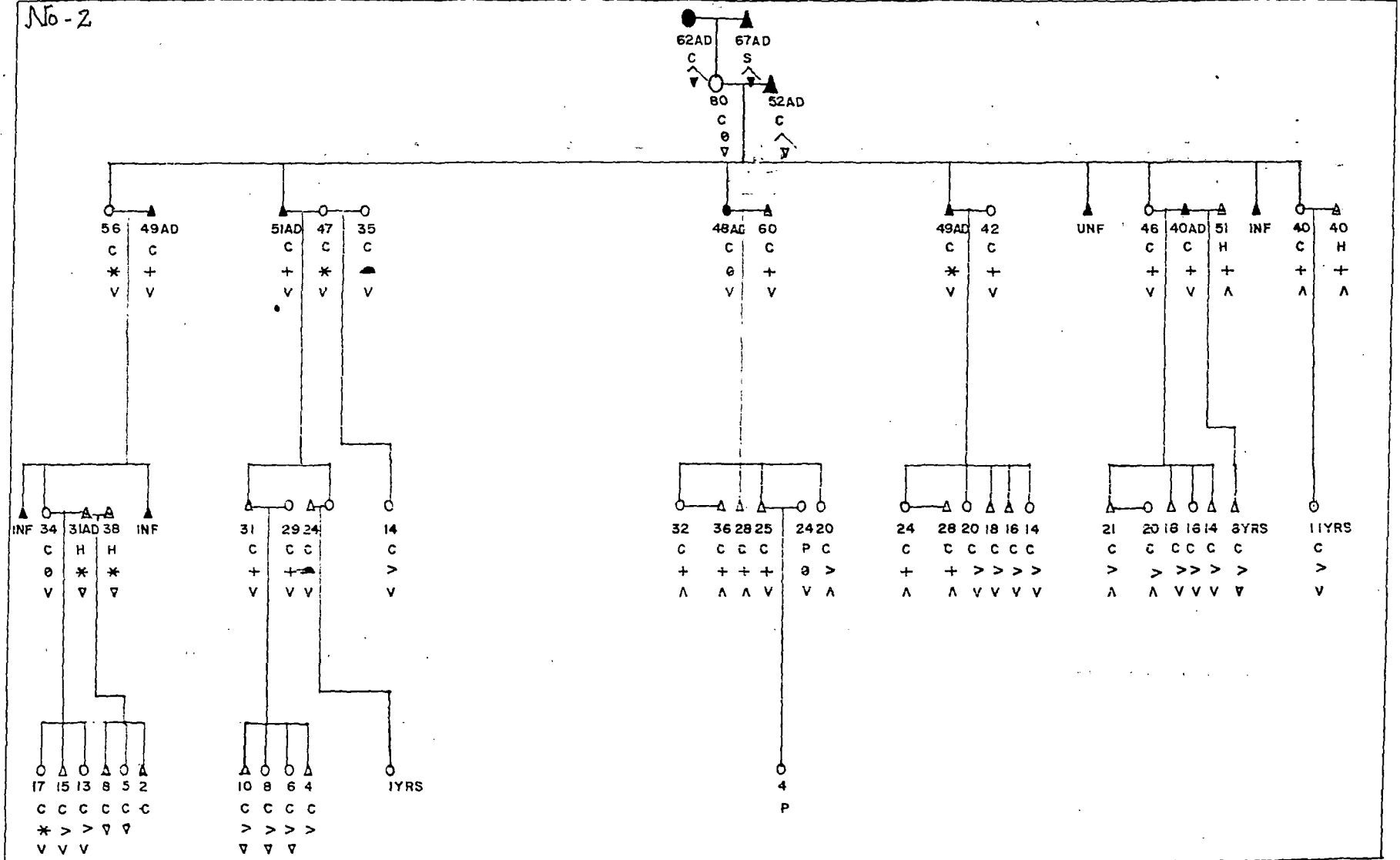
SYMBOLS & SIGNS

<u>Religion</u> Catholics ↓ C		Non-Catholics Christian ↓ P		Non-Catholics Khasi ↓ S		Hindu ↓ H	Muslims ↓ M		
Service ↓ 	Trade ↓ 	Manual ↓ 	Agriculture ↓ 	Non Workers ↓ 		House Wife ↓ 			
<u>Literate</u> Higher ↓ 		Secondary ↓ 	Primary ↓ 	Non-Literate ↓ 					
Ego ↓ 	Female ↓ 	Male ↓ 	Generations ↓ 	Married ↓ 					
