

DECLARATION

Certified that the material in this
dissertation has not been previously submitted
for any other degree of this or any other
university.

C.N. Venugopal
C.N. Venugopal
Supervisor

T.K. Oommen
T.K. Oommen
Co - Supervisor

FAMILY, SOCIAL STRATIFICATION AND SOCIALIZATION :

A STUDY OF INTER RELATIONSHIPS

A Dissertation submitted to the Jawahar Lal Nehru
University in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of M^Ster of Philosophy.

Prepared by

GEETA KATARYA

Centre of Social Systems,
School of Social Sciences,
Jawahar Lal Nehru University
NEW DELHI

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I offer my thanks to Prof. C.N. Venugopal whose guidance and inspiration greatly facilitated the progress of this study.

To Dr. Oommen, I owe a debt of gratitude for the time, skill and the intellectual stimulus, he provided during the preparing of this manuscript.

This being a maiden effort, any shortcomings in it are solely mine.

GEETA KATHYA

DECLARATION

Certified that the material in this
dissertation has not been previously submitted
for any other degree of this or any other
university.

C. N. Venugopal
C.N. Venugopal
Supervisor

T. K. Oommen
T.K. Oommen
Co - Supervisor

<u>CHAPTER</u>	<u>PAGE</u>
(ii) Measuring Social Class	
(iii) Social Class, Parental Values And Parent Child Relationship	
(iv) Relative Significance Of Social Class in The Later Stage	
(v) Correlation Between Social Class Variables and Socialisation Variables	
(vi) Home Environment and Success	
VI <u>THE PRESENT SOCIAL CONTEXT</u>	
(1) Changing Attitudes Towards Caste	
(ii) Changing Role and Status of Women	
VII CONCLUSIONS	
VIII APPENDIX	
IX REFERENCES	

PREFACE

Socialisation is the process by which human children born potentially human, become actually, human, thus being able to function within the societies in which they are born. It has been a subject of increasing interest during the last fifty years.

Each decade has added new materials to the subject viz. something about kinds of character formation, the way E. FREUD, Margaret Mead, Ruth Benedict described, something about the different ways in which children were reared etc. It has been a field which no discipline has been adequate to tackle alone and each advance has relied on several different approaches. There is no single appropriate methodology for the study of socialisation.

Systematic observation of children, interview with the parents, cross cultural evidence, experimental results have all been used to get a coherent account of the major features of the process of socialisation.

Therefore anthropologists have relied on the sociologists and vice versa, sociologists have relied on the work of psychiatrists, clinical psychologists.

This attempt deals with the major areas of the study of child socialisation while offering to raise questions and stimulate thinking and rethinking on

important issues rather than to provide all answers. Thus the ideas, observations and analyses presented lead us to an understanding of the mechanism of socialisation.

The principal directions of this research can be seen by posing the following questions -

How does society, taken as a whole or considering each of its groups presents its models? To whom? What are they? Which are the influences which a child experiences in the course of socialisation?

The questions posed in the discussion which follows are however basically exploratory and conjectural.

Numerous references to the study of socialisation have been cited. A characteristic feature of the work is that it draws heavily on the researches done by Americans. This is due to the paucity of such research studies in India, but attempts have been made to draw on Indian material wherever possible. Child socialisation studies in India and on closely related topics have seldom come under the cool professional gaze of sociologists. This paucity of studies could be attributed to a greater concern with problems of practical importance.

AREAS OF CONSIDERATION

Although the categories used here have been commonly taken by other researchers but they are still

important categories for the Indian scene. Therefore the dimensions of studying socialisation as seen in the following discussion are

- (1) Theoretical issues
- (2) Methodological issues
- (3) The family system
- (4) Stratification Factor
- (5) The Present Social Context
- (6) Summing Up

This study consequently deals with the agencies, practices and processes involved in socialisation and the factors which deliberately or incidentally influence the young. Some of these influences are specific and overt, operating through deliberate instruction to more or less determined objectives, some others are more diffuse and less systematic but may have pervasive effects. But I want to clarify at the outset itself that the degree and influence of each factor is not the same for every individual since all of these factors interact in complicated and intricate ways to influence the child.

With the emphasis on these factors it has been possible to bring out some important anticipated problems variables important for the Indian scene, their correlations and furthermore the implications and suggestions for further research that deserve to be

followed at length. This has further shed light on the unsettled problems in this field.

Unfortunately in the scope of this brief work I cannot give a complete portrayal of all the theoretical ideas and the great amount of factual details in the process of socialisation.

Furthermore in the absence of Indian data viz. maternal reports on the child training practices, their consequences, changing ideas of the parents, also independent studies on the child's behavior we do not have any basis for generalisation about the effects of socialisation practices at all.

Therefore the need today is not only for theory building but even for detailed descriptive studies of how parents do in fact treat their children and equally important how children treat their parents.

I N T R O D U C T I O N

INTRODUCTION

Man is a social being. This essential basic quality of man makes his interaction with his fellow men inevitable. This interaction is neither haphazard nor simple, but very complex; "for it includes not simply the idea of collision and rebound but something much more profound, namely the internal modifiability of the colliding agents". (Ormond, C. 1900, p.196). It is unto this end that it follows certain patterns of behavior that are the outcome of long standing practice, so as to benefit not only the individual but society as well. These norms of patterns of behavior are not inborn but have to be taught through the learning process which continues till death.

These norms are inculcated into the child so as to make him an affective member of society allowing thereby perpetuation of the society together with its culture. John Dewey (1966) observed that philosophy is a reflection upon social ideals and education is the effort to put these ideals into effect.

Socialisation, then is an interactional process whereby individual's behavior is modified to conform to expectations held by members of the group to which he belongs. The term formerly was applied to the process by which the child gradually acquires the behavior pattern expected of him, but now the term is used more broadly to

include the processes by which the adult acquires the behavior pattern expected of him.

Thus appropriate to the expectations associated with a new position in a group, an organisation, or society at large- "a process of acquiring knowledge, skills and dispositions that enable him to participate as more or less effective members of groups and the society" (Brim, O. 1966, P.3). Thus the process occurs at every stage of life especially active at every transition phase, preparing him to function effectively in varying social units- whether it may be while entering school, an occupation of special position in the society, or while getting married and even when becoming a parent.

Thus socialisation involves a provision of models of adult roles upon which the child can draw on, forming his concept of himself, his place in society and the fostering of appropriate self regard- all of which are summed up in the concept.

Paradoxically, the methodological sophistication and theoretical development of research on socialisation are at a relatively low level. Further the lack of formal theory as an underpinning for research operations makes it difficult to draw definite conclusions from the sprawling mass of empirical data.

THE RATIONALE OF STUDY

Role and role systems have been extensively studied but they have scarcely been conceived of as existing or functioning with some provision for socialisation. Today the subject has increased relevance for many parts of the world are undergoing a "Socialisation - crises, so to say. This could be attributed to the scope and momentum of change. In our country major social changes such as on going urbanisation, industrialisation involve the resocialisation of people of all ages. Thus it is not rare for individuals to confront actual or potential new roles in adult life, which would require acquisition of new roles playing skills, attitudes, values and also skills.

Furthermore today a large number of children in the urban and rural areas in India are going to school, formal education takes longer, but there is a painful uncertainty about the roles for which the young are being prepared and we have to examine how this task is to be divided between the major socialising agencies- the family, school and peer groups. It is ironic that the resocialisation of adults seem equally problematic. Thus in a developing set up like ours, socialisation seems to be a key theme of study.

Even the current state of affairs where education is concerned with its rapid shifts from one

position to another, with the presence of strongly antagonistic positions, its vulnerability to sloganised programs initiated by pressure groups, and its genuine failure to help in adjustment clearly points to abusive lack of solid empirical data on socialisation process.

EMPHASES OF STUDY

In organising and developing the present study I plan to move from the general to the specific, striving to produce an operationalisation of the variables deemed important. Consequently the present study is conceived with particular reference to the way in which socialisation process is associated with social levels. This is examined in terms of the variations in the socialisation experiences of persons in different family systems, different classes, different castes. Since these factors tend to determine the form and content of socialisation, more importantly can we then say that by noting these variations as related to social class can we also determine the aspirations, goals and even social class destination?

This assumption is open to question for we know if socialisation is determined by one's origin and if one's destination is determined by one's socialisation, then one's destination would be fully predictable from one's origin and we know that it is not. Large number of other factors may be involved. On the contrary, the

fact that there is considerable continuity in social level between generations also suggests that there is some relationship between social level and socialisation. Although we are far from an understanding of all these factors and processes involved, but we have made some attempt to gauge related questions and to show how these relationships are interesting but are also less than perfect.

THEORETICAL FOCUS

Theoretically speaking, due to the multiple adult roles in the society the socialisation process cannot be wholly the same for all the new members, (thereby making the process highly complex). This complexity and differentiation from our point of view is not only in terms of sex roles, but in terms of more important ones like the roles any particular male or female child is prepared to play? How is this decision made as to who receives which kind of preparation?

Thus a central concern will be to chart out and study the ways in which individuals are prepared to carry out these many roles and to examine how some individuals receive one kind of preparation, while others may still receive of another kind. A discussion of the full complexity of the role structure in our country will be impossible. Our emphasis in the linking of the classes or strata to differences in the socialisation process,

helps us to understand the several aspects of our social structure.

The features of the Indian social system like the focal position of the family in the structure, the socialisation agencies, the stages, the exposure to public media, the present social condition broadly form the outlines of the setting within which socialisation occurs and set the stage for study. Ironically though some of the attitudes, values inculcated may be in conflict with the existing condition, an ascertainment of these characteristics would further help us to gauge whether within the existing social structure the process leads to continuity or change. But even to conclude that basic values of the people in the urban set up have not changed at all is some what more open to question. Though it is suggested that rural families appear to lag behind the times in their practices of infant care. (Bronfenbrenner, U. 1952, Wolfenstein, M. 1953).

The fact of importance for our purpose is not 'which' disciplinary method parents prefer but when and why^{they} use one or another method of discipline. A narrow focus on the techniques used may tend to obscure the meaning of the technique and ignore that the same technique may have different meanings in different situations or at different points in a child's life (Maccoby, E.E. 1961). These considerations therefore

lead us to a greater interest in parental values, what they define as important, both in general and in relation to their children's behavior etc and these can be gleaned by defining and studying the parent child relationships.

Class, factors in terms of training of the child "range from the control of the manner and ritual by which he eats his food, to the control of his choice of play-mates and of his educational and occupational goals. The times and places of his recreation, the chores required of him by his family, the economic control to which he is subjected, indeed his very conception of right and wrong, all vary according to social class of the child in question" (Davis, H. 1943, p.604). Even the basic maternal dimensions of love, hostility and restrictiveness permissiveness are associated with the social class of the mother. Differences in personality among children of different classes are no doubt related to these differences in child rearing practices. (Bayley, N. and Schaefer, E.S. 1960, Burton, R.V. and Whiting, J.W.M. 1961, Maccobby, E.E. and Gibbs, P.R., 1954). Since a basic means of defining social level is with reference to the occupational structure, one can come across the kinds of attitudes and values associated with different occupations. Because of the paucity of research data this study is basically exploratory, and exploration is to be seen as it is, or else the reader may have too high an expectation of what to accomplish.

THEORETICAL ISSUES

METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

THEORETICAL CONCEPTIONS OF SOCIALIZATION

While philosophers of education have long been concerned about the way in which the individual becomes a responsible member of society, attempts to study this process objectively, using the methods of science are of very recent origin.

Three intellectual sources which provided the stimulus for this development may be distinguished.

Firstly, there was the belief in the infinite plasticity of man which has its roots in British empiricist philosophy and which found its way through some of the utilitarians into modern behaviorism and learning theory.

If the individual becomes what he is through the moulding pressures of his environment, it seems very sensible to study the kinds of effects produced by variations in environmental pressure, so that we might be able to produce desired effects at will. In this tradition socialisation is seen as essentially a technical problem, one of manipulating conditions to produce predictable results.

The second stimulus comes from the development of a 'positivistic sociology' which makes it possible to conceive of human relationships in terms of "value". "This means that instead of laying down precepts for moral education one describes the process of

socialisation because the moral order in which the individual comes to participate is the actually existing social order and not something beyond it" (Danziger, K. 1966, p.7).

Historically, the immediate impetus for the objective study of socialisation came from some of the ideas of Freud (1930). Although the direct influence of these ideas is declining in recent years, they must obviously be identified as the third major influence in this context.

In his earlier psychoanalytic writings Freud took over the popular Darwinian model of individual evolution and gave it a social context. Thus the evolutionary approach created a tremendous emphasis on the importance of childhood experiences for later life and gave a specific focus to research in socialisation, namely the emotional relationship existing between parents and children.

In his later writings however he looked at socialisation from a different perspective. Now he made explicit what was implicit in his earlier works; namely that the socialisation was not only problematic but also incomplete.

He stressed the irreconcilability of the demands of society and the interests involved as well as the gains. This aspect of Freud's thinking is clearly at

variance with the other traditions and it has had little direct influence on empirical research in the area though some of the work on class differences in socialisation and on the antecedents of delinquency would provide evidence in its favour.

BIASES IN THE STUDY OF SOCIALIZATION

Each of these currents of thought have not only stimulated the empirical investigation of socialisation but it has brought out a great deal of implicit bias in this field of study. Although this state of affairs is quite common in the other social sciences, but it has earned a great deal of approbrium for the term.

It is desirable to make some of these biases explicit. The learning approach to socialisation derived as it is from philosophical empiricism has contributed two major sources of bias in the selection of research problems and in the conceptualisation of the process of socialisation. In the first place it has encouraged a view of socialisation in which the child is essentially a passive recipient of external influences which reinforce certain habits of response. This has led to research designs which do not allow the child's capacity for selection to be taken into account.

Further the earlier formulations of his approach attempted to explain socialisation in entirely non social terms, namely in categories like 'cue' and 'reward'



G-38688

DISS
306.345
K1558 Fa



G38688

which do not stress the interaction of persons. However modern formulations are extremely critical of this tradition and stress the importance of human models in socialisation.

The positivist traditions in sociology on the other hand lay an all pervasive stress on the social system, or the system of social roles and conformity. This leads to what Dennis Wrong calls "the over socialised conception of man" (Wrong, D. 1961, p.183). In this conception the tension between society and man is comparatively null.

A related source of bias consists in making the definition of socialisation so wide that it becomes equivalent to personality development in all its aspects. This is only justified on the basis of an implicit harmony between society and the individual. If this harmony existed only conceptually, then it would be useful to define socialisation more narrowly in order to focus on the problematic nature of the individual's adjustment to society.

The Freudian bias however has been the most obvious . It has manifested itself in an unproductive concern with infant care practices like weaning and toilet training which have been seen to have no consistent relationship to personality development. Though Freud clarified that these techniques of child's

training were merely emotional goals. Therefore it would be advisable to concentrate on parent-child interaction in terms of categories of emotional relationships like warmth permissiveness, rejection, hostility, etc.

This approach too has only limited success in practice, due to their ambiguous definitions.

Moreover the global emphasis on the emotional component in parental behavior has probably inhibited research on the other aspects of parent child relationships for example, symbolic interaction, communication.

GENERAL OPERATIONALISATION

To operationalise our line of thought in the field of socialisation, the conceptual framework, I use is by no means new, but it is based on a variety of sources. Philip Meyer's (1968) concept helpfully sets to distinguish conceptually between the main targets of study in the field of socialisation.

These are largely oriented to :-

- (1) Vernacular model
- (2) Observer model

Meyer associates the former vernacular model with 'practices' and the observer model with 'processes'.

VERNACULAR MODEL

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

The same can be said regarding the training of adult aspirants to given roles, informal but deliberate exercise of socialising pressures, as by teasing etc. of those who seem to discharge their roles ineptly, vernacular opinions (not necessarily endorsed by the

observer) apart from the suitability and effectiveness of socialising techniques.

OBSERVER MODEL

The other theme to which theorising is of significance is regarding 'processes', which also bring out methodological issues. "Process includes all those social experiences that one supposes actually advance people in their role playing skills or attitudes and mechanisms whereby these socialising effects are actually brought about." (Meyer, P. 1968, p. XVII).

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

In a given culture, the body of conscious deliberate socialising practice and theory as defined, constitutes the vernacular system and we can deal with it by the regular techniques and no psychological science is required for recording these or noting functional relations between such a system and other systems in the same culture (Meyer, P. 1968, p. XVI).

Specifically and logically we can thus say that socialising practices will be more easily observed in

complex societies. More explicitly speaking, they will have more systematic socialising practices; also they will have larger varieties of occupational training.

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

A significant question of relevance often neglected is how can an observer establish that an experience 'X' really contributes to an attitude or skill required for a specific role 'Y'?

Further how can an observer identify agents as well as occasions of unconscious, non deliberate, diffuse socialisation? Though the line between socialising 'practices' and 'processes' is not hard and fast, even in theory and less so in actual operational contexts. More often the analyst simply sees connections which he cannot prove. Having noticed what seems clearly to be a common mode running through situation A and role B, he postulates that they are somehow connected logically. The connection logically speaking must be thoughtful factor or process which supposedly operates within the

psyche of the actors. Internalisation or conditioning or habit forming or fear of sanctions or reinforcement or blockage of drives or displacement or some other psychic mechanism may be postulated. But whichever it is, it will be a concept chosen by the observer, rather than a fact capable of being documented. Nadel (1951) points and draws attention to another problem—the kinds of psychological concept to employ, seeing that the discipline of psychology affords different and often incompatible kinds; the conversion factors may be envisaged, but need not be taken as a law. Turner very aptly says "however, can the hapless anthropologist hope to judge between rival psychoanalytic interpretations when psychoanalysts disagree among themselves" (Turner, R. 1964, p.213). Gluckman and Devons prescribe a different view; they argue that "the undisciplined trespass on fields one is not competent to traverse produces more obscurity than it does creative inspiration" (Gluckman, M. 1964, p.161). "They advocate abstemious policies, naivety and abridgement, acceptance of the other's results and conclusions, where they seem appropriate, in shortened form and without too much inquiry as to how the analyst reached them" (ibid). Even specialists in culture and personality studies evidently agree that the important task of sociologists and anthropologists in the field is the "analysis of

socio-cultural systems rather than the personality systems" (Spiro, M. 1961, p. 467).

Summarily, then the approach to our study of socialisation would be-

To record a vernacular system of conscious socialising practices, relating it to other systems within the society and/ or comparing it cross culturally.

To make note of the actual socialising processes as the observer see's it. Though this part may not necessarily be so since in this case there are obvious pitfalls ie. in a given field one has to be explicit about the kinds of psychological mechanisms one postulates.

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

We could well illustrate this stand with Gitel Steed's study. She studies personality formation in Kasandhra, a Hindu village in Gujarat. In the process she "aims to delineate sociological horizons in personality formation. However stopping at an arbitrary point where psychological analyses becomes more appropriate"(Steed, G.P. 1951, p. 102).

She gives a social anthropological approach to the study of personality in any society. This approach while presupposing a universal human nature, incorporates the view that a functional and historical analysis of a particular people requires observing individuals in groups and discerning what happens to them under given social conditions.

In India, however village research would consequently be disposed to look into the social causes of the phenomena of individual personality and also into the more complex personal phenomena of individual differences which, by outward manifest signs appear to be affecting the social order of the groups.

Steed goes about by first stating the approach theoretically and then documenting it with evidence accumulated at two levels of enquiry, - 'sociological and ontogenetic'. She describes those institutions that appear to have exerted pervasive socialising influences, variously affecting individual behavior and roles in community life. She sought appropriate data "through aspects of village social structure, through its institutions in the context of village history, in the basic patterns of settlement and social organisation. In addition the villager's own view of roles in village affairs, his interpretations of his motivations and needs, his reflections upon his cycle

of growth from infancy to adulthood, upon his relations to others, and upon his life goals in general- for these would provide insights concerning the private thoughts and feelings behind his public behavior and roles in village life" (Steed, G.P. 1951, p.103).

SOCIALISATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE

In order to analyses all the points, the questions, our model should implicitly take into account the line of changes to be able to deal adequately with socialisation as it emerges under conditions of social change. It has been emphasised that rapid change intercepts the simple recapitulation of child training practices thereby producing new modal personality patterns. The means by which these changes are mediated, or affected (in the absence of adequate and valued role models with which to identify) has great implications for personality development (Brickson, E. 1920, Mead, M. 1970, Reisman, D. 1950). It is believed that, "in conditions of change either the parent may be acting as a passive agent of his culture even though the techniques may have lost their appropriateness. In this case the gulf between parent and child rapidly grows and the relations become strained as the child meets and learns conflicting behavior patterns and the underlying values of his own new culture". (Inkeles, A. 1955, p.13).

Another alternative is that the individual surrenders to the culture surrogates-peer groups, teachers, mass media, In such cases, the parents will manifest disturbed and inconsistent images of their children's future (Mead, M. 1970). This is a cultural phenomena the world over, "The present generation of young people is participating in a fundamental change in the socialisation process- today the young people know more than their parents, so that children are now informing their elders in ways that parents traditionally encultured children. This concept is being refined and being actively considered (Eliot, C.R. 1970, Hall, E. 1968, Lomax, A. 1970) this area they term as the micro level of human communication and cultural transmission; this refinement will lead to significant changes in current theory and methods of socialisation research.

Contrary to this radical thought one could also believe that the practices of infant care can not be totally disorienting. For socialisation is an ongoing process for the parents, adults will always try to learn. "All in all child rearing is future oriented to an important extent. The picture of the desired end product is importantly influenced by the parents' experiences in the adult world. When the adult experiences change there is reason to believe that they

will ultimately although not immediately result in a shift in the socialisation pattern as well" (Aberle, D.F. & Naegele, K.D. 1952, Hagen, E. 1962). It has been seen that the child rearer plays through purposive and unconscious adjustments in his child rearing practices also mediating the influence of social change to his children and consequently adapts them for the changed social conditions they may meet as adults.

Models also change in the course of a child's development. The child at first identifies with father or mother according to sex. Or in certain roles and types of behavior the child imitates the parent who is at that time serving as a model. Later on the child very quickly becomes conscious of his own roles and contrasts himself with the adult and further also constructs himself according to a child model which he guesses at tentatively through rewards and punishments. This picture built up from what the child must and must not do, or the way he must do it- is the expression of a model of the role and behaviour of the child as seen by the family. As the child grows his socialisation is no longer mediated solely through his parents but directly through contact with his area of residence his school and peer groups, he will now encounter all these and thus seek out other models.

METHODOLOGICAL ISSUESMETHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS IN RESEARCHING THE HOMEENVIRONMENT

On the whole, child socialisation research has been noted for lack of sophistication of its techniques. In spite of this it is only in the last few years that the awareness of some of the major technical pitfalls in this area has become common. For a great deal of work has relied on interviews with mothers about child training practices and their effects. As Yarrow, M.R., Campbell, J.D., and Burton, R.V. (1963) show, the retrospective reports of mothers are far from reliable and are subject to systematic distortions. Similar findings have been reported by other investigators.¹ "The distortions in the mothers' reports are not random, but tend to be governed by the cultural stereotypes". (Danziger, K. 1966, p.7).

Thus in their comparison of mother's reports with reports based on direct observation of the family over

1) See their paper, "Reliability of Maternal Retrospection: This is a Preliminary Report. The authors carry out a more detailed discussion on the same topic. Yarrow, M.R., Radke, M. "Problems of methods in parent child research", Child Development, 34, 1963, p.215-26.

a period of years, Mcord and Mcord (1961) found that the mothers showed a significant tendency to overemphasise the dominant role of the father in the family, giving the appearance of a greater role specialisation than in fact existed, and to idealise the relationships between parents and children, denying rejection and punitiveness by the parents as well as unfavourable attitudes of children towards parents. Again Robbins (1963) showed that the inaccuracies in mothers' reports were consistently tilted in the direction of recommendations current in the American child training literature, a finding which makes one wonder at the effect of the mass media. Unfortunately no such research is available in the Indian context but a large number of books on child rearing techniques, child care have come into the market. These books are extensively read at least by the so called educated mothers in the urban set up.

Furthermore socialisation has been treated as if it were an affair involving just ^{two} individuals the adult and the child. The adult is the active member of the pair, he does the rewarding, punishing, disciplining, in short he metes out treatment to a child that is essentially passive and malleable. Moreover the active member of this

dyad is not just any adult, but nearly always the mother². Yet there is abundant evidence to show the role of the father is vital. But the empirical studies continue to use the dyadic socialisation paradigm, substituting the father-child pair for the mother-child pair.

2) But the fact is that cultural bias and practical^c convenience continue to make it so, for in societies where the salience of the mother in the child rearing situation is high, it is used to ignore the role of the father in theory and also to question him in practice.

DIMENSIONS OF STUDYING
SOCIALISATION

IMPRESSIONS OF STUDIES IN INDIA

DIMENSIONS OF STUDYING SOCIALIZATION

At this stage it needs no stressing that the child is socialised by all the social structures in which he participates, by his school, peer groups, by the mass media and by the position which his parents occupy in the social structure. He is socialised also by virtue of belonging to a particular culture at a certain stage in its history. On the cultural plane one could take recreational activities the rituals, his philosophy of religion of life the code of ethics. Summarily speaking the basic economic condition social and political setting set the gross parameters for the child rearing practices. There may be subtle influences emanating from an environment that may be rural or urban hygienic or unhealthy, tropical or temperate.

However, having stated the obvious, we have to impose some limits on our universe of discourse. It is unfortunately true that the evidence and the level of conceptualisation/for these parameters is not very precise and systematic.

In this light it would be essential to examine the relationship between socialisation and social class, caste, the family etc. and to specify their intricate relationships. The theoretical issues that come up are-

- 1) What determines the skills, attitudes, values and aspirations that an individual acquires?

- 2) Is the acquisition of such characteristics related to one's origin?
- 3) What aspects of one's origin are responsible for this relation?
- 4) If such characteristics are related to one's destination (placement in later life) are they related directly or indirectly?
- 5) To discern these, therefore what kinds of social categories will be relevant?
- 6) What aspects of the social relations need to be studied?
- 7) If socialisation leads to acquisition of characteristics necessary in carrying out roles, what assumptions must be made out about how such characteristics are acquired?