Married more than once Male Δ-O-O Female O-Δ-Δ		Married to non khasi Male ΔΔ Female O							
Age at death ↓ A.D.	Below sex symbol i.e died below 15 years of age. ↓ INF		Below sex symbol i.e died unmarried but after 15 years of age. ↓ UNF		Arabic Numeral below sex symbol ↓ AGE				
Serial numbers of the individual in a generation of pedigree ↓ 			Twins: Both male  Both female  One-male one female 		Dead Male  Female 				

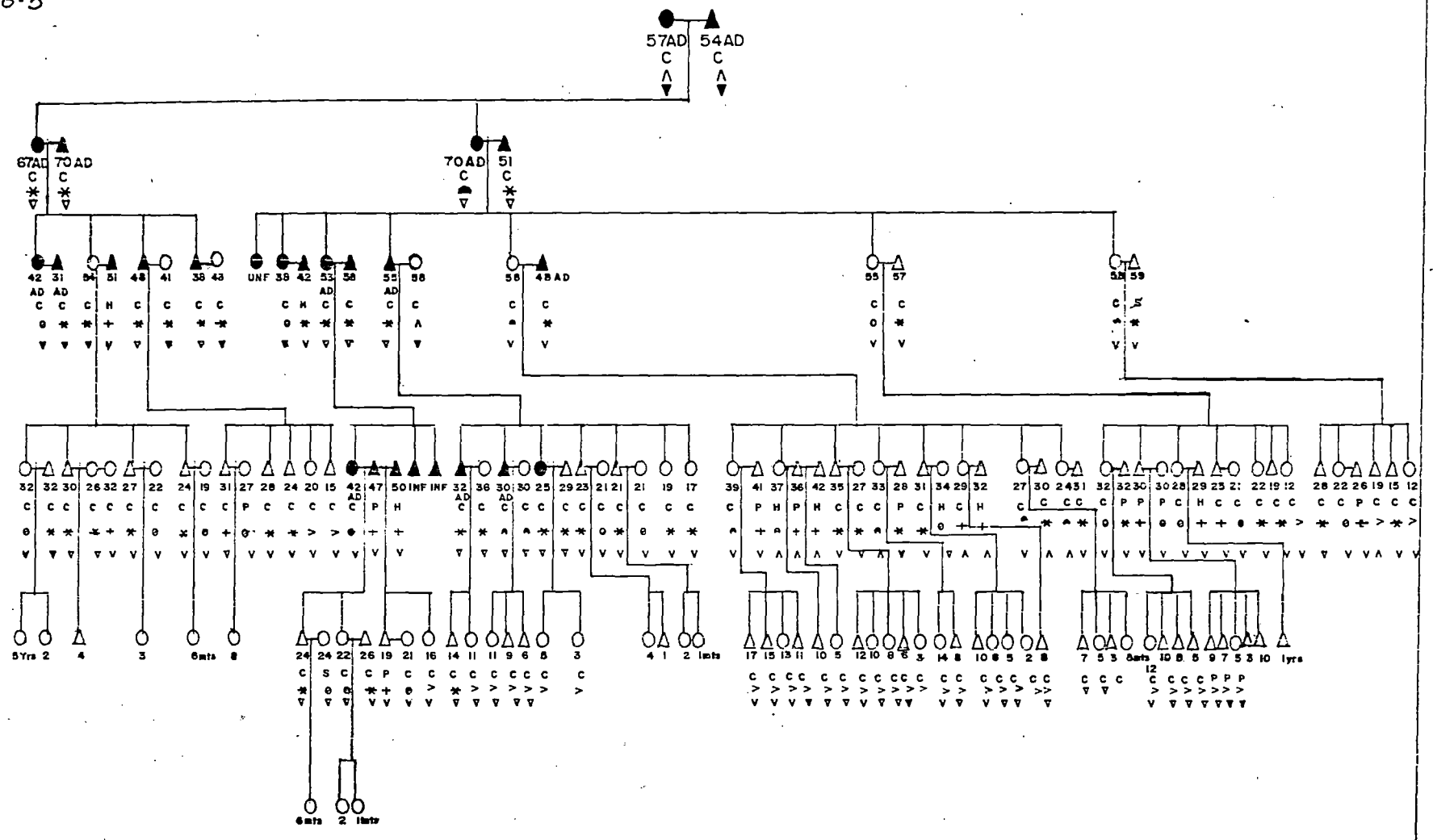
80AD	75AI
3	5
*	*
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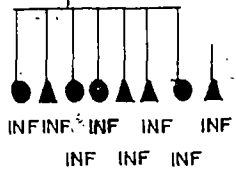
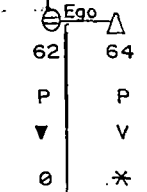
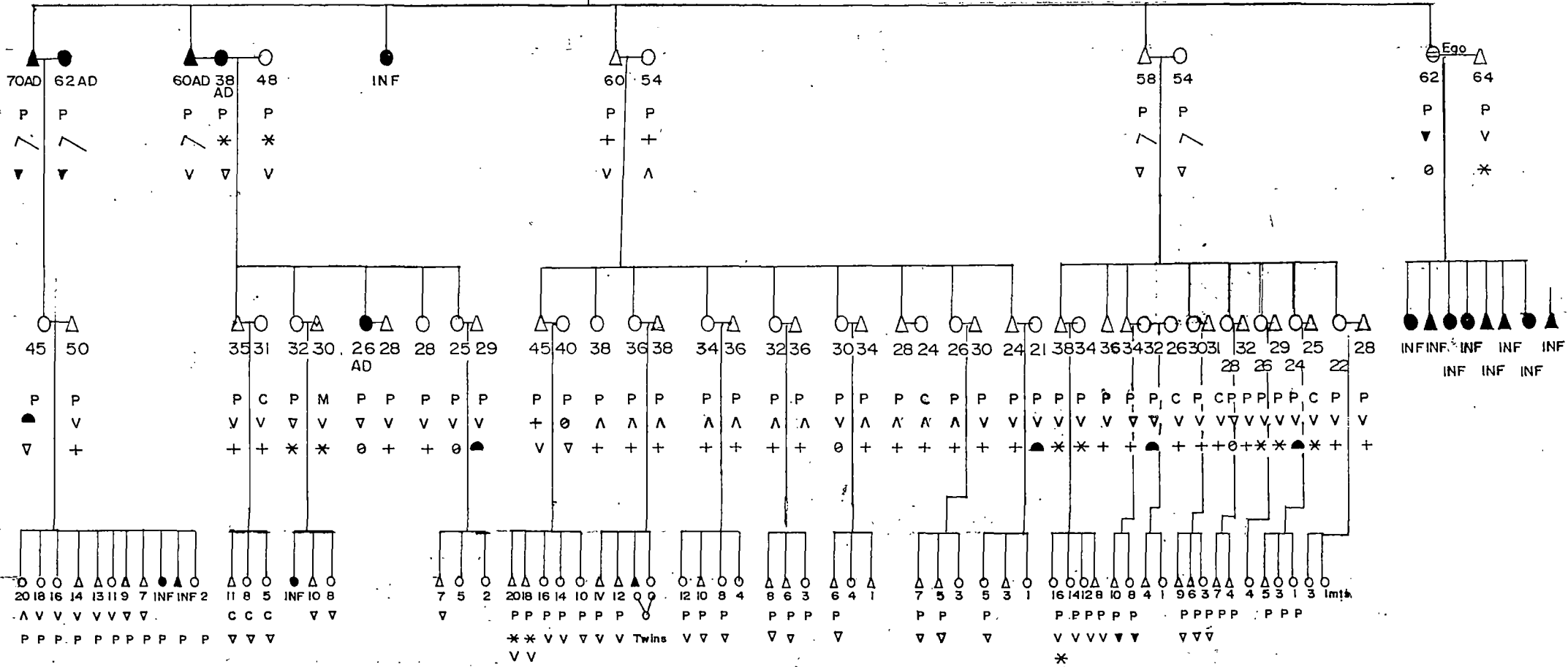
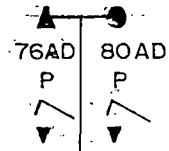
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№6-3



No-6



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