Given a focus on the inter personal experiences of the individual consequently which people, which factors have influence on the individual's development? Can we limit our concern to a specific set of 'significant others'. In what ways do the inter personal experiences affect the kind of social being he becomes? What aspects of inter personal experiences are significant in the socialisation process? What kinds of influences are involved?

These are the kind of questions to which this study will be addressed, but it would also be unrealistic

to claim that we can give adequate answers to all of them.

For our study it is also imperative to study the pervasiveness of caste system-for as a child grows up in a caste society, one would expect that the individual slowly acquires the ways of belief and behavior that are characteristic of its own caste. 'In so far as castes can be regarded as distinct subcultures, individual members of different castes might develop distinct modal patterns of personality. Thus in India disparity of caste groups in terms of economic, social status, occupation and education, traditional disabilities of certain castes like untouchability, discrimination together set the arena for the influence of caste on child rearing. Some empirical evidence on the role of caste in the socialisation process is presented below.

Morris Carstaris (1957) studies the relation between caste and the individual via the conventional culture personality approach. The study was conducted in a Rajasthan village. Forty five adults belonging to the Brahmin, Rajput and Baniya castes are studied with the help of intense interviews, dream analysis and the Rorschach test. Shared and unshared traits in their personalities were described. Rajputs considered themselves to be the protectors of society. They were

allowed meat eating, drinking and other kinds of enjoyment which were not permissible for the Brahmins. Carstairs tried to trace the roots of such traits in the Rajputs to the law of primogeniture and the child rearing practices characteristic of their caste.

The Brahmins were observed to emphasise the pre-eminence brought to them in birth and their religious obligations. In sharp contrast to the militant Rajputs, the Baniyas observed non-violence of all forms of life and followed strict vegetarianism. The Baniyas were characterised by fear of sexuality and worship of money.

Thereby this study emphasised the differences in child rearing practices and family patterns from caste to caste. There were differences among castes in the values about money, religion and sex. The differences themselves influence the deeper core of personality which leads clearly to distinguishable ideal patterns of personality commonly found in each caste. Apparently the study can be totally dismissed, for the observations about differences in value patterns are common to certain upper castes and they do have some face validity, but it takes into account only the twice born or upper castes leaving the lower rung of the castes completely unexplored. Even for the restricted field of upper caste Hindus the sample is rather small

to be of great value in generalisations.

Furthermore the validity of the culture personality approach without proper methodological precautions, creates further issues. M.Opler (1959) has criticised the study on these lines and other pitfalls too.

Variations in the patterns of personality across caste subcultures is a fascinating and rewarding topic, which has been neglected. Minturn and Lambert (1964) studied the child rearing practices as part of a cross cultural investigation. The study was conducted in the Rajput caste village in Uttar Pradesh. This is about one hundred and forty kilometers north of Delhi. The Rajput mothers were rated as the least warm groups among the six cultures studied. They also ranked low in the amount of praise given to the children. They did not emphasise self reliance in their children. They ranked lowest among the six cultures studied even in responsibility training.

As regards aggression training, the mothers are more concerned with aggression directed at peers than at themselves, they punish the former more severely than the latter. This concern for peer aggression stems from a desire to prevent quarrels which disrupts relations among the women who live in a common courtyard.

V.K. Kothurkar (1962) tried to study psychological differences among various castes. He administered tests of intelligence, scholastic ability, manual dexterity and personality and social development to a random sample of 555 High School students in Poona.

Kothurkar's general finding was that children of the socio economically advanced classes significantly fare better on most of the tests. Lack of verbal skills and competence was the major handicap of the socio-economically backward children. On the basis of his observation he further concluded that high or low socio economic status is not a single isolated advantage or handicap, but it can have a facilitatory or inhibitory effect on a wide range of psychological functions and personality adjustments .(Kothurkar, V.K. 1962, p. 59)

C. Morris on the other hand studied the differences in the values of Brahmin and non Brahmin college students. On the basis of his observations Morris concluded that "caste is a cultural tradition that determined the values of its members". (Morris, C. 1956, p74).

In the same tone B. Krishnan (1956) found differences in the attitudes of college students of various castes towards prestige of occupations. Traditional occupations had lost their original prestige.

Another study by L.B. Murphy (1953) takes into account the development of caste consciousness and traces the roots of prejudices to aspects of child development common in India, viz. "emphasis on dependence rather than independence, early freedom from frustration, leading later to the absence of habits controlling aggression, and lack of opportunities in childhood for group planning and thinking, later lead to the lack of methods for resolving conflicting situations between groups"(Murphy, L. 1953, p.56).

A similar study tried to locate how and when prejudices develop in & individuals as they grow in society. S.D. Singh, K.Singh, and Y. Singh (1960) studied the development of caste consciousness among children between 4-10 years of age in Agra city and neighbouring villages. They found that caste consciousness developed faster in boys than in girls, in rural children than in urban and also earlier and faster in upper castes than in lower castes. These and similar type of studies can be revealing observations in a cross cultural perspective. Further careful studies of the roles of child rearing practices in the development of prejudice would be rewarding.

THE FAMILY SYSTEM

THE FAMILY SYSTEM

In this chapter the focus of attention will be on the family, the principal and primary agency of socialisation. The child's personality emerges and develops in the context of the earliest complex social relationships, particularly those involving the family.

On the Indian front the home is still the fundamental socialising agency, with educational institutions and community agencies playing a supplementary role. It is within the context of the family that children learn who and what they are and establish a basis for all relationships outside the family. Within the family, a child acquires a model of what home and family life is, of sex roles, relationships, appropriate behavior and attitudes, and even a philosophy of life.

The model presented by any one family is necessarily incomplete. But it does provide a basic frame of reference for the child from where he may view and relate himself to the larger society.

Though in our case the historical problems of studying family changes are accentuated i.e. even though the acknowledged values and ideals of the recent past can be gathered from literary, philosophical, and religious sources, we can neither know how fully the "average" Hindu accepts these ideals, nor how well they are followed in practice.

Furthermore it must be clarified that India's family patterns have not changed as rapidly as those of Japan or China's during the past decade, but if industrialisation and urbanisation were the only important variables we would not expect rapid alteration in the area of domestic life. Although no procedures exist for quantifying with precision the contributions from industrialisation, as against those of new ideological elements, the modest amount of change in Indian family patterns seems far greater than would be imputed to industrialisation and urbanisation alone. Thus to the extent that much change has taken place, it seems likely that a good part of it can be ascribed to ideological influences internal to India or coming from the West. The importance of urbanisation, industrialisation and literacy on social relations rests specifically on the possibility they offer to the individual for building an independent base for his own decisions or related to the family.

"The family structure still continues to be a major sociological phenomenon in the Indian social structure, being unaffected by the differences in religion, caste, urbanisation and occupation"(Singh, Y. 1973, p.277).

Further what matters more for our purposes is to know not only the composition of the residential groups, but the nature and quality of social interaction, ritual and economic obligations, the authority structure, the role patterns etc. Ross has observed changes in the internal

structure of families in her study of the upper and middle classes in Bangalore. She shows that with the increasing strain of new types of activities in the urban set-up, many traditional forms of family role expectations are changing though the family is still the sole institution for enforcement of authority, discipline, "boys are more likely to come into contact with new situations,... they are able to get away from supervision of parents, so they can often practice new types of behavior in secret,"(Ross, A. 1961, p.134) but "On the whole there is not yet evidence, among the urban middle class families, that even when they live as separate units, the control of the elders completely disappears though the elder generation no longer dominates the younger to the same degree or in the same way" (Ross, A.D. 1961, p.135). S.Kakar and K. Choudhary on the contrary feel that "familial, religious and political institutions are rapidly losing their capacity to command the easy compliance of our youth". (Kakar, S. and Choudhary, K. 1970, p.8). Further it is necessary to discern not only the modes of socialisation preferred but when and why one or another method is used. Unfortunately to date, this area of study has been completely neglected by the sociological analysts in our country. It is for us scholars, students of the discipline to bring alive this area of study and strive to create^a stable yet fluid conception of the social life of modern India. We have to

gauge and explore that inspite of urban migration whether the age old social system in which caste and kinship play a powerful role (a) is crumbling (b) is resisting change (c) or is still continuing.

ROLE EXPECTATIONS WITHIN THE FAMILY

Within the family, role expectations may be transmitted from generation to generation or at least become established over the family's life cycle" As role relations become stabilised families become more resistant to change-even when they are functioning inadequately. For the family works in a modern cultural context, role expectations are likely to be 'congruent with the norms of its cultural milieu" (Talman, I. 1974, Miller, G. 1974, p.18). This suggests that when the normative expectations call for the dominance of one family member, others will take over such roles only when the role incumbent has been shown to be incompetent or has been discredited. Under these conditions the family's functioning has been impaired by the failure of one member to live up to his role expectations. On the other hand when the groups has equal expectations for all members, a deference pattern does not exist (Bergess, et.al 1972), suggesting greater modifiability to shift roles in order to meet problem exigencies.

Considerable evidence suggests that normative role expectations will vary by class. Data comparing middle

and working class families indicate that although father-dominant families are more common in the middle class than in the working class (Blood and Wolfe, 1960), middle class families place more importance on compassionate and egalitarian relationships than working class families. (Bott, E. 1957). Working class families, by contrast place a strong positive value on father dominance.

THE CHANGES AND CHALLENGES ENCOUNTERED BY THE INDIAN FAMILY

It is generally agreed upon that the problems encountered by the family in the process of modernisation of India have received no attention at all. For any socio-economic changes in the family will have far reaching effect on the values and institutions of the Indian society. For, will not new technologies in agriculture, industrialisation and the growth of urban centres bring about extensive changes in the peoples relations to life, nature, work kinship units and caste affiliations.

It is believed that "A continuous erosion of the traditional joint family is taking place because of the pressures of urban conditions of living. In other aspects too traditional patterns of life are undergoing change because increasing women are having access to educational opportunity, they are taking up employment more widely and thereby assuming an indispensable role in the economic growth", (Indian Social Institute, 1972, p.XI).

Consequently for us will not this factor affect women's

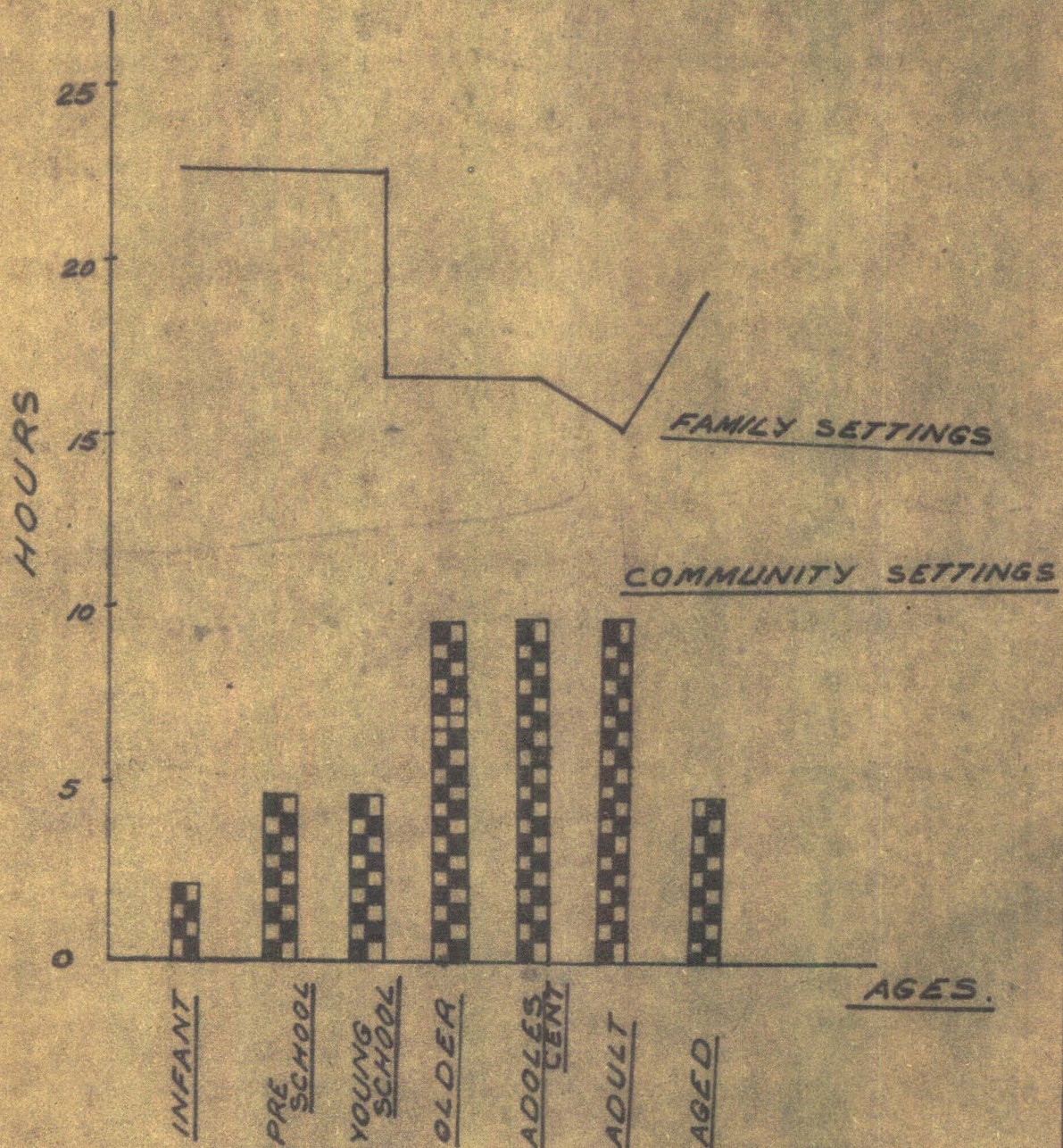
role as child bearer and even as child rearer.

Further more, in order to accept these changes and challenges will it not need adjustments to be made by other members of the family? (ibid).

Therefore these various problems experienced by the contemporary Indian researcher are aspects of the dynamics of growth in the changing conditions. "These involve attitudinal changes in the sphere of family obligations, decision making, the relationship between husband and wife and socialisation of the children. In the nuclear family units, the changed roles and upgraded status of women especially those employed have given rise to new values and attitudes..... not supportive of the traditional code of behavior".(Ramanau Jam, B.K. 1972, p.20).

Inaugral speech by G.S. Pathak, in a seminar on "The Indian family in the change and challenge of the seventees"; Indian social Institute, Nov. 1972)

AVERAGE HOURS/DAY SPENT IN FAMILY
AND COMMUNITY SETTINGS AT DIFFERENT
AGES.



(ADAPTED FROM CHILD DEVELOPMENT,
1956, 27 P. 265-286)

INFLUENCE OF THE PEER GROUP

As the childhood advances, the peer group has a greater influence on the young, adolescents attitudes, interests, values and behavior. This does not mean, of course that the families influence is usweped by that of the peer group.

But at times "when the parents take the easy line towards discipline, peer groups take over and influence the behavior of the child by often feeding him unhealthy ideas and sex information. Influenced by the prevailing social patten in child up bringing, parents may feel that they should not discipline their children so as to avoid developing complexes in them, (Shipstone, E.1972, p. 107).

However it is for us to gauge whether the urban children are more influenced by the peer group than the rural children.

*This table shows the time spent in different settings :-

- (1) Family settings
- (2) Community Settings

FAMILY VARIABLES

It is easy to raise the question of the relation between socialisation and the family, but it is quite another matter to develop a conceptual frame work for the theoretical treatment of this relation.

In the dynamics of socialisation, the family variables bring out the linkages between family and child rearing, these are some of conceptualisations which are important for concept measurement.

- (1) Parental Background : This category can include such variables as the parents
- i) educational background
 - ii) Current Family setting - here one can include variables like social class, occupation, and even physical characteristics of home and neighbourhood.
 - iii) Family Composition: This includes family size, ordinal position of the child, presence or absence of certain family members.

In studying the relationships between parents, we could also observe power relations and decision making patterns, division of labour, communication patterns.

This emphasis could further lead to the development of child oriented parental attitudes and goals like the

- (a) child-rearing goals
 - (b) concepts about the parent role
 - (c) " " " child role
 - (d) attitudes towards parenthood
 - (e) attitudes, about disciplinary techniques and
 - (f) acceptance or rejection of the child
- (2) Parental behavior patterns - the child training and child rearing practices like disciplinary techniques, responses to child behavior, changes or inconsistencies in behavior patterns and types of conflicts with the child.
- The perception of the relations existing between the parents and other family members. These will be operational in the perceptions and evaluations of parent's behavior patterns, attitudes towards sibs and parents.
- (3) The overt child behavior towards the family members - like reaction to discipline and spontaneously initiated actions such as action demanding behavior, hostility and affection.
- (4) Socio economic status as related to - educational aspirations.
- (5) Parental values versus academic motivation.

- (6) Peer influences on educational aspiration
- (7) Socialisation Functions of the Peer Group.

Although all three major socialisation agencies (family, school and peer group) have continuing contact with the individual over a number of years, each has its greatest influence at different point in his life.

INFERRING AND CONCEPTUALISING PARENTAL VALUES

The parental values can be inferred from the general content of what is communicated by the parents to the child. This suggestion can take the form of an emphasis on the significance of explanation in parental discipline. The important factor here is that the parent makes it clear to the child not only that some acts are permissible and others are not permissible, but it also explains why they are or are not permissible. (For the explanatory response by the parents is an attempt to make the values explicit, here it is the explanatory and expressive responses that are the important pointers (Kerckhoff, A. 1969).

STRUCTURED STRAIN IN BECOMING A PARENT

A theme which has been neglected in studies and analysis is the strains involved in the transition to motherhood - (which could be located in the basic social structure irrespective of any particular segment). This factor is especially marked in the urban set up because here the family system consisting of isolated households

deprives the new mother of know how in mothering. This line of argument, that nuclear households are isolated need elaborate and consistent testing. For some sociologists have conducted studies which show that the urban nuclear family is not nearly so isolated as has been commonly supposed. (Sussman, M.B. 1963, Rossi, A.S. 1968)². Consequently, does our society provide adequate preparation and training for the role of mother.

Does the period of pregnancy allow adequate training, unlike the period of anticipatory socialisation for marriage. Since the transition from pregnancy to motherhood is abrupt, that is, it does not allow for a gradual taking on of responsibility, as may be true in a professional work role. It is these questions and thoughts which have to be located.

In addition the Indian culture and traditional institutions offer little specific training on parenthood and so the most important responsibility is a haphazard process. Furthermore "at present our concept of family life education and its contents reflect the ideas and attitudes, aspirations, values, or the upper and middle

²⁾ The structural strains in becoming a parent are paramount, and basically the child's need for mothering is absolute, he is totally dependent on the mother, while the need of an adult women to become a mother or to crave for performing the mother's role is relative.]

class urban society. Through further study and research in the sociocultural aspects of lower income groups in cities, we must deepen our insights and extend the contents of family life education" (Nanavaty, M.C. 1970, p.39)³.

To sum up, one could say that new patterns of family life are emerging due to multi dimensional changes in the world. The family system in India chained in tradition with its thousands of years of its culture and religion, social change in India is affecting family life in a very significant way. "The Indian family is caught between the 'old' and the 'new' the 'traditional' and the 'emerging' patterns of family life. (Shipstone, E.I. 1972, p.98). But nothing could be more misleading for our study than to treat socialisation of the child as though it were only a family process. Social class, caste are also effective determinants of perceptions, aspirations and overt behavior. [The family is the unit through which the meaning of the class, caste setting is transmitted to the child. Thus we logically move on to consider the stratification factors.]

3) This is a Valedictory address on the seminar on family life education, The family life Centre of the Indian Social Institute seeks to strengthen family living in modern India through its many educational programmes, counselling and social services.

STRATIFICATION

FACTORS

STRATIFICATION FACTORS

THE Structure of society may as a whole set certain general expectations but no society of any size is homogenous. It is rather differentiated into a variety of different kinds of segments, of which the most significant is social class. Other segmentations which have importance are caste, religion, occupations, type of community or rather location(eg. rural vs. urban vs. suburban). These social segments however cut across each other in multifarious ways, and it is our task to identify what kind of importance each segment has upon socialisation. Each of these segmentations has been shown to have some effect on how parenthood is performed, but not enough work has been done to provide a comprehensive and composite picture of how they all interact.

More importantly it must be noted that the significance of each segment changes through time so that the relative importance of different kinds of segments change.

So far as the study of child rearing is concerned more concentrated attention has been given to social class than to other types of segmentations. This is due to the fact that attention was emphatically drawn to the existence of social classes in America by a series of researches during the 1930's, particularly by L. Warner

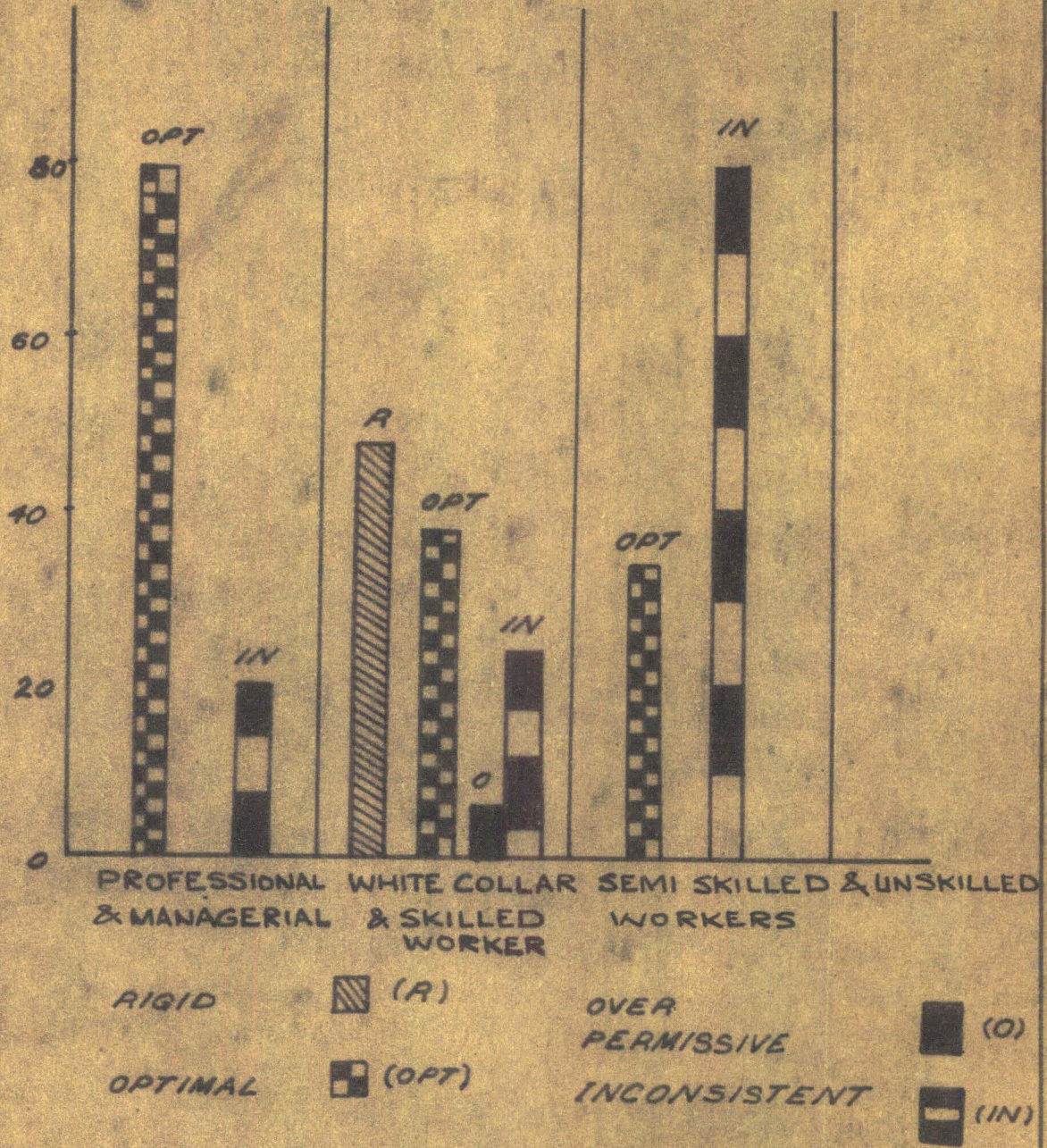
and his associates. Although Warner's particular approach to social class became the subject of some dispute, sociologists thereafter recognised the importance of this approach.

For our purposes thus children start out in life with systematically different projections. In this context social class is a useful concept of analysis for it refers to more than the educational and occupational levels, but helps us to capture the reality and the intricate interplay of factors like different aspirations associated with class, hopes and goals of the socialising agents and the socialisees, different concepts of the desirable values. All of these form the key concepts to trace the effects of social class.

This is highlighted^t by the researches of American authors such as (to name only a few), Lynd and Lynd (1929), Bruner and Goodman (1947), Schneider and Lysgard (1953), Hoge and Leader (1955), Hoffman and Albizu, M. (1955), Rosen (1956), Sowell and Haller (1956), Rainwater (1956), Hoffman, Mitsus, and Protz (1958).

1) Much of the literature however is difficult to evaluate because of methodological problems, viz. the tendency to obscure distinctions between measures of value orientation and statements of realistic goals.

RELATION-SHIP BETWEEN THE PARENTS
SOCIAL CLASS MEMBERSHIP AND THE MOTHER'S
PREDOMINANT TYPE OF CHILD CARE PRACTICE



(AMERICAN JOURNAL OF ORTHOPSYCHIATRY
 1956, 26, p. 79-93).

SOCIAL CLASS DIFFERENCES IN CHILD REARING

Of central importance, for the explanation of class differences are those studies which show that the father's occupational role produces different orientation to the socialisation of children.

Studies in the USA have revealed that in the occupational context there are three important ways in which middle-class occupations differ from working class occupations (Kohn, M.L. 1963) ². Middle class (white collar) occupations typically require the individual to handle ideas and symbols and to be skilled in personal relations.

Working class (blue collar) occupations typically involve physical objects rather than symbols and call for much less interpersonal skill.

Middle class jobs require or allow much more self direction in the ordering of activities and the selection of methods, than working class jobs, which are more often routinised and subject to more strict supervision.

2) Much work has been done by the author on such topics emphasising the same view point, viz. "Social Class and parent child relationships an interpretation", in American Journal of Sociology, 68, 1963. p.471-80. Also "Social Class and Parental Values", in American Journal of Sociology, 64, 1959. p.337-51.

Closely associated with these differences is the tendency of middle class occupations to call for individual action, whereas working class occupations more often call for coordinated group or team action. Such occupational differences are in part the basis for requiring higher levels of education for entry into middle class occupations. The higher the level of education, the greater is the emphasis on complexity of relations in the subject matter, the greater the concern with understanding interpersonal relations and the greater independence expected.

Such differences in the occupational sphere are seen as associated with general value differences of adults in of different social classes. Filling in the specifics of this analytic model, Kohn notes that the significant value difference is that working class and lower class parents want conformity to external proscription while middle class parents want their children to become self directing. The life conditions which most directly determine these values are occupational, educational and economic. Thus working class parents are likely to judge the child's behavior in terms of its immediate consequences and to external qualities, whereas middle class parents are more concerned with the child's motives and the attitudes his behavior expresses. In both cases the parent emphasizes in his relations with his child those qualities that are central in his own life.

Middle class life both allows and demands a high degree of self direction, whereas working class life places greater emphasis on authority and external conformity (Kohn, M.L. 1969, Schneider and Dysgard, S. 1953, Rodman, H. 1963, Irelan, L.M. 1966)³. Further the lower class people have a more flexible or looser value commitment than middle class people because of the conditions they live in (Rodman, H. 1963). In these classes, however, the parental values tend to be the extensions of the modes of behavior that are functional for the parent. Kohn further argues substantially correctly that the middle class parents attentiveness to experts and other sources of relevant information represents not a ~~search~~ search for new values but for better techniques of realising the values they already have. (Kohn, M.L. 1963, Rainwater, L. 1966, Coleman, R. and Handel, 1962)³

3,3)

Much work has been done relating values modes of socialisation etc. to the social class by American researchers. A good general idea was formed by the works of these authors.

SOCIAL CLASS, PARENTAL VALUES & PARENT - CHILD RELATIONSHIPS

Thus "we can see that the problem of social class and parent-child relationship, child rearing practices, are an instance of the more general problem of the effects of social structure on child rearing" (Kohn, M.L. 1969).

It can also be argued that class differences in parent-child relationships are the product of differences in parental values, these differences in turn stem from the differences in the basic conditions of life.

Values are thus a bridge between social structure and behavior. In this light the questions posed are - what differences are there in the social values held by parents of different social class?

What is there about the conditions of life distinctive of these classes that might explain the differences in the values?

What consequences do these differences in values have in child rearing, parent child relationships?

These propositions can help us to gauge the changes in the pattern of child rearing over the past decade or so.

STRATIFICATION VARIABLES - MEASURING SOCIAL CLASS

The measurement of social class has been discussed and studied for many years in the U.S.A., but there is no generally agreed upon way of measuring it or even

conceptualising it. Each operational definition of class may include many combinations of these measures. (although the ultimate decision depends on the needs of the particular research), but it should be pointed out that other things being equal there is an advantage of using measures of class that will make possible comparisons and synthesis with other related studies.

Thus father's occupation can be conceptualised not only as an index of social class but a variable affecting economic conditions, family life, the child, their aspirations. These factors may lead to different socialisation techniques e.g. whether the father's occupational position depends on formal training or personal characteristics. Though there may be perceptual blindness on the part of the subjects regarding the effects of their jobs on the family. This line of research might be better explored by using some theoretically based classifications of occupations as the independent variable and relating it to measures of family life and child variables. In order to measure and conceptualise we have to delineate the attributes on which the society's classes are based.

Though it is usual to assign social class ratings on the basis of the husband's occupation and education, mother's education is also an important criterion for understanding the differences. The rationale for the

decision is made because in our rapidly changing Indian set up, even men of considerable education and occupational status have ^{semi}literate wives and this definitely has great bearing on the study. Mothers activities even when they are temporary are an important consideration, it may have far reaching effects on the social standing of the family. With the great increase in proportion of working wives and mothers in the urban set up there may be a reason to expect some change in this great emphasis on the husband's occupation.

Similarly working mothers or those mothers who come from higher social class origins than their husbands have higher aspiration for their children than others of the same class. Such considerations suggest that many combinations of sources of influence may be experienced by children, but then no analysis can hope to deal with all these possible combinations, but it seems certain that they exist. Although there may be some tendency for the combination of influences to be different at different class levels, considerable variation clearly occurs at each level, (Krauss, I. 1964, Kerchhoff, A. 1972).

Social class for our purposes can further more be seen as a determinant of expectations and as a basis of context.

The influence of contexts and differential expectations has implications for an understanding of the

process and for any planned or unplanned attempts at changing the process. The view being developed is that the role of social class suggests an interplay between formative experiences, what others expect of an individual, and what the individual achieves. What the individual achieves is not only an ultimate outcome but it is an active element in the process from the beginning. In order to conceptualise in this case the focus of the researcher would be on the kinds of people encountered by those in different social classes.

Similarly social class is a determinant of expectations. This can be seen not only in terms of differential expectations of parents towards their child's behaviour but also one may behave differently toward people according to their social class level and expect different kinds of behavior from them, according to class. Thus teachers, peers, even parents are likely to respond to a child not simply as a child, but as a child from a specific social position.

4. It has been observed that even the residential pattern to some extent separates classes to a high degree, thereby the child from different social strata is placed in different social contexts.

RELATIVE SIGNIFICANCE OF SOCIAL CLASS IN THE LATER STAGE

But one cannot rule out a lead that the role of the social class in the socialisation process changes during the individuals' s life time. It may begin as a significant determiner of the social context within which the child is reared. As he grows older and moves into the broader social context, his class serves as a direct point of reference in the responses others make, but it also serves as a point of reference to his view of himself (Kerchhoff, A. 1972). His behavior provides a basis for the constant reassessment of this class based expectation both by others and by himself.

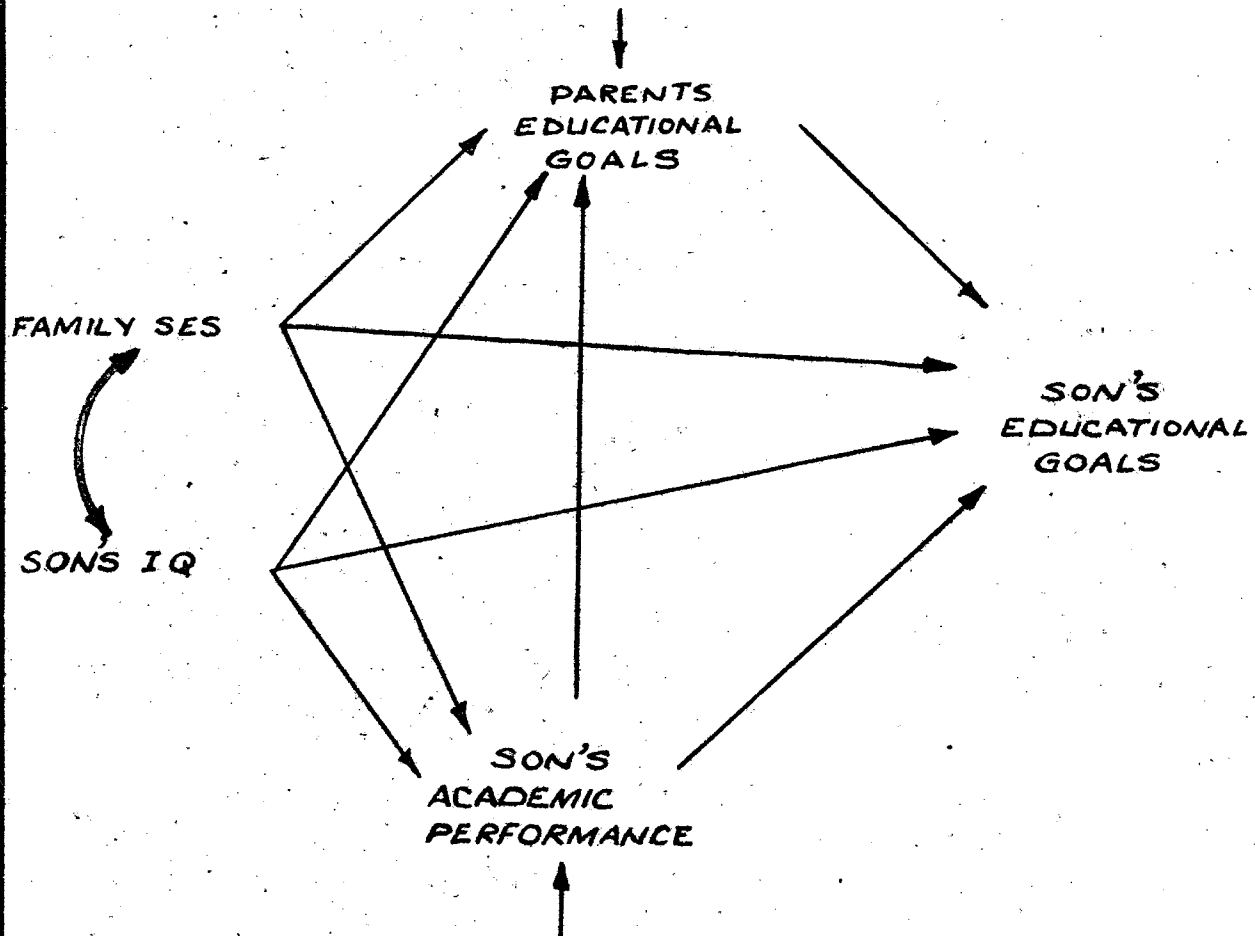
Although the social context may continue to be somewhat different for people from different social backgrounds, this interplay between 'expectations' and 'performances' becomes an increasingly important part of the process. The association between social class and interplay of expectations and performances have to be gauged, though the relative significance of these two sources of influence shifts as the child grows.

SOCIAL CLASS, PARENTAL BACKGROUND DETERMINING EDUCATIONAL

ACHIEVEMENT

The great interest in the relationship between socialisation and stratification can be discerned to some extent by emphasizing the education system, educational achievement in our analysis. Education is the major

PATH MODEL RELATING INDEPENDENT VARIABLES TO SONS EDUCATIONAL GOALS



ADAPTED FROM:- "EDUCATIONAL FAMILIAL AND PEER GROUP INFLUENCES ON OCCUPATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT" FINAL REPORT U.S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH EDUCATION AND WELFARE.

societal channel of mobility, and the degree of success in school is highly related to occupational success. Due to the importance of the educational system in social placement, it can be used as an important determinant. For basically social class differences have been found in research on achievement, (Rosen, B.C. 1956, Mc Clelland, D.C. 1961, Rosen, B.C. and D. Andrade, R. 1959) and achievement motivation is closely related to social class. Middle class parents emphasize independence in early childhood, expect good performance and have a greater belief in the possibility of success than the parents of the working class. These parents are likely to view education as the solution to a wide range of economic, social and personal problems. The more positive attitudes towards academic success shown both by young and adults and higher socio-economic levels are related to the fact that most school programs have actively been more relevant to their needs, customs and expectations (Mc Candless, B. 1970, Myerhoff, B.G. and Larson, W.R. 1965).

SCHOOLS AND SOCIETY

The principal functions of schools has traditionally been to prepare succeeding generations of young people for admission to a middle class dominated and controlled society (Myerhoff, B.G. and Larson, W.R. 1965, Namerwirth, J.Z. 1969). The schools

are a major socialising agency outside the home. But B. Mc Candless succinctly comments that "schools succeed relatively with upper and middle class, after all schools are built for them, staffed by middle class peoples and modelled after middle class people". (Mc Candless, B. 1970, p. 295).

A survey conducted in Delhi on the higher Secondary schools of Delhi to determine the level of achievement motive, to study the relationship with occupational level of father revealed that the sons of those fathers who were skilled and unskilled workers showed a higher level of need for achievement as those whose fathers were in the clerical and small shopkeepers group. (Mehta, P. 1969)⁵

Despite popular stereo types differences in parental attitudes towards education these findings can not be much helpful for India due to the paucity of detailed studies. For class values may even cut across other variables eg. it was found that family relations were a significantly better predictor of school attitudes than socio-economic status. Boys whose family

⁵⁾ This is a NCERT report, N. Delhi, though it is not a very detailed writeup but more such studies and into related topics are being performed by this organisation.

relations were a significantly better predictor of school attitudes than socio-economic status. Boys whose family relations were positive and rewarding ("as measured by closeness to parents, parent child interaction and consultation and lack of parental punitiveness") showed more positive and fewer negative attitudes towards school (Bachman, J.G. 1971). Parents of academically motivated achieving children are likely to place high value on autonomy and independence rather than dependence and conformity and competence and achievement generally (Bell, G.D. 1963). In contrast parental dominance of the child particularly maternal dominance and parental submissiveness both adversely affect the development of autonomy; academic motivation. (Elder, G.H.Jr. 1968).

Not surprisingly, thus in our country the socio-economic status of a child's family is significantly related to his level of educational aspiration and to school achievement. Children of relatively high socio-economic status have traditionally aspired to higher educational levels than their lower-middle and lower-class peers. Parents and children from higher socio-economic levels tend to view education as having intrinsic values quite apart from its function of increasing vocational opportunities and economic rewards (Bachman, J.G. 1970, Boyle, R.P. 1966). In India due to

CORRELEATIONS OF RATINGS OF HOME ENVIRONME-
NT WITH ATTAINMENT & IQ

	<u>CORRELEATION WITH ACHIEVEMENT</u>	<u>CORRELEATION WITH IQ.</u>
PARENT'S EDUCATION	.49	.42
PARENT'S GENERAL BOOK READING.	.33	.28
PARENT'S MAGAZINE & PAPER	.40	.38
PARENT'S INCOME	.44	.35
FAMILY SIZE	.46	.40
LIVING SPACE	.45	.36
PARENT'S ATTITUDES TO CHILD'S		
EDUCATION & FLTURE EMPLOYMENT	.39	.30
PARENTAL ENCOURAGEMENT		
TEACHERS RATING	.66	.60
GENERAL IMPRESSION OF HOME		
ENVIRONMENT VIZ EMOTIONAL	.46	.39
ATMOSPHERE		

governmental programmes, social class and minority group disparities in educational aspirations, opportunities and actual performance have been shrinking, somewhat recently. Larger number of young people completing high school and going to college has risen and increased, (though still inadequate) efforts have been made to provide greater opportunities for economically and culturally disadvantaged children and youth. From these and similar investigations, one can abstract several aspects of home environment which have consistently been related to attainment, educational aspiration and success in school. E.E. Fraser, "Home environment and the school," studied secondary school attainment of 427 students from six schools representative of the age group. Ratings and several aspects of their home environment were based on visits to the homes and interviews with the parents. (Correlations of Ratings of Home environment with attainment and IQ as shown in the table.). The abstractions are :-

1. Parental attitudes to education, involving interest in school, encouragement to children, and aspirations for children's educational and occupational careers, such attitudinal variables consistently emerge as being of outstanding importance.
2. Educational level of the home involving the amount of and nature of education received by parents, but also

the cultural interests of parents.

3. Family size - important factor in early childhood for its effects upon the extent to which children can spend time with the parents.

4. Material prosperity of the home

5. Social organisation - this involves the complex of neighbourhood phenomena - viz. high illiteracy rate, high incidence of crime, dirty home, broken families.

These general conclusions must however be qualified.

They are only correlates of success or symptoms of the types of environment conducive to success or failure. They cannot be assumed to be causatively related to success, nor can they be assumed to be independent of the many aspects of family life which because they are so difficult to measure, have not generally been included for investigation in large scale surveys. If these limitations are not taken seriously, one may be led to very debatable conclusions. For it is not only broad cultural factors, educational opportunities, and health factors but also more subtle factors which operate to limit the educational aspirations and accomplishments of working class related customs and values and the individual influence of parent and peers. This fact is of the greatest importance for us Indian scholars, for the subtle factors of our set up will greatly affect the educational achievement, aspirations and accomplishments.

and accomplishments of the children. "The reasons for children not attending schools are many. To the extent that these are related to economic factors, adjustment in school timings. Surprisingly enough this is true even in cities which theoretically have provided schools for all children⁶ In the same tone the family plays an all pervasive role influencing children in the choice of the career that they take up. Children identify with their parents and they tend to develop preferences for the types of occupations which their parents value. Cultural factors in terms of joint family, caste, religion, community and also change in public policies, technological and scientific progress, localisation of industries, many such factors affect career development. "Families definitely act as channels for transmitting caste and religious values which ultimately influence the occupational choice of young people. There are certain professions in our country which are governed by religion eg. certain professions are usually chosen by the Hindus, others

6. A 1966-67 school census in Bombay showed that 12,855 children of 6-11 years were not attending school. In Calcutta (1961) about 1/3 of the children at the primary level, 1/2 of the Junior school age were not enrolled in schools.

by Muslims, Brahmins may still prefer intellectual occupations and Jains business, Sikhs and Coorgs the military service, High caste Hindus and Muslims girls still do not enter the nursing profession. Thus occupations in Indian society are to a very large extent still being regulated by caste and family factors. (Thomas, M. 1972).

But enough research has not been done in India in the field of career patterns. The career patterns discussed in the meagre literature available on the subject may be true for men and women in urban society but they may not be applicable to rural India.

T H E P R E S E N T S O C I A L

C O N T E X T

PRESENT SOCIAL CONTEXT

In The modern Indian industrial based setup many changes are coming about. These may be incaste, kinship, role and status of women. It is important to look into these at this particular juncture because India has not yet totally given up her faith in the old value system nor has she taken up all the new values. This study shows on a micro scale how these factors are related to child socialisation.

CHANGING ATTITUDES TOWARDS CASTE

In a study on changes in India it was found that "apparently in both the high and the low caste people the younger generation does not feel committed to the perpetuation of the traditional social arrangements between castes." (Singh, K.K. 1967, p. 114). These very patterns of social interaction together with the changes that may arise from time to time will thus have very significant bearings viz. the acceptance or rejection of the values of the traditional social order. To understand this trend of social economic changes arising out of caste attitudes and prejudices A.C. Paranjpe has studied Poona students. G.Murphy (In the foreward to Paranjpe's book "Caste, Prejudice and individual") very aptly comments, "evidence of rapid change is quite clear specifically the evidence of high evaluations of the upper castes in some respects and radical devaluation

in other respects together with the evidence of decline in such traditional beliefs as the belief in Karma, all show the seething complexity of the Indian Socio-cultural changes". (Murphy, G. 1970, p. IV).

But conclusions regarding change in caste will have to be carefully drawn taking into account of diversities of the complex Indian social system. "Geographical, demographic, subcultural and religious factors delimit the validity of any sweeping generalisation about Indian society. For the nature of functioning of caste in urban areas is different from that in a village, even in a village it differs from region to region". (Atal, Y. 1968, p. 252). ~~etc~~

Moving on to a different theoretical level is the problem of the identification of differences in the castes themselves. Further we can also identify differences in the classes. With these we would study whether or not the attitudes and values of the parents have moved the away from the rigid style of discipline, towards modes of response involving greater amount of tolerance towards the child's reaction, freer expression of affection and reliance on other methods of discipline as distinguished from more direct techniques like physical punishment. Whether these dramatic shifts in parental values, behavior and practices have actually taken place. In what particular ways these characteristic values and attitudes

influence the parents behavior towards their child.

Thus we shall know the effect of the changes that are advocated and adopted. If so, by which section of the society? Very significantly it will show at the same time whether these changes have been able to narrow down the gap between the social classes, the various castes, in their goals and methods of child rearing?

THE CHANGING ROLE AND STATUS OF WOMEN

Family life has been greatly affected by the dramatic change in the status and role of women in India. For our purposes as the extended family changes into nuclear family, the socialisation of children takes on a new direction; the children have now to grow in a comparatively much smaller social universe, with not too many kinsmen. (Karve, I, 1953). Further, if the mother is working, it means an emotional strain on the child in an early age to establish contact with strangers and to distribute his emotional universe between levels of particularistic attachment. Paradoxically dependence on particular individuals is more in the nuclear families. In the joint family because of parent- surrogates etc. the relations between the ego and the others is less intense. If particular members were to disappear from the scene, serious emotional setbacks would not be much less. By contrast in a nuclear family, the emotional setbacks are more.

The child in such a family environment is not hampered by excessiveness of sheltered universe of attachment as in an extended family which breeds dependence characteristics. In a nuclear family "the emotional universe of a child oscillates between degrees of attachment and abnegation and the resultant tension breeds a type of personality which has greater emphatic capacity, is more independent and capable of coping with crises and is generally more imaginative and innovational in orientation. This type of personality initiates as well as carries forward changes conducive to modernisation" (Singh, Y. 1973, p.175).

There is one qualifying condition about the role of nuclear families in socialisation pattern being conducive to the growth of creative personalities, "this is that nuclear families are existentially situated in the milieu of an adaptive society and not that of an established society" (Mayo, Elton, 1945, p.11).

In contemporary Indian society, though the traditional expectations of the roles and relationships of men and women are slowly changing (and with the assumption of the additional roles viz. of wife, of working outside her home.) With the achievement of a new status as a working woman she has enlarged her "status set". The new status involves a fresh array of

expectations from those constituting the "role set" of the incumbent. The work role on the one hand brings the wife out of the limited sphere of the home and makes continuous demands. In doing so, some of the expectations of the members of her original 'role set' are bound to be unfulfilled unless they are adjusted to her changed social status"(Kapur, P. 1972, p.58). M. Fonseca explains it in a slightly different light, "New Role Expectations arise with a change in the social set up. Many present expectations reflect a past society, where the roles of husband and wife are fixed by tradition. This way of life has passed but many of the role expectations differ. A changing society makes it difficult for people to play roles that evolved in a comparatively static society". (Fonseca, M. 1966, p.8). Thus recent studies indicate that the attitudes of the educated women have certainly undergone a considerable change regarding their role and status in society.

Though theoretically women is recognised as the social equal of man, the institutions of caste and the patriarchal family, religious mores and the dominant value systems are still surcharged with the spirit of male dominance. (Hate, C.A. 1969).

The pattern of male superiority in all fields is still a dominating factor in our society in which

woman is considered to be inferior and the weaker sex. (Dube, S.C. 1963, Merchant, K.T. 1935, Rajpopal, T.S. 1936, Desai, N. 1957, Kapadia, K.N. 1959, Kapur, P. 1960, Kannan, C.T. 1963, Fonseca, M. 1966).

"Social media the content of mass media, some of the traditions and norms with regard to women's role and status need to be changed, and the acceptance of an equally important and honoured role and status for women both within and outside the family has to be inculcated in men and in other members of the society as a whole so that they may be able to achieve in reality the freedom and the status that have been given to them in theory" (Kapur, P. 1972, p.59).

But the question arises whether the attitudes of society specially those of men towards the role and status of women have also changed? There is also a discrepancy between the status that women desire and expect, feeling strongly that they deserve a status," (Kapur, P. 1972, p.57).

From our point of view we have to gauge how wide is the gap between this change in their roles and relationships, and the acceptance of this change by other members and by society as a whole. A silent social transformation is taking place with educated women breaking away from accepted family traditions and family controls and looking beyond their homes for self

expression (Ross, A.D. 1961).

Consequently, it is important for social scientists in India to discover how the family and social patterns are ^{to} be renewed to meet the change and challenge? To discuss whether the social and economic changes in the urban and Industrial areas have subjected the growing child to a sense of insecurity? For ~~often~~ working parents have little time to spend together as a family.

C O N C L U S I O N S

CONCLUSIONS-

At the outset itself it was recognised that studies on child rearing and related topics have been relatively few in India. Therefore our present state of knowledge regarding this area of study is far from conclusive. Further more the few studies which refer to the upbringing of children have been confined to the rural areas. Not only this, these researches have been confined to the joint families of the upper castes. In the absence of adequate empirical studies developing abstract propositions would not only be irrational but also equal to impossible.

In addition to these problems the multiplicity of religions, castes, sects and the ~~great~~ great variations in the regional traditions make the Indian cultural scene more complex. For when analysing the contemporary Indian society one has not only to take account of religious, regional and caste differences in the rural and urban sections, but also we have to consider the differentials in adherence to old traditions and in the acceptance of new ways of life and thought at different levels of the various sections. At this stage, therefore discussions regarding the formation of generalisation, the amount and effect of social change, remain confined to raw peculiarities of social data without general abstractions.

Moving on thus to another plane—on the relationships between social class, caste and the class related processes

described. Throughout at many points in the chapters I have constantly stressed that there is no perfect relationship between the social class and socialisation. On the contrary no attempt has been made to specify how much deviation there is from such a perfect relationship, not even the briefest of attention has been given to the causes one could give for deviation, where it occurs, and how much of it occurs. But when the issues and relations between socialisation and social class itself have not been studied, there is even lesser adequate empirical basis for dealing with such issues. They deserve discussion even though some of that discussion is speculative. However some authors have examined and taken up social class as a variable, and a number of other variables that represent measures of socialisation events¹. None of these correlation coefficients have been worked out in India and so even though the co-efficients for Indian set up may be much different it is sufficiently important to work out certain relationships in our country too.

However these non Indian studies, (which I have extensively referred to) place emphasis only on social class, but in India it is as yet very difficult to identify and isolate a middle class in India. For the

1. A series of correlation coefficients have been worked out and are given in the appendix.

urban industrial milieu is modestly pervasive and less deep rooted than in the West though other classes are more easy to isolate in the country. Even if we accept a class perspective the caste and community influences still continue, though the pressure of the caste community will be much less, and the extent to which he may identify with them will be less. It may be presumed that studies in India on related topics will comprise different variables and will also point to a different picture. The task of this study has partly been to locate these variables. The enquiries at this stage therefore would be necessarily exploratory, aiming very broadly at discovering meaningful variables or determinants of socialisation in the matrix of the changing Indian society. Therefore the need for indepth studies which show the kind of upbringing, that fosters a sense of commitment without diminishing the individual personality. "If there is a possibility of remodeling and re-emphasizing the values that are inherited by us, it is at this period of our history that this can be done. If however, values and traditional structures are completely eclipsed by the onslaught of the modern forces then their revival would be false and it would be almost impossible to breathe any real life into those dead values for the younger generation". (Mehta, R. 1975, p.6).

Thus from the multitude of variables brought out by this study I have tried to isolate those variables

and areas of consideration that need to be followed at length.

I plan to work out some of these variables among certain occupational groups whose base is urban.

Consequently the explorations would be in terms of _____

- 1) The strength of belief in the caste system, to analyse relationships between predominant child rearing practices and occupational background of parents.
- 2) To differentiate child rearing practices associated with different family structures. (viz. Nuclear, joint etc.) to gauge the associated values with each type of family structure, the transition from extended family based society to nuclear family base society - in essence the structural changes involved namely, systematic changes in the role structure.
- 3) To identify various classes their pervasiveness, to assess the values associated with different classes.
- 4) To specify the rural/urban differences in child rearing.
- 5) To identify family structures in rural/urban areas. Knowing that the impact of the family is greatest and most completely unchallenged in the study of socialization, it should be an important point of reference to identify and study.—

interpersonal relationships

- 6) Role systems in different family settings where father/parent may be away eg. military setting.
- 7) Or family settings where mother takes up extra familial roles (working outside), the patterns of adjustment/mal adjustment in such families.
- 8) Or the shifting of nuclei of authority in the family
- 9) Studies of families drawn from various class and occupational backgrounds.

These questions will lead to other questions of greater concern for future explorations-

- 10) If the patterns, one delineates are general, how general are they? How many relationships are there between the above mentioned categories?
- 11) And if the relationships are far less than clear, what are the associations that do exist?
- 12) Is the understanding of these relationships and the role of socialisation process helpful in explaining change or continuity in patterns?

Since it has been often stressed that even though traditional role structures are giving way to modern ones the persons following these roles often retain categorical values of tradition, instead of those of modernity eg. caste itself may be adopting many functions which properly belong to national corporate groups. Therefore what attributes continue to be accepted, depends on the

systems of values. These values can be differentiated into ¹categorical or independant. ²

2) Instrumental

"Since all role structures whether traditional or modern inhere to both categorical and instrumental standards, this leads to a combination of both, eg. a person is trained in the modern role structure with high instrumental value, for instance a surgeon or an engineer, may be deeply committed to traditional categorical values. This is possible, since the categorical values enjoy autonomy over the instrumental values" (Singh, Y. 1973, p.24).

2. Speaking in terms of the categorical values, we find that even though traditional role structures are giving way to modern ones, persons often retain categorical values of tradition, instead of those of modernity eg. how ritual order and religion which are based on categorical values of traditional nature do not show evidence of decline since many of these categorical values differ from one society to another, there may always be a unique combination of traditional values with modern ones, the categorical values can hardly be falsified by scientific proof and hence the spread of science may not logically lead to obsolescence of traditional categorical values. (Myrdal, G. 1969, Singh, Y. 1972).

In the final analysis the facets which are brought to light are:-

- (1) What are the limitations imposed by the conditions under which the study may take place?
- (2) How discrepant are the operational definitions from the theoretical concepts?
- (3) What other variables may be operating to obscure or enhance the empirical relationships? For in relating family, stratification factors to socialisation variables one has to stop at other points in the causal sequence. In certain cases there may be other intervening variables or one may make hypothetical constructs that reconceptualise the parental background to a more or less distant level in relation to the child. (Erickson, E. 1946, Hellman, P. 1954, Sears, R. 1957). These authors discuss the discrepancies between the parents social class background and current class status on the child's behavior.

The recognition of these leads us to more complicated issues which are of greater concern for the Indian setup and further explorations.

How pervasive are the traditional values in the urban setup?

What has contributed to a shift in values and standards?

Can we assume whether the penetration of the media

of mass communication into every sector of society has brought about the emergence of new attitudes, changing expectations, and to some extent undermined traditional forms of social behavior and economic activity ?

Or whether it is the process of educational, industrial and urban development which has opened up new opportunities and new roles to family members - husband and wife, father and mother, children ? These have also brought about new problems, upset certain family mores and values.

In more general terms the socialisation research consists of testing alternative theories as to how different orientations are transmitted to the child. There appear to be three possibilities-

- 1) The transmission may depend on different patterns of communication ;
- 2) It may depend on different values expressed in socialisation ;
- 3) It may depend on parental attitudes which may either minimise or maximise the connectedness between the successive statuses that the child has experienced in the family- the 'career orientation' of the adult would then be a product of his career experience as a child.

A P P E N D I X I

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN SOCIAL CLASS VARIABLES AND
SOCIALISATION VARIABLES

The degree of the relationship has been represented by a series of correlation coefficients (Kohn 1969, Duncan and Blau, (1967), Duncan (1968), Duncan, Haller and Portes (1968), Coleman, Campbell et al. 1966, Kerckhoff, A. 1972, Rehberg, Sinclair and Schofer, 1970, Sewell and Shah 1968, Sewell, Haller and Ohlendorf 1970, Turner 1969, Bayer 1969).

"The correlation coefficients range from - 1.00 to + 1.00. A positive coefficient indicates for that as one variable gets larger, the other also does, a negative coefficient indicates that as one gets larger, the other gets smaller. A coefficient of 1.00 would mean that all the variation in one variable (say educational attainment) could be understood and explained by knowledge of the individuals scores on another variable (say, a social class index). For with the knowledge of second variable, one could predict an individual's scores on the first variable. On the other hand, a coefficient of .00 would mean that knowledge of the individuals scores on the second variable would not tell us anything about their score on their first. The larger the correlation coefficient therefore the stronger the relationship between the two variables". (Kerckhoff, A. 1972, p.123).

Though the size of the co-efficient should not be taken as wholly precise or unchanging, these co-efficients are at least good approximations of the true relationship. It is obvious that the characteristics of parents, the abilities of children at different ages, the nature of the parent child relationships, the academic performance of children, the children's aspirations, their social relations, their ultimate educational and occupational attainment—all vary by social class.

The great majority of the coefficients range from 20-40 however, which is not very high. Thus although social class seems to be an important variable, it can only explain a rather limited amount of the variation in the process and the outcome. In fact the relationship between the parent's social status and their own characteristics is basically the same as the relationship between parental social status (our measure of social class of origin) and the child's characteristics including the adult status. These relationships are in turn basically the same as the relationship between parental social status and the various socialisation variables.

**CORRELATION BETWEEN SOCIAL CLASS
AND SOCIALISATION VARIABLES**

SOCIALISATION VARIABLE	CLASS MEASURE	CORRELATION COEFFICIENT	SOURCES OF CORRELATION REPORTED
PRE SCHOOL			
a. PARENTAL VALUES SELF DIRECTION OR CONFORMITY	SES	.37	KOHN (1969)
b. FATHER'S INTELLIGENCE	SES	.29	DUNCAN BLAU 1967, 1968 DUNCAN HALLER & PORTES 1968.
c. NUMBER OF SIBLINGS	OCCUPATION	.28	DUNCAN BLAU 1967-68.
d. SCHOOL EXPERIENCE	EDUCATION OF PARENTS	.37	COLEMAN, CAMPBELL ET AL.
ELEMENTARY SCHOOL			
a. ABILITY OF VERBAL COMMUNICATION	EDUCATION	.24	COLEMAN, CAMPBELL ET AL 1966.
b. AVERAGE ABILITY (VERBAL) OF OTHER CLASS MEMBERS	EDUCATION	.32	COLEMAN, CAMPBELL 1966.
c. % OF CLASSMATES WHOSE MOTHERS HAD EDUCATION	EDUCATION	.43	COLEMAN, CAMPBELL ET AL 1966
d. CHILDREN'S PERCEPTION OF PARENTAL EDUCATIONAL ENCOURAGEMENT.	SES	.21	KERCHKOFF A
e. PERCEPTION OF PARENTAL INTEREST	EDUCATION	.17	CAMPBELL & COLEMAN 1966.
f. CHILD'S EDUCATIONAL EXPECTATIONS.	SES	.36	KERCHKOFF A. 1970.
g. CHILD'S OCCUPATIONAL EXPECTATIONS	SES	.25	KERCHKOFF A. (1972)
h. CHILD'S PERFORMANCE IN SCHOOL	SES	.35	"
LATER SCHOOL: 12 YEARS			
a. ABILITY TO COMMUNICATE VERBALLY OR OTHERWISE.	EDUCATION	.35	CAMPBELL & COLEMAN ET AL (1966)
b. AVERAGE COMMUNICATIVE ABILITY OF OTHER CLASSMATES	EDUCATION	.29	" "
c. % OF CHILDREN'S CLASSMATES WHOSE MOTHERS ARE EDUCATED	EDUCATION	.35	CAMPBELL & COLEMAN ET AL (1966)
13-14 YEARS			
a. CHILD'S PERCEPTION OF PARENTAL EDUCATIONAL ENCOURAGEMENT	SES	.45	KERCHKOFF A (1972)
b. PERCEPTION OF PARENTAL INTEREST	EDUCATION	.21	COLEMAN & CAMPBELL 1960
c. EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS	OCCUPATION	.41	REHBERG, SINCLAIR & SCHAFFER (1970)
d. OCCUPATION ASPIRATIONS	SES	.41	KERCHKOFF A (1972)
e. CHILD'S PERFORMANCE IN SCHOOL	SES	.51	"
15-17 YEARS			
a. COMMUNICATIVE ABILITY	EDUCATION	.33	CAMPBELL & COLEMAN 1966
b. AVERAGE OF CLASSMATES	EDUCATION	.29	" "
c. % OF CLASSMATES WHO JOIN COLLEGE PREPARATORY COURSE	EDUCATION	.29	" "
d. SON'S PERCEPTION OF PARENTAL EDUCATIONAL ENCOURAGEMENT	SES	.42	SEWELL & SHAH 1968, SEWELL, HALLER, PHLENDORF 1970.
e. PERCEPTION OF PARENTAL INTEREST.	EDUCATION	.20	CAMPBELL & COLEMAN 1966
f. SON'S EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATIONS	SES	.38	SEWELL & SHAH SEWELL (1968)
g. GIRL'S DESIRED EDUCATION FOR HER HUSBAND.		.38	TURNER (1964)
h. SON'S OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS	SES	.37	SEWELL & SHAH 1968, SEWELL AND HALLER & OHLENDORF (1970)
i. GIRL'S DESIRED OCCUPATIONAL FOR HUSBAND	SES	.37	TURNER (1964)
j. SON'S PERFORMANCE IN SCHOOL	SES	.27	KERCHKOFF A (1972)
k. SOCIAL STATUS OF PEERS	SES	.27	DUNCAN, BLAU 1967, 1968, HALLER & PORTES 1968.
EARLY MATURITY 18-21			
a. SON'S EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT	EDUCATION	.49	DUNCAN, BLAU 1967, DUNCAN 1968, DUNCAN HALLER & PORTES 1968.
b. GIRL'S AGE AT MARRIAGE	SES	.17	BAYER 1969.
c. SON'S AGE AT 1st JOB	EDUCATION	.34	DUNCAN, BLAU
d. PRESTIGE LEVEL OF SON'S FIRST JOB	EDUCATION	.32	DUNCAN, BLAU 1967, DUNCAN 1968, DUNCAN HALLER & PORTES, 1968.

Theoretically, I have tried to present the basis for saying that socialisation varies by social class, but when one turns to the issue of the adequacy of the evidence for making general statements about such matters, the paucity of empirical research poses problems.

But basically, it is easier to find evidence of the outcome of the socialisation process than it is to find evidence about the process itself. We have more adequate information about how children from different social classes differ at various ages than we do about the differences in their experiences. Our general problem is to describe the nature and extension of the relationship between social class and socialisation, but socialisation involves a whole series of events and outcomes. Thus it will be necessary to examine social class as a variable and a number of other variables that represent measures of socialisation events and outcomes.

R E F E R E N C E S

REFERENCES

- Aberle, D.F. &
Naegle, K.D. "Middle Class, Fathers Occupation, and Attitude Towards Children", in American Journal of Ortho-psychiatry, 22, 1952, p.366-78.
- Amar, H. Growing up in an Egyptian Village, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1954.
- Abbot, J. "Student Life in a Class Society", in the Journal of British Sociological Association, 7, No. 1, Jan. 1973, p. 43-44.
- Brody, G.F. "Socio Economic Differences in Maternal Child rearing practices : Observed Maternal Behaviour", in Journal of Marriage and Family, 1968, 30 p.656-60.
- Bachman, J.G. "Youth in Transition (Vol 2). The Impact of Family background and Intelligence on Youth, University of Michigan, Michigan, 1970.

- Bell, G.D. "Processes in the Formation of Adolescent Aspirations", in Social Forces, 42, 1963, p. 179-95.
- Boyle, R.D. "The Effect Of The High School On Student Aspirations", in American Journal Of Sociology, 131, 1966, p.628-639.
- Betellie, A. (ed) Social Inequality - Modern Sociology readings, Penguin, 1968.
- Benedict, R. Patterns Of Culture, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1968.
- Bott, E. Family and Social Network, Tavistock Publications, London, 1957.
- Bopegam age, A. "A study in Urban Sociology, University Of Bombay, 1957.
- Brim, O.G. "Socialisation through The Life Cycle," in Socialisation after Childhood, by O.G. Brinard, S. Wheeler, Willy & Sons, New York, 1966

Bronfenbrenner, U.

Two Worlds of Childhood in U.S. and U.S.S.R., Russel Sage, New York. 1952.

"Socialisation Through time and Space", in

Readings in Social Psychology by Newcomb,

Maccoby and Hartley,

New York 1958, p.400-435.

"The Changing American Child", in Readings in

Educational Psychology by

O.C. Morse and M. Hingo (ed)

Tarapurwala, Bombay. 1970.

"Relationship between socio-economic variable and the behaviour of mothers towards young children",

in Journal Of Genetic

Psychology, 96, 1960. p.61-

77.

"The Absent Father and Cross sex Identity", in Herrill

Palmar Quarterly, 1961,

p.85-93.

Bayley, N. and

Schaefer, E.S.

Burton, R.V. and

Whiting, J.N.

Bruner, J. and
Goodman

"Value and Need As
Organising Factors in
perception", in Journal
Of Personality, 42, 1947,
p.33-34.

Carstairs, N.

"The Twice Born. A Study
Of A Community Of High
Caste Hindus, Vir Publishing
House, Bombay. 1958.

"A Village In Rajasthan, A
Study of Rapid Social
Change", in The Economic
Weekly, Jan 26, 1958, p.75-
77.

Davis, H.

"Child training and Social
Class", in Child Behaviour
and development, by R.
Barber, J.S. Fachin and
H.F. Wheeler. (ed), Mc.
Graw Hill, New York. 1943.

Danziger, K.

Readings In Child
Socialisation, Pergamon
Press, London, 1966.

Duncan, O. and
Blau, P.M.

The American Occupational
Structure, John Willey
and Sons, New York. 1967.

Hollingshead, A.B.

"Elmtown's Youth: The Impact Of Social Class On Youth, Willy & Sons, New York. 1949.

Hattfield, E.

"Mother child interaction and the socialisation process" in Child Development, 38, 1962.

Hyman, H.H.

"Value Systems Of Different Classes : A Social Psychological Contribution to the analysis of Stratification", in Class, Status and Power by R. Bendix & S.M. Lipset (ed), The Free Press, New York. 1953.

Hurlock, E.

Developmental Psychology, Tata Mcgraw Hill, Delhi. 1971.

Hill, R.

"A critique of contemporary marriage & family research" in Social Forces, XXIII, 1955, p. 268-277.

Inkeles, A.

"Social Change & Social Character, The Role Of Parental Mediation", Journal Of Social Issues, 1955, p111-33.

- Duncan, O.O.,
Haller, A.O. and
Portes, A.
"Peer Influences On Aspirations and Interpretations", in American Journal of Sociology, 74, 1968. p.119-37.
- Davis, A. and
Havighurst, R.
"Social Class and Colour Differences in Child Rearing", American Sociological Review, 11, 1946, p.671-98.
- Desai, A.R.
"Urbanisation and Social Stratification", in Sociological Bulletin, Sept. 1960. p.1-15.
- Dube, S.C.
"Men's and Women's Role in India", in Women in New Asia by Barbara Ward (ed) Asia Publishing House, Delhi. 1963.
- Dumont, L.
Home Hierarchy: The Caste System and its implications, Paladin, London. 1972.
- Dasgupta, S.
Hindu Ethos and the Challenge of Change, Minerva Associates, Calcutta. 1972.

Ericson, E.

"How Children Grow and Develop- Youth and Life Cycle", in Children, 7, No. 2, March-April 1960, p.43-49.

Elder, G.H.

"Family Structure and Educational Attainment, A. Cross National Analysis" in American Sociological Review, 30, 1965, p.81-96.

Eggen, F.

"Social Anthropology and the Method Of Controlled Comparison", in American Anthropologist, 56, 1954, p.743-63.

Empson, E.H.

Childhood and Society, Norton, New York, 1963.

Erickson, E.

"Youth and Life Cycle", in Readings in Educational Psychology, by W.C. Wingo and M.Wingo, Tarapurwala and Sons, Bombay, 1970.

Fraser, E.E.

Home Environment and the School, University Press, London. 1959.

- Fonseca, M. Concelling for Marital Happiness, Manaktalas, Bombay. 1966.
- Ferreira, J. The Middle Class, in Sociological Bulletin, I, 1952, p-1 -15.
- Gluckman, M. Closed System and open Minds, Aldine, Chicago, 1957.
- Gans, H. The Urban Villagers, Free Press Paper back, New York. 1970.
- Gluckman, M. and Devons, E. "Conclusions, modes and consequences of uniting a field of study", in M. Gluckman (ed). Closed System and Open Minds, the limits of naivety in social Anthropology, Aldine, Chicago, 1967.
- Gore, M.S. Urbanisation and Family Change, Popular Prakashan, Bombay.
- Gibbs, J.P. (ed) Urban Research Methods, Van-Nostrand Co., Nostrand, 1961.

Goode, W.J.

"Norm Commitment and conformity to Role Status Obligations," in American Journal of Sociology XVI, November, 1960, p.246-258.
 "A Theory Of Role Strain," American Sociological Review, XXXV, Aug. 1960, p. 483-495.

Handel, G. and
 Rainwater

"Persistence and change in working class Life Style", in A. Shostak and W. Combery (ed) Blue Collar World, Engle Wood Press, N.J. Prentice Hall, 1964.

Hagen, E.

On The Theory of Social Change, Homeod Dorsey Press, England. 1962.

Hoffman, M.L. and
 Albizu

"Middle Class Bias in Personality Test", in Journal Of Abnormal Social Psychology, 51, 1955, p.150-52.

Hoffman, M.L. and
 Nitroo, S.B. and
 Protz, R.E.

"Social class and Anxiety," Journal Of Abnormal Psychology, 56, 1958, p.3

Irelan, L.M.

Low Income Life Styles,

L.C. Printing Office,

Washington, 1966.

Jackson, J.A.(ed)

Social Stratification,

Cambridge University Press,

Cambridge, 1968.

Kohn, M.L.

"Social Class and Parental

Values" American Journal

Of Sociology, 64, 337-51.

"Social Class and Parent-

Child Relationships, An

Interpretation",

American Journal Of

Sociology, 68, 1963,p.471-

80.

Class and Conformity,

Homewood, Dorsey Press,

1969.

Krauss, I.

"Sources Of Educational

Aspirations Among Working

Class Youth", American

Sociological Review, 29,

1964. p. 867-879.

Kamir, C.K. and

"Class Differences in the

Radin, N.L.

Socialisation practices of

Negro Mothers", Journal Of

Kerchoff, A.

Marriage and Family, 29,
1967, p.302-10.

Socialisation and Social
Class, New Jersey,
Prentice Hall, 1972.

"The Relevance Of Social
Research, Social Issues
Premises and Pitfalls,"
in The Sociological Review,

Monograph 16 (ed) by
Paul Halms Keele
University Staff, ordshire,
Sept. 1970.

Kapoor, P.

Marriage and Working
Women in India, Vikas
Publications, Delhi, 1972.

Kennedy, B.C.

"Rural Urban Contrasts
in Parent-Child Relations
in India", Journal Of
Social Work, Vol. XV,
No. 3, Dec. 1954.

Koos, E.L.

The Middle Class Family
and its Problems,
Columbia Univ.Press,

Khare, R.L.

New York, 1950.

The Changing Brahmins,
University Of Chicago
Press, Chicago, 1970.

Kerchoff, A.G.

"Parental Influences On
Educational Goals", in
Sociometry, Vol. 37 No.

Huff, J.L.

3, Sept. 1974. p.307-327.

Lynd, R. and

Middletown, Harward

Lynd, H.

New York 1929.

Levine, R.A.

Culture Behaviour and
Personality, Hutchinson,
London, 1973.

Lewis, O.

The Children Of Sanchez,
Penguin, England, 1961.

Lynch, O.M.

The Politics Of
Untouchability, Social
Change in India, Columbia
University Press Columbia,
New York, 1969.

Mussen, P.

Development of the Child,
Prentice Hall, New Delhi,
1969.

Mussen, P. and Longer,

Child Development and
Personality, Harper

J and Kagan, J.

International London, 1956.

- Murphy, G. In the Minds of men,
Asia publishing house,
Delhi, 1953.
- Manshardt, C. (ed) The Child in India,
Taraporewale, Bombay,
1937.
- Merchant, K.T. Changing Views on
Marriage and the Family,
B.G. Paul and Co.,
Madras. 1935.
- Mathur, K.S. Studies in Social Change,
Ethnographic and Folk
Culture Society, U.P.
1968.
- Shukla, R.K. and
Singh, B. "Achievement Motive in
High School Boys," WCERT
New Delhi. 1969.
- Mehta, P. Coming of Age in Samoa,
Penguin Books, London.
1928.
- Head, M. Growing up in New Guinea,
Penguin Books, London,
1930.
- Male and Female, Pelican
Books, London. 1962.

Mc Candess, B.R.

Child Rearing Practices,
Social Class and the
Authoritarian Personality,
New York. 1958.

Adolescents : Behavior and
Development. Hind selâ, Dryden.
1970.

Myrchoff, B.C. and
Larson, W.R.

"Primary Aspects of Family
Organisation Groups Consensus,
Problem Perception and
Adolescent School Success,"
in Journal of Marriage and
Family, 29, 1965, 213-217.

Mussen, P.

Handbook of Research Methods
in Child Development, Wiley
Eastern, New Delhi. 1970.

Maccoby, E.E.

"The choice of variables in
the study of Socialisation",
in Sociometry, 24, 1961. p.357-371.

Maccoby, E.E. and
Gibbs, P.K.

"Methods in Child Rearing in
two Social Classes", in
Readings in Child Development,
by W.E. Martin and S.B.
Stendler (ed), Harcourt Bruce,
New York. 1954.

- Meyer, P. Socialisation: The approach from social anthropology, Tavistock, London, 1968.
- Mc Clelland, D. The Achieving Society, Free Press, Macmillan, 1961.
- Mc Cord, J. and
Mc Cord, W. "Cultural Stereotypes and the Validity of Interviews for research in Child Development", in Child Development, 32, 1961. p.171-85.
- Minturn, L. and
Lambert Mothers of Six Cultures, Wiley and Sons, New York. 1969.
- Namenwirth, J.I. "Failing in New Haven : An Analysis of High School Graduates and Dropouts", in Social Forces, 48, 1969.p.23.
- Newson, E. Four Years Old in an Urban Community, Allen and Unwin, England. 1968.
- Narain, D. "Urbanisation and some Social Problems," in Sociological Bulletin, Vol. IX, No. 2, 1960.
- Ninkoff, M.F. "Some problems concerning Research on the the Changing

Ormond, A.T

Foundations Of Knowledge,
Macmillan & Co. London. 1900

Peck, H.J. &

Havinghurst, R.

"Developmental levels of character, A theory", in Robert, F. Peck & R. Havinghurst. The Psychology Of Character Development, 1960.

Parsons Talcott.

"Culture and social system revisited", in The Eden Of Culture In The Social Sciences, by L. Schneider & Co. Benjean (ed) Cambridge Univ. Press London. 1973.

Peterson, K.K.

"Kin Networks A Plan For Comparability", in Journal Of Marriage & Family-31, 1964, p 271-280.

Paranjpe, A.C.

Caste, Prejudice & The Individual, Lalvard Publishing House Bombay, 1970.

Parson, T. &

Bales.

Family Socialisation & Interaction Process. Free Press, Glencoe. 1955.

- Rodman, H. "The Lower Class Value Stretch," in Social Forces, 42, 1963, p. 205-15.
- Rainwater, L. "Some Aspects Of Low Class Social Behaviour", in Journal Of Social Issues, 22, 1966, p. 98-108.
- Rossi, A.S. "Transition To Parenthood", in Journal Of Marriage and Family, 30, 1968, p.26-39.
- Reisman, D. The Lonely Crowd, A Study of Changing American Character, New Haven Lower Yale University Press, 1950.
- Rosen, B.C. "The Achievement Syndrome", American Sociological Review, 21, 1956.
- Rosen, B.C. and Andrade, R.C. "The Psychosocial Origins Of Achievement, Motivation", in Sociometry, 22, 1959. p.185-218.
- Rainwater, L. "A Study Of Personality differences between middle and Lower Class, adolescents", Genetic Psychology, 54, 1956. p. 3-87.

Reisman, D.

The Lonely Crowd, A Study
Of Changing American Character
Yale University Press, New
Haven, 1950.

Robbins, L.C.

"The Accuracy Of Parental
Recall Of Aspects of Child
Development," in Journal a
of Abnormal Social Psychology,
66, 1963, p.261-70.

Sears, R. and
Maccoby, E.E. and
Levine, R.

Patterns Of Child Rearing,
Row Peterson, Evanston, 1955.

Sewell, W.H. and
Shah, V.P.

"Social Class, Parental
Encouragement and Educational
Aspirations", in American
Journal of Sociology, 73, 1968,

Sewell, W.H.

Sandstrom, C.F.

Sing

Shah, A.B. and
Rao, C.R.H.

Delhi, 1973.

Tradition and Modernity in
India, Manaktalas Bombay.
1968.

Turner, R.

"Role Taking, Role Stand
point, and reference Group
Behaviour", in American
Journal of Sociology, 61,
1956, p.316-28